



3 1761 03524 8798



Purchased for the
LIBRARY *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
from the
KATHLEEN MADILL BEQUEST

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

15/12/21

m



John Jay M.D.

TRAVELS
IN
RUSSIA,
THE KRIMEA, THE CAUCASUS,
AND
GEORGIA.

By ROBERT LYALL, M.D. F.L.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON; OF THE WERNERIAN
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, AND OF
THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY, OF MANCHESTER;
MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL SOCIETIES OF AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL HISTORY,
AND OF THE PHYSICO-MEDICAL SOCIETY, AT MOSCOW;
&c. &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND;
AND W. BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH.

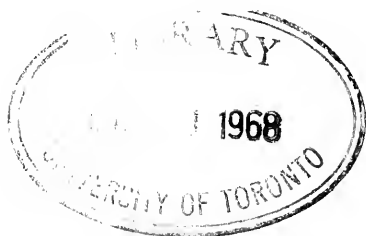
1825.

DK

25

L98

V. 1



PREFACE.

A YEAR ago, when I published "The Character of the Russians, and A Detailed History of Moscow," I expressed the deepest solicitude with respect to the reception of that work by the British public, whose character and opinion I shall ever venerate. I also stated, that by its judgment I must decide, whether or not I should continue my literary labours. Encouraged by the kind reception of that volume, I soon afterwards published, "An Account of the Organization, Administration, and Present State of the Military Colonies in Russia," a pamphlet which met with general notice. Animated to new exertions, by

these circumstances, I again venture to solicit indulgence for the present volumes.

I owe it as a duty to myself to state, that whilst I have been publicly accused of severity to the Russians, my best friends have blamed me for partiality towards them, and “overstrained endeavours to advocate their cause;” and that of the two divisions of the Quarto, the first, “The Character of the Russians,” has been chiefly approved at home ; while the second, “A Detailed History of Moscow,” has been most distinguished on the Continent.

After a residence of a number of years in Russia, and having become familiar with the language, the customs, and the manners of its inhabitants (i. e. the real Russians), I most ardently sought an opportunity of travelling through the south of that extensive empire. I had even made considerable preparations for such a journey, by examining and translating the best Russian accounts of the country, towns, villages, &c. which I calculated on seeing. While almost despairing to accomplish

this purpose, my desire was unexpectedly gratified. Two Italian noblemen, Marquis Pucci and Count Salazar, and an English gentleman, Edward Penrhyn Esq. who arrived at Moscow in 1822, being about to undertake a journey to the southern provinces of Russia, and being desirous of engaging a person to accompany them, who might remedy the inconvenience they apprehended from not understanding the language, and supply the want of medical advice in a country where the prevalence of intermittent fevers might render it particularly necessary, I was engaged by the party in the double capacity of conductor of the journey and physician. In justice to these gentlemen, as well as to myself, I ought to state that they made no contributions to my MSS. The observations and opinions are my own, and I beg to have it distinctly understood, that I alone am responsible for every sentence in the work. This I think it necessary to declare, because the Emperor Alexander has expressed his disapprobation of my Quarto; and said, that "it is hostile to Russia, and written against his government, and the whole Russian nation:" and because His

Imperial Majesty is also highly offended at my having dedicated that work to him. But I can conscientiously say that no individual feels less of hostility to Russia than I do, and whoever has read that volume with an unbiassed mind, will be of opinion that I have been most anxious to do justice to the Russians. While I have boldly spoken my mind with regard to their imperfections, their errors, and their vices, I have not withheld my esteem for their virtues or their good qualities. I have uniformly protected virtue and religion, and as regularly held up immorality and wickedness to ridicule and detestation. If, from the facts recorded in "The Character of the Russians," and in these volumes, the public should be of opinion, contrary to me, that the sum total of vice—if I may so express myself—which attaches to this people, is as great as Dr. Clarke represented, I most seriously beg that they will, at least, remark, that I have placed their deficiencies and vices in their proper places, whilst I have admitted every redeeming light, to enliven the gloomy groundwork of the picture. I formerly pleaded impartiality and truth, and if, in their cause, I

have not obtained the good opinion of His Imperial Majesty Alexander, I am sorry for it. I should have been highly pleased with the approbation of a Sovereign who may be esteemed the greatest blessing and ornament of his country. *

The disapprobation of my works by the Russians was expected. I, of course, allude to the higher classes of society. The mass of the population, the peasantry, will probably never hear of my name, although they have attracted much of my attention. Their condition, as slaves, will ever deeply interest the Christian, the philanthropist, and the statesman, and I flatter myself that I have represented it in a new and true light.

The present work is entitled, "Travels, &c." but it ought to be mentioned, that, besides the observations made *en route*, I have inserted many others which I had accumulated previous to the journey, and, besides, I have added some intelli-

* Vide his character, &c. p. 420. of Vol. II.

gence received since my arrival in London, above a year ago, as well as alluded to different communications which have appeared in the public gazettes; so as to bring up our knowledge of Russia to the present day.

As I formed one of a party, I have often used the pronoun *we*, because it seemed unnatural or affected to use the first personal pronoun singular, while others were present. On other occasions I put *we*, because I suppose that the reader accompanies me, and joins in my opinion. But whether *we* or *I* be used, it must always be understood that I advance my own sentiments.

In the orthography of Russian words, I have followed the rules laid down in the “Preliminary Dissertation on the Russian Language,” which precedes the “History of Moscow.” The grand regulation, which I have adopted, has been to combine such letters of the English alphabet as shall produce, as nearly as possible, the sound of the original words, most of which I have accented, so as to be still more useful to the traveller.

I could have wished that our journey had been of longer duration, but, at the same time, it must be remembered, that travelling in Russia is not like traversing the classic ground of Greece and Italy, or even most countries of Europe, in which objects worthy of description continually present themselves. With the exception of the Krimea, and the opposite shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, we met with little that recalled associations with the Greeks or the Romans. Interesting objects lie widely scattered in the vast empire of Russia, and the traveller is generally contented to gallop over the ground which separates them with all possible rapidity.

I cannot conclude this Preface, without expressing my gratitude for numerous marks of kindness and attention to many individuals in Russia, whose names it would be imprudent to mention. Russian hospitality I can never forget, and to Russian liberality I am indebted for much information. Those who have placed their secrets, and perhaps their happiness, in my hands may rest assured that they shall never be betrayed. In as

far as respects the Russians, I bear them no ill-will, though I like but few of them. I shall always remember their good as well as their bad qualities, and I sincerely wish their reformation. Every Christian bosom must desire their improvement in morals, the best evidence to man of a well-founded religion.

ROBERT LYALL.

45. *Haymarket, London,*
December 24. 1824.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

	Page		Page
CHAPTER I.		Curious Customs at Sér- puchof 32	
DEPARTURE from Mos- cow 1		The River Oká 33	
Kolómenskoyé 3		Záводи. — Voshán. — Vo- lótya 34	
Tsarítsin <i>ib.</i>		Postmaster's Trick 35	
Podólsk..... 4		Túla 36	
Graven Images 5		Arm-Fabric at Túla 39	
Russian Clergy 6		CHAP. II.	
Catharine II. and Count Momónof 7		Coal Mines at Túla 47	
Sélo Móloidi 10		Arsenal at Túla..... 48	
Criticism on Dr. Clarke... 11		Anecdotes 49	
Lapásna 13		Houses of the Russian Peasants..... 51	
Sunday Market 14		Yásnaya Polyána 52	
Semeonovskoyé 15		Villas of the Russian Nobles 53	
Russian Character and Manners 17		Mtsensk 54	
General Nastchókin 20		Orél..... 55	
Mineral Waters of Se- meonovskoyé 24		Bookselling Trick 57	
Curiosity of the Russians 28		Commerce of Orél..... 59	
Sérpuchof 29			

	Page
Sevsk	60
Little Russia.....	61
Russian Villages	<i>ib.</i>
Dirtness of the Russians	62
Glúchof.....	63
Obstinacy of the Russians.....	64
Batúrín	65
Anecdote	68
Néjin	70
Nósovka.—Kozári	72
Brovári.....	73
The Dnéper.—View of Kíef	75
Keys to the Hearts of the Russians	77
Spread of liberal Opinions	81
History of Kíef.....	82
Animal Magnetism	89
Tribunals at Kíef.....	90
Corruption of Civil Administration through- out Russia	91
Instance of Injustice ...	92
Captain Cochrane's Evi- dence.....	95
Instances of Injustice...	97

CHAP. III.

Punishment of Malefac- tors at Kíef	102
Divisions of Kíef.....	104
Fortress at Kíef.....	105
Arsenal at Kíef	<i>ib.</i>
Institution for the male Orphans of Soldiers at Kíef	106
The Petchérskoi Mo- nastery at Kíef.....	107
The Military Hospital at Kíef	111
The Theatre at Kíef ...	<i>ib.</i>
Old Kíef.—The Podole	112

	Page
Conclusion	113
Departure from Kíef ...	<i>ib.</i>
Vassílkof	114
Imposition of Post-Mas- ters and Modes of Re- dress	115
Anecdote.....	<i>ib.</i>
Bóghoslavle.—Korsún	117
Zvenigórodka.....	118
Roguery of the Jews ...	119
Distilleries.....	120
Colonisation of the Jews	121
Singular Custom of the Jews	122
Uman	123
Sophiévka	126
Countess Potótskii	127
The Polish Poet Trem- bésckii.....	130
Kholovínska	132
Arrival at Bóghopole ...	134
Russian Stewards	135
Recruit of the Russian Army	139
Count Ozeróvskii	142
Description of Bógho- pole	143
Konstantínovka	144
Russian Cavalry	145
Alexándrovka	149
Voznesénsk	150
New System of Military Colonisation.....	152
Rapidity of Travelling in Russia	153
Odéssa	156

CHAP. IV.

Account of the Rise and Progress of Odéssa...	151
Obstacles to the Increase of Odéssa.....	168
Situation and Architec- ture of Odéssa	170
Description of Odéssa...	171

	Page		Page
Limestone at Odéssa	173	Departure from Nikoláëf	206
Plants at Odéssa.....	174	Khersón. — Howard's	
Public Gardens at Odéssa	<i>ib.</i>	Monument	207
English Club at Odéssa	175	Cause of Howard's death	210
Lycée-Richelieu at O-			
déssa	<i>ib.</i>		
Seminaries for Females			
at Odéssa.....	178		
Town-Hospital at Odéssa	179		
Police-Office at Odéssa	181		
Theatre at Odéssa	182		
The Assembly - Rooms			
and Exchange at O-			
déssa	183		
The Cathedral and			
Churches at Odéssa	<i>ib.</i>		
The Quarantine at O-			
déssa.....	184		
English Races at Odéssa	<i>ib.</i>		
Agricultural Establish-			
ment at Odéssa	185		
Commerce of Odéssa ...	<i>ib.</i>		
Frauds at the Custom-			
house of Odéssa	186		
Fancy-work in Russia...	187		
Population of Odéssa ...	188		
Odéssa a Free Port.....	191		
Impolitic Conduct of the			
Russian Government	192		
Present Measures re-			
specting Odéssa.....	<i>ib.</i>		
Anecdotes.....	193		
Departure from Odéssa	194		
Cobley	195		
Olbia.....	196		
Phéodorovka.....	197		
Arrival at Nikoláëf.....	198		
Lodging selected by the			
Police.....	199		
Admiral Greig	200		
Description of Nikoláëf	201		
Dépôt de Cartes and			
Museum at Nikoláëf	202		
The Docks at Nikoláëf	293		
Spáskii.....	204		
Population of Nikoláëf	206		

CHAP. V.

Description of Khersón	212
The Fortress at Khersón	213
The Tomb of Prince Po-	
tyémkin.....	214
The Admiralty at Kher-	
són.....	215
The Greek School at	
Khersón	216
The Military Suburb at	
Khersón	<i>ib.</i>
Population at Khersón	<i>ib.</i>
Disadvantages of Kher-	
són.....	217
Present State of Kher-	
són.....	218
Kabáks in Russia.....	<i>ib.</i>
Departure from Kher-	
són.....	<i>ib.</i>
The River Ingulets.....	<i>ib.</i>
Plants in the South of	
Russia.....	219
Tartars with Búrchas...	220
Berisláf.....	221
Ferries of the Dnéper...	<i>ib.</i>
Amusing Scene	222
Passage of the Dnéper...	223
Kachóvka	<i>ib.</i>
Pérekop	224
The Fortress of Pérekop	226
The Armenian Bazár ...	227
The Salt-Lakes of the	
Krimea.....	228
A foolish Practice	231
Anecdotes of a Tartar...	232
Gusla, a Tartar Village	233
Dyúrmen.....	234
Degeneracy of the Kri-	
mean Tartars	235
The Emperor Alexander	236

	Page		Page
Sarabúze	237	The Jewish Cemetery near Tchúfut-Kálé ...	271
Sultan Katti - Ghérri		The Greek Monastery near Baktchiseräi.....	272
Krim - Ghérri	238	The Influence of the Imagination.....	273
Sympheropole.....	239	Dress of the Karaite Jews.....	274
Fine Cathedral at Sym- pheropole	241	Divine Service of the Karaite Jews	275
Present State of Sym- pheropole	243	The Scotch Missionary at Baktchiseräi.....	<i>ib.</i>
Climate of Sympheropole	244	The Merchants of Bak- tchiseräi.....	276
A Tartar Coffee-House	245	Journey from Baktchi- seräi to Sevástopole...	277
Mahomedan Worship ...	247	The Caverns of Inker- man.....	278
Mr. Steven, the Natu- ralist	248	Insalubrity of the Air of the Valley of Inker- man	283
Madame Pallas.....	249	Saltpetre Manufactory	284
Locusts at Symphero- pole.....	251	Locusts in the Krimea	285
A Tartar <i>Firman</i>	<i>ib.</i>	Arrival at Sevástopole	286
Sábla, the Estate of Mr. Borozdín.....	253	Anecdote	287
Cloth - Manufactory of Mr. Borozdín	254	Admiral Baillie	<i>ib.</i>
Arrival in the Palace of Baktchiseräi	255	Roguery at Sevástopole	288
		Collection of Cats.....	290
CHAP. VI.		The Bay of Sevástopole	<i>ib.</i>
The Palace of Baktchi- seräi	257	The Fleet of the Black Sea.....	291
Mausoleums of the Khans of the Krimea	259	Description of Sevásto- pole.....	292
Renovation of the Palace of Baktchiseräi	260	Population of Sevásto- pole.....	293
Description of Baktchi- seräi	<i>ib.</i>		
Population of Baktchi- seräi	263	CHAP. VII.	
Tchúfut-Kálé.....	265	Departure from Sevás- topole.....	295
The Karaite Jews	266	Service of the Tartars	296
Costume of the Karaite Jews... ..	267	Ancient Chersonesus ...	297
Synagogues of the Ka- raite Jews.....	<i>ib.</i>	St. George's Monastery	299
Mausoleum and Roman- tic History of the Daughter of Takta- mish	268	The Vale of Balakláva	300
		Colonel Revolioti	301

	Page		Page
Balakláva. — Greek Soldiers.....	302	Depopulation of the Krimea.....	340
Conquest of the Krimea	303	Insecurity of Property in the Krimea	341
The Russian Army.....	<i>ib.</i>	Corrupt Civil Administration in the Krimea	342
The Fortress of Balakláva	305	Creed in Russian Legislation.....	343
The Port of Balakláva	306	The Emperor Alexander	344
Mountain Roads.....	307	Population of the Krimea	345
The Valley of Baidar...	<i>ib.</i>	Classes of the Population of the Krimea...	346
The Village of Baidar...	309	Character of the Tartars of the Krimea.....	348
The Pass of Meerdveen	310	Colonies in the Krimea	<i>ib.</i>
The South Coast of the Krimea.....	311	The Literature of the Tartars	349
Kútchuk-Koi. — Kikenis.....	312	Their Poetry.....	350
Amusements.....	313	Their Geography	<i>ib.</i>
Simæus.....	314	Their Medicine.....	351
Alyúpka	315	Their Public Schools...	352
Tartar Villages, and Tartar Houses, in the Krimea.....	316	Taraktásh. — Suúk-Su	353
Subjection of the Krimean Tartars	319	Elbuzli.....	354
Yalta.....	320	Tilling in the Krimea...	355
A Greek Monastery.....	321	Karassubazár.....	<i>ib.</i>
Nikíta.....	322	Commerce of Karassubazár.....	356
Nikíta Botanic Garden	323	Fortress-like Khan at Karassubazár.....	357
Yursuf. — Ayu-Dagh...	326	Manufactures of Karassubazár.....	<i>ib.</i>
Kútchuk-Lampát	327	Population of Karassubazár	358
Schistus	<i>ib.</i>	Trinity Sunday.....	<i>ib.</i>
Alúshta	328	Dépôt of Medicines in the Krimea.....	359
Kúru-Uzen.....	329	Extraordinary Anecdote	<i>ib.</i>
Kútchuk-Uzen	330	Civil Medical Staff in Russia	360
Arrival at Uskút.....	331	Cemeteries of the Tartars	<i>ib.</i>
Tartar Worship.....	332	Desolation of the Krimea	361
Tchúban-Kálé.....	334	Anecdote. — Drive in Telégas.....	362
Kapsochór.....	<i>ib.</i>		
Kutlák	335		
CHAP. VIII.			
The Vale of Sudák	336		
The Imperial Vineyards at Sudák	337		
The Castle of Sudák ...	338		

CHAP. VIII.

The Vale of Sudák.....	336
The Imperial Vineyards at Sudák.....	337
The Castle of Sudák ...	338

	Page		Page
Thunder-storm at Sympheropole	364	The Stone of Tmútara-kán	387
Arrival at Káffa	365	The Town of Tamán ...	<i>ib.</i>
Anecdote. — Ancient Mosque.....	<i>ib.</i>	The Tchérnomórskii Kozáks	388
Appearance of Káffa.....	366	The Forces of Tamán...	389
The Bay of Káffa.....	<i>ib.</i>	Classic Ground.....	<i>ib.</i>
Description of Káffa.....	367	Tumuli. — Búghas.....	390
Population of Káffa.....	368	Sénnyaya.....	391
Quarantine at Káffa.....	369	Perepíska.....	392
Commerce of Káffa.....	371	Dreary Drive in the Kubán	<i>ib.</i>
Museum of Káffa.....	<i>ib.</i>	Russian Deception	393
Coins at Káffa	372	Temrúk.....	394
		Arrival at Kurtchánskaya	<i>ib.</i>
		A <i>Vishka</i> , or Observatory	395
		Andriévskoi Redoubt ...	<i>ib.</i>
		Fortresses, and Piquets, in the Kubán	396
		Descent of the Circassians.....	397
		Kopíl. — The Tchérnoï-Protók	398
		Kopánskaya.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Arrival at Yekaterínodár	399
		Quarantine of Yekaterínodár.....	400
		A Circassian Prince and his Suite.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Presents to the Circassians.....	402
		Manœuvres of the Circassians.....	403
		Prison at Yekaterínodár	404
		Fortress at Yekaterínodár	<i>ib.</i>
		Cathedral at Yekaterínodár.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Circassian Prisoners.....	405
		Description of Yekaterínodár	<i>ib.</i>
		Population of Yekaterínodár.....	406
		The Atamán of the Tchérnomórskii Kozáks.....	<i>ib.</i>
CHAP. IX.			
Departure from Káffa...	374		
Kertch	<i>ib.</i>		
Population of Kertch...	375		
Admiralty at Kertch ...	376		
Fortress and Antiquities at Kertch.....	<i>ib.</i>		
Researches of M. de Brücks at Kertch.....	377		
Mementos of Mithridates at Kertch.....	<i>ib.</i>		
New Port, Quarantine, and Plan of Kertch...	378		
Departure from Kertch	379		
Military Encampment...	<i>ib.</i>		
Yeníkalé. — Its Fortress	380		
Disappointment in the Passage of the Bosphorus	<i>ib.</i>		
Return to Kertch.....	381		
Second Departure from Kertch.....	<i>ib.</i>		
Passage of the Bosphorus.....	<i>ib.</i>		
The Island of Tamán ...	382		
Phanagorii	384		
Church at Tamán	385		
Antiquities at Tamán ...	<i>ib.</i>		
Passion of Destruction of the Russians.....	386		

	Page		Page
The Tchérnomórskii Kozáks	407	Return to Karáss.....	436
Departure from Yekaterínodár	412	Reception by Mr. Jack Konstantínogórsk.....	<i>ib.</i>
Villages in the Kubán... ..	<i>ib.</i>	General Désbout.....	<i>ib.</i>
Tumuli in the Kubán... ..	<i>ib.</i>	Departure from Konstantínogórsk.....	437
The Grébenski Kozáks	413	The Podkúma.....	<i>ib.</i>
Ust Labínskaya.....	414	Kislavódskii.....	438
Wild Plants in the Kubán	415	Acidulous Springs at Kislavódskii.....	439
Stávropole.....	<i>ib.</i>	Delicacy of the Russians.....	440
Roguary of Post-Masters.....	416	Mount Elborus.....	441
Nadéjda.....	<i>ib.</i>	Warm Springs at Konstantínogórsk.....	442
Beshpaghír	417	Warm Baths at Konstantínogórsk	443
Views in the Caucasus... ..	<i>ib.</i>	The Hill Mestchúcha... ..	444
Arrival at Gèorgiévsk... ..	418	Description of Konstantínogórsk	<i>ib.</i>
Saith Satoon	<i>ib.</i>	Visit to a Circassian Village	445
Mortality of the Governors of Gèorgiévsk... ..	419	Repast at a Circassian Noble's.....	446
Count Gorskii	<i>ib.</i>	A Noble Whip-Maker Presents to Circassian Nobles	<i>ib.</i>
Intermittent Fevers.....	420	Probable Utility of Mr. Jack	448
Description of Gèorgiévsk	<i>ib.</i>	Mountain Tribes of the Caucasus	<i>ib.</i>
Arrival at the Scotch Colony, Karáss.....	421	Artifice of the Mountaineers.....	449
		Mahomedanism.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Friendly Circassians.....	450
		Mountaineers in the Russian Service.....	451
		Return to Gèorgiévsk... ..	452
		Departure from Gèorgiévsk	<i>ib.</i>
		Dell near Pávlovskaya	<i>ib.</i>
		Yekaterínográd	453
		Pávlodólskoyé.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Amusing Scene.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Mozdók.....	454
		Population of Mozdók	<i>ib.</i>

CHAP. X.

Description of Karáss... ..	423
Military Guard at Karáss	424
Diseases at Karáss	425
The Rev. Mr. Brunton Government of Karáss	427
Lands of Karáss.....	<i>ib.</i>
Culture at Karáss.....	428
Potatoes at Karáss.....	<i>ib.</i>
Religious Opinions of the Mahomedan Neighbours of Karáss	429
Intended Baptism of an Ossetinian.....	433
Ransomed Mountaineers	<i>ib.</i>
Visit to the Mountain Beshtau.....	434
View of Mount Caucasus.....	435

	Page		Page
Commerce of Mozdók	455	Alpine Plants	479
Streets and Houses of Mozdók	<i>ib.</i>	Mineral Springs.....	480
Departure from Mozdók	456	An Avalanche.....	<i>ib.</i>
The Térek.....	<i>ib.</i>	The Hill Bi-Gorá.....	481
Redoubt of Alexander	<i>ib.</i>	The Mountain of the Cross	482
Composition of a Caravan	457	Ascent of the Goot-Gorá	483
Departure from Alexander's Redoubt	458	Criticisms.....	<i>ib.</i>
Banishment of the Tchitchéntsi.....	459	Basaltic Rock	484
Redoubt of Constantine	460	Descent of the Goot-Gorá.....	<i>ib.</i>
Redoubt of Elizabeth... ..	461	Kashaúr.—Military Stations	<i>ib.</i>
Vladikavkáz	462	Fare for Horses in the Caucasus	<i>ib.</i>
Fortress at Vladikavkáz	463	Complaint of the Kozáks	485
Shops at Vladikavkáz... ..	464	Teülutians.....	<i>ib.</i>
Departure from Vladikavkáz	<i>ib.</i>	A Cat their Oracle.....	<i>ib.</i>
Beautiful Defile	465	Singular Punishment	486
Maksímkina.....	466	Collection of Taxes.....	<i>ib.</i>
Defile of Lars	<i>ib.</i>	The Arágua.....	487
Village of Lars.....	<i>ib.</i>	Conduct of an Ossetian	<i>ib.</i>
Defile of Dariél	467	The Vale of Passánanoor	488
		The Fort of Passánanoor	<i>ib.</i>
CHAP. XI.		The Quarantine of Ananoor.....	489
Defile of Dariél	469	The Fortress of Ananoor	490
View of the Caucasus... ..	<i>ib.</i>	The Church of Ananoor.....	<i>ib.</i>
Subterranean Road.....	470	New Quarantine	491
The Térek.....	<i>ib.</i>	The Castle of Dushét... ..	<i>ib.</i>
Improvements of Roads in the Caucasus	471	The Town of Dushét	492
The Fortress of Dariél	<i>ib.</i>	Ploughing in Georgia... ..	<i>ib.</i>
The Ancient Castle of Dariél.....	472	The Vale of Arágua	<i>ib.</i>
Mountain Tribes of the Caucasus	473	Khartiskárst. — Msket	493
Impolitic Conduct of Russia.....	474	The Koor	494
Village of Kazbék	475	The Cathedral of Msket	495
Inhabitants of Kazbék	476	Introduction of Christianity into Georgia	496
Mountain of Kazbék	<i>ib.</i>	The Tsars of Georgia... ..	497
Cathedral of Kazbék.....	477	Anecdote	498
Mount Zion.....	<i>ib.</i>	Passage of the Caucasus	<i>ib.</i>
Kóbi... ..	478		
Departure from Kóbi... ..	479		

CHAP. XII.		Page		Page
Roman Bridge over the			General Yermólof's	
Koor	504		House	518
Caverns near Msket.....	506		The Arsenal at Tiflís ...	<i>ib.</i>
Remarkable Change of			The Public Gardens at	
Scenery	<i>ib.</i>		Tiflís	<i>ib.</i>
View of Tiflís.....	507		The Dépôt de Cartes at	
Arrival at Tiflís	<i>ib.</i>		Tiflís.....	<i>ib.</i>
Lodgings at Tiflís.....	508		New Square at Tiflís ...	519
General Yermólof	<i>ib.</i>		Anecdote... ..	<i>ib.</i>
General Vilyemínof.....	509		The Castle of Tiflís.....	520
Mr. Grabáritch.....	<i>ib.</i>		The Suburb, Avlabári... ..	521
History of Tiflís.....	510		Old Fortress of Tiflís... ..	<i>ib.</i>
Derivation of its Name	511		The Crown-Baths at	
Situation of Tiflís	<i>ib.</i>		Tiflís.....	522
Population of Tiflís.....	<i>ib.</i>		Champooing at Tiflís ...	523
Divisions of Tiflís.....	512		Luxury of the Tiflís	
Appearance of Tiflís... ..	513		Baths.....	<i>ib.</i>
Streets and Houses of			Temperature of the	
Tiflís.....	514		Warm Springs of	
Boordooks of Wine.....	515		Tiflís.....	524
Current Money at Tiflís	516		Their General Nature...	525
The Bazárs at Tiflís... ..	<i>ib.</i>		Mineralogical Remarks	<i>ib.</i>
Caravansarais at Tiflís	517		Singular Diversion	526
			Corruption of Morals...	<i>ib.</i>
			An Albinos.....	527

LIST OF THE VIGNETTES

IN

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

No.	Page
1. A Russian Officer Travelling in a Teléga.....	1

CHAP. II.

2. Russian Travelling in Winter. — Mode of Drawing Water. — Costumes of the Peasants	46
---	----

CHAP. III.

3. A View of Odéssa, with its Cathedral in the Centre...	102
--	-----

CHAP. IV.

4. The Plan of Odéssa.....	157
----------------------------	-----

CHAP. V.

5. A Russian Kabák, or Tippling-house	211
---	-----

CHAP. VI.

6. Mausoleums of the Khans of the Krimea at Baktchi- seräi.....	257
--	-----

CHAP. VII.

7. The Mountain Ayu-Dagh, and the Village Yursúf, in the Krimea.....	294
---	-----

CHAP. VIII.

8. The Vale of Sudák.....	336
---------------------------	-----

CHAP. IX.

9. A <i>Vishka</i> , or Observatory, in the Kubán	373
---	-----

CHAP. X.

10. Warm Baths at Konstantínogórsk, and Kalmuk Kibítkas	422
---	-----

CHAP. XI.

11. The Ancient Castle of Dariél, and the Bridge of the Térek.....	468
---	-----

CHAP. XII.

12. Roman Bridge and Towers, on the Koor, in Georgia...	504
---	-----

Lately published,

BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

In one large volume 4to, Price 4*l.* 4*s.* boards, with a Plan,
and numerous Engravings, by EDWARD FINDEN,

THE CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS,

AND A

DETAILED HISTORY OF MOSCOW.

With a Dissertation on the Russian Language : and an Appendix, containing Tables, Political, Statistical, and Historical ; an Account of the Imperial Agricultural Society of Moscow ; a Catalogue of Plants found in and near Moscow ; an Essay on the Origin and Progress of Architecture in Russia, &c. &c.

Also, a Pamphlet, Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE ORGANIZATION, ADMINISTRATION, AND
PRESENT STATE

OF THE

MILITARY COLONIES IN RUSSIA,

With an APPENDIX, containing Statistical Tables, &c. &c.

London : Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand ; and
W. Blackwood, Edinburgh.

Just printed for the Author, and to be had at 45. Haymarket,

AN ANSWER

TO

THE OBSERVATIONS ON THE ABOVE WORKS

CONTAINED IN

No. 81. OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.



CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW. — KOLÓMENSKOYÉ. — TSARITSIN. — PODÓLSK. — GRAVEN IMAGES. — CATHARINE II. AND COUNT MOMÓNOF. — SÉLO MÓLODI. — CRITICISM ON DR. CLARKE. — LAPÁSNA. — SUNDAY MARKET. — SEMEONOVSKOYÉ. — ILLUSTRATION OF RUSSIAN NATIONAL CHARACTER AND MANNERS. — GENERAL NASTCHÓKIN. — MINERAL WATERS OF SEMEONOVSKOYÉ. — SÉRPUCHOF. — CURIOUS CUSTOMS. — THE RIVER OKÁ. — VOSHAN. — VOLOTYA. — POSTMASTER'S TRICK. — TÚLA. — ARM-FABRIC.

ON the 10th (22d. N. S.) April, 1822, all preparations having been made for a long journey, our *podorojné* *, was duly registered at the post-house, and the *smotritel* †, according to custom, received

* Order for pošt-horses.

† Post-master.

a douceur for his trouble. We soon reached the barrier of Sérpuchof (as it is called), the *schlagbaum* of which being let down by a sentinel our progress was prevented. One of our servants descended to the officer on duty, got the *podorojné* duly entered in the book kept on purpose, and gave the clerk the usual drink money ; we were then allowed to proceed, and left Moscow behind us.

The village Danilovskoyé, immediately without the barrier, warns the traveller that he is instantaneously translated from the ancient capital of Russia to the country. The snow having but lately disappeared, we found the road in many places very bad, and in others extremely winding. At the distance of three and of six versts, from two hills, we had beautiful birds-eye views of the immense and magnificent capital of the ancient Tsars, which, in my opinion, are far more interesting than the well known and celebrated view from the Sparrow-hill. The city is spread before us upon an extensive plain. It has the form of a crescent, with the Dónskoi monastery on the west ; the elevated Kremle with the imperial palace, the towering Ivan Velikii, a crowd of monasteries and churches, surmounted by numerous resplendent gilded and painted domes in the centre ; and the Simeonovskoi monastery on the east. The river Moskva flowing through the city ; innumerable churches and towers ; gilded, tinned, and painted

spires and domes ; an immensity of buildings great and small, with their white, yellow, blue, green, and purple walls, and their red and green, blue and black roofs, extending all around, in many places intermixed with small wooden sombre-looking houses, surrounded by open spaces, trees, gardens, and parks, — all encircled with the foliage and the green covering of nature of the diversified environs, — contribute to fill up the enchanting panorama. From the variety of objects and surfaces, a decomposition and reflection of light, a divergence and mixture of the solar rays, a glittering or rather dazzling splendour are produced, which, combined with the number, the magnitude, and the beauty of many of those objects, has an effect upon the beholder imposing and indescribable ; his wonder and admiration are excited.

Kolómenskoyé, with its old churches and pyramidal towers, charmingly situated amid gardens and trees, on the Moskva river, rises upon the left. This villa was the favourite residence of the Tsar Alexii Michailovitch, and disputes the honor of having given birth to Peter the Great, with the old palace in the Kremlé of Moscow.* We passed the road which conducts to Tsaritzin, and soon afterwards the gloomy pavilions of this beautiful imperial retreat, burst upon the sight, though at a considerable distance. We remarked different no-

* Character of the Russians, &c. p. 176.

blemen's seats, both on the right and left, and passed through a number of villages, as Trubetskoyé and Molotsi, before reaching the first station. The road was full of deep hollows, and extremely winding. In many places we were obliged to walk the horses; in others ditches were to be crossed; and we were frequently on the point of being overturned. When it was possible to trot, the jolting was most disagreeable, and gave a complete idea of the roads of Russia in the spring. Near Podólsk, and nearly thirty-three versts from the ancient capital, is a large square column, which indicates the contiguous boundaries of the districts of Moscow and Podólsk. Here the banks of the Pachra are woody and romantic. The floating bridge, usually found in the village in summer, not having been re-established since the breaking up of the ice, we crossed this river upon a raft, and landed opposite the post-house. Having delivered our podorojné, by the almost infallible expedient of drink-money, we obtained horses immediately.

Podóle, or Podólsk, was formerly reckoned a *sélo*, or village with a church, but it was constituted a district-town in the reign of Catharine the Second. Paul, however, took away its dignity by making it a village; but the present monarch, approving Catharine's plans, a second time dignified it with the appellation of town. The Pachra *, a

* By mistake, this river is named the *Mockra* by CLARKE. Travels, p. 174.

river of considerable size, at least in the spring, divides Podólsk into two parts; the communication between which is maintained in winter by the ice, in spring by a raft, and in summer by a floating bridge.

Podólsk, though but thirty-three versts from Moscow, a district town, and in a populous neighbourhood, consists chiefly of a single street, contains not much above a hundred houses, a few of which are built of stone, and has but a paltry appearance. The large edifice for the tribunals of the district, a church dedicated to the resurrection, and another fine temple now erecting, chiefly attract notice. The number of its inhabitants, I should suppose, over-rated, at 1000 souls. It was burned during the campaign of the French in 1812, and through it part of Kutúzof's army passed, when that general, by a most masterly movement, after his retreat to Moscow, marched from the Kolómna to the Kalúga road, and thus got into the rear of the French army. Upon the success or failure of this manœuvre the fate of the Russian forces, and perhaps of Russia, depended.

In consequence of the attention which I had paid to the religion of the Russians, and especially to their worship of graven images — not pictures or paintings — two small prayer-houses merited particular examination. One of these edifices (*Tchasóvnya*) is situated on the north-west side of the Pachra, and contains a solid representation of

the crucifixion, surrounded by small statues of the Virgin Mary and the saints. In another prayer-house on the south-west side of the same river, is to be seen a bas-relief brass image of St. Nicholas, nearly similar to the favorite images of this saint, which I have elsewhere particularly described.* The tomb of Christ, with saints around it, and the dungeon in which he is sitting in a melancholy attitude, with a black mantle thrown over him, and an armed guard on each side, form a kind of *ikonostas*, or transept, and only claim notice because all the figures, which are about a foot in height, appear to be cut out of wood or some other solid substance, and receive the *homage* of the passing peasantry, and at least the *reverence* even of the nobles and the clergy.

The ignorance of many of the last class is but too notorious. I have conversed with some who themselves had very confused notions about the respect, reverence, or adoration of the holy images, and with others, who had the frankness to allow that the peasants held them in the place of gods. What can be expected of a clergy so low in the scale of society as the Russian? I once overtook a monk, who was fatigued and unwell, upon the road to Ostrof, a country-seat of the Countess Orlof, near Moscow, whom no persuasion could induce to share my carriage, although he willingly got

* Character of the Russians, p. 199.

up behind it, and was thus conveyed to his abode, a neighbouring monastery. Numerous such examples have come within my observation, while it has not rarely happened that I have been disgusted by a contrary conduct, because I bore no *insignia* of rank or honour. The assumed consequence and pretensions of some of the priests, coupled with their extreme ignorance, has often excited my contempt, and still oftener my pity.

Leaving Podólsk, we soon passed the fine estate and immense establishment of Count Momónof, called Dubróvitsi, which fixes the attention of the traveller equally from the history of its former and of its present proprietor, and the beauty and magnificence of the residence. The late Count Momónof was one of the favourites of the Empress Catharine II., and, like the rest of them, made his fortune by the licentiousness of his sovereign.

Of the incredible sum of 92,820,000 roubles, which Catharine lavished upon her favourites in the course of thirty-four years, Momónof, *whose reign* endured but twenty-six months, received only the small share of 880,000, though still a handsome fortune. Potyémkin alone received above 50,000,000; and the five brothers of the Orlofs had above 17,000,000 roubles divided among them. Such unwarranted prodigality of the public revenues, accompanied by the most shameless immorality on the part of the Empress, must have roused the indignation and the enmity

of thousands of individuals, the expression of which was only restrained by the pressure of uncontrolled and reckless despotism.

When we recollect the manner in which Catharine ascended the throne, with the blood of her murdered husband upon her head ; when we recollect too the summary mode of revenge which afterwards put an untimely end to the days of Paul, we may be justly surprised how she, — with all her talents, her genius, and her knowledge of mankind, her vigilance, her penetration, and her wisdom, — who dared so openly to insult humanity, so profusely to squander away the national money, yet escaped the effect of public indignation, and after thirty-four years' reign, died a natural death.

Momónof, with all the favours he enjoyed, proved an unfaithful favourite. The solid proofs of her fondness which Catharine lavished on him could not secure his heart ; although she for some time flattered herself that she possessed it. The wily sovereign at length discovered that Princess Stcherbátov was the object of Momónof's adoration, and consented to their marriage, as a measure of wise policy at the time. But it appears pretty evident that revenge rankled in her heart, and that she only awaited an opportunity or a pretence for indulging it, which she at length did, in a manner so unworthy of her sex, so indecorous, and so despotical, that the act leaves a stigma of ignominy upon her character which time will never efface.

It was alleged that Momónof communicated the secrets of his amorous interviews with Catharine to his lady, who divulged them with a levity injurious to that sovereign. But the princess had occasion to repent this indiscretion. One night after she and her husband had retired to rest, their chambers were entered by the master of the police and six of his myrmidons, disguised as women, who seized the princess, stripped her, and inflicted upon her the most degrading corporal punishment, of which Momónof was an unwilling spectator, being obliged to remain on his knees during the operation. The master of the police concluded his unwelcome visit by informing his victims that this was the way in which the Empress punished a first indiscretion, and that a second would be followed by banishment to Siberia. *

Momónof himself was a very capricious character, especially in his old age, and so fond of show, that even when he dined alone, forty or fifty covers were put upon the table. At his death, his fortune fell into the hands of his son, the present count, a very eccentric being. During the late invasion of Russia by the French, moved by an enthusiastic spirit of patriotism, which his large fortune enabled him fully to demonstrate, he raised and completely equipped a thousand troops at his own expence, and then tendered their ser-

* Vide Life of Catharine II., vol. iii. p. 311. and 385.

vices to his sovereign. The command of this regiment was given to him, an honor which, I believe, he retained even in Germany and France ; but some irregularities having been committed, the count was *requested to resign his situation* ; which was tantamount to an irresistible order. To a young and ardent mind, anxious for military glory, the disgrace was insupportable : he withdrew from the world and retired to Dubróvitsi, where he still lives in complete solitude. All his orders are given to his steward in writing : all his meals are ordered in notes, and when placed upon the table, the servants retire. Private walks are made in the garden, and when he goes to church, it is through a covered avenue, into which none are allowed to enter. His devotions performed, he returns to his solitary apartment. In fact, the Count is a hermit in a magnificent palace. Report says, he is occupied in the composition of a literary work.

Seventeen versts beyond Podólsk, is *Mólodi Sélo*, or the *village with a church Mólodi*, which belongs to Madame Krotkof. The church, imposing at a short distance from its gaudy colours and paintings, and not inelegant in its architecture ; the two storied house of the proprietor ; the fantastic gardens ; and numerous pillars on each side of the road, between which we passed on quitting the village ; though mostly in bad taste, yet, by the singular contrast which they form to the sombre

wooden dwellings of the peasantry, relieve the eye, at least, by variety.

Although I resided for some time near *Sélo Mólodi*, I never heard that its late lord and master, Mr. Krotkof, was guilty of unusual cruelty to his slaves, yet one of the most striking pictures of the oppression under which Dr. Clarke represents the peasants of Russia to labour, was furnished by this village. I shall quote his own words: “A peasant in the village of *Sélo Mólodi*, near Moscow, who had been fortunate enough to scrape together a little wealth, wished to marry his daughter to a tradesman of the city; and for that purpose, that she should be free, he offered fifteen thousand roubles for her liberty; a most unusual price of freedom, and a much greater sum than persons of his class, situated as he was, will be found to possess. The tyrant took the ransom; and then told the father, that both the girl and the money belonged to him; and, therefore, she must still continue among the number of his slaves. What a picture do these facts afford of the state of Russia! It is thus we behold the subjects of a vast empire, stripped of all they possess, and existing in the most abject servitude; victims of tyranny and torture; of sorrow and poverty; of sickness and famine.”*

To pretend that such instances of injustice and cruelty do not occur with some of a privileged,

* Clarke's Travels, p. 170.

and at times tyrannical aristocracy, would be to assume more perfection in the Russians than falls to the lot of humanity. Wherever the few have the power to oppress the many, especially when without the least chance of being called to account, the worst of passions will be now and then indulged, and will lead to the most infamous actions. In a country, in which a servant may one moment be addressed with the caressing epithet, *Moi Golúbtchik* (my dove or dear), from the mouth of his lord, and the next by a very usual transition, receive a box on the ear, or have his hair pulled by a capricious master, would it be reasonable to expect no extraordinary cases of inhuman conduct? In admitting such an occurrence, however, I would by no means wish to make the reader believe that I agree with Dr. Clarke in the general and severe conclusion which he has drawn from a solitary case. I have had some experience in Russia, and have never known its parallel; a satisfactory proof that the circumstance is not common. But while I dissent from his sweeping censure, I must not be understood to defend the Russian nobles against their well-known prominent vices, or their general deficiency in moral principles. I keep before me, the great object, of which I have spoken at length in another work, of impressing upon my readers, that the fate of tens of millions of human beings, though doomed by nature to be slaves, is not nearly so hard as some writers have represented.

After passing Sélo Mólodi, the road continued

equally bad, and so extremely winding as to double or triple the real distance of the next station. About thirteen versts from Saphónova, one of the carriages got completely fixed in one of those almost impassable quagmires which impede the traveller's progress in spring, and especially on the road from Moscow to Sérpuchof. The irregular efforts of the coachmen and postillions of both equipages were ineffectual, they made much noise, but the carriage was immoveable; and it was not till I took my seat on the box and persuaded the men to make a simultaneous effort with the horses, that we succeeded in setting it once more in motion. Of all equipages the *teléga* is the best adapted for Russia. The velocity with which travellers, and especially couriers, proceed in this simple vehicle, is truly astonishing, and is not overcharged by the representation at the head of this chapter.

After a tedious journey we reached Lapásna in the night, a village situated on both sides of the river of the same name. This river is very shallow and paltry in summer, and though on the great road from Moscow to the Ukraine, it is not furnished with even a floating bridge. This is the more extraordinary, as the ford is extremely difficult, especially on the south side, and carriages are frequently injured greatly, or broken to pieces in the passage. In spring the river is crossed by a raft, and in winter upon the ice.

Lapásna is a very large village, composed of a

long range of houses on each side of the road, besides some back streets, or rather rows of houses. It is chiefly built of wood, although we remarked a few brick houses, one of which is a *kabák*, or tavern, in those days the almost never-failing concomitant of the smallest village in the empire. In Lapásna a number of apartments are kept by different individuals for the accommodation of travellers. On quitting Moscow such rooms are generally reckoned very uncomfortable; but by the time a traveller has gone over a few thousand versts of Russian territory he would rejoice at the prospect of passing a night in them: they are palaces in comparison of the lodgings which must be borne with in the Krimea, or the Caucasus. The inhabitants of Lapásna are chiefly *yámstchiks*, or post-boors, and are the greatest impostors and rogues I have met with in their line of life, during my travels in Russia.

I was present at a Sunday market, which is held regularly here, when on my return from visiting a patient, in the summer of 1821, and stopped my carriage amidst its bustle and confusion, to view the scene. Groups of rudely habited peasants, male and female, were occupied in buying and selling all sorts of provisions for man and beast. Coarse cloth, sheep-skin *shoobs*, wool, butcher-meat, of different kinds, salt, common sorts of fruit, vegetables, spice-cakes, confections, and water-melons were in abundance, ; earthen dishes, ready made windows,

ironmongery, wooden dishes, *lapti*, or shoes made of linden bark, and live animals, were all huddled together in the greatest confusion: but what had rather a disagreeable effect was, a number of coffins, painted and unpainted, very prominently displayed upon a cart, which met with a ready sale. This picture gives a pretty correct idea of a Russian market, in the district towns and villages throughout Russia, as well as in the countries which she has either conquered or treacherously seized.

Adjoining to Lapásna there is a country house, with extensive gardens, and a cloth-manufactory in ruins, which belong to one of the members of the family of Vassiltchikof; a family which possesses many estates in the neighbourhood, and which has acquired considerable renown by the bravery of general Vassiltchikof, during the campaign of 1812, 13, 14.

Having changed horses, we forded the Lapásna, luckily, without any accident, and passed the estate of Mr. K. V. Vassiltchikof, called Manishka, on the left. The proprietor is a singular character; he is a great hunter, and being much devoted to botany, has ornamented his hot-houses by a well-chosen though small collection of plants. He is extremely hospitable, and does not hesitate (as he says) “to do English honours to the bottle.”

Seven versts beyond Lapásna, the village of Saphónova is remarkable only on account of a small

column at its north end, which indicates to the traveller the road to Semeonovskoyé, one of the most delightful estates which I have seen in Russia. At twelve versts distance from Sérpuchof, and just beyond the village Moskóvka, the noble house, the elegant church, and proud towers of this villa burst upon our view, with a beautiful landscape in the foreground. As there are many villages named Semeonovskoyé in Russia, and especially as there is one of the same name at no great distance, which belongs to count Vladimir Orlof, the noble proprietor thought proper, by way of distinction, to call his estate *Rai-Semeonovskoyé*, or *Paradise-Semeonovskoyé*. I resided eight months at this charming place, but alas! I found, that although nature had made it a terrestrial paradise, man had made it a pandemonium. I would recommend the traveller for pleasure to make a detour of a few versts in order to see this fine seat, and he will afterwards be conducted by an agreeable road to Sérpuchof. Semeonovskoyé commands delightful and extensive views, and had the efforts of man, in its improvement and government, been nearly proportionate to the bounty of nature, it might, perhaps, have had as many claims to the title of "*Paradise*" as most spots on the surface of the globe.

I shall never have a better opportunity of illustrating the national character of the Russians than by pausing a little here. While residing in Peters-

burgh, in the spring of 1820, a young man called upon me with a message from General Nastchókin, who begged that I would wait upon him the next morning; I did so, and found the object he had in view was to propose an engagement to me to become his physician, and to reside at Semeonovskoyé. He informed me that upon this estate there were excellent mineral waters, which were frequented by about twenty or thirty families every summer; that the resident physician received a revenue of three, four, or five thousand roubles from the invalids, besides the salary he gave himself, and the proceeds of practice among the neighbouring nobility; and that a more desirable situation was not to be found in the world. In order to convince me of the certainty of gaining so much money, he offered to give me four thousand roubles for the chance of all I should get by the invalids who came to the waters. But when I consented to this, he excused himself by saying, he did not wish “to deceive and rob me by taking my money, which, on such conditions, would certainly be the case,” because I should assuredly gain a greater sum than four thousand roubles. The General now put into my hands a register of all the persons who, he said, had been invalids at Semeonovskoyé the preceding summer; most of whom, I afterwards discovered, were relations and neighbours, who had passed a day or two at his festivals, and had enjoyed the best health. He

next showed me a pamphlet, of which I have a copy, and which bears the following title: “Wonderful Cure, or a Journey to the Waters of our Saviour, in the village Rai-Semeonovskoyé, which belongs to General Nastchokin.” This pamphlet consists of eighty pages, and the preface is signed by E. I., who pretends to have been an old valetudinarian officer, who had been every where in search of health, and at length found it in Paradise-Semeonovskoyé. For the *benefit* of his countrymen he makes known his own case, recommends in high strains the mineral waters of our Saviour, and gives a detailed account of General Nastchokin’s celebrated village. Again and again he is lavish to fulsomeness in praise of the proprietor, drags in a short poem which was composed by an invalid as a mark of his gratitude, and even most unappropriately bestows the celebrated words of Catharine II., which were merited by Prince Orlof, upon the hero of his theme:—

“Russia has such sons.”*

The reader will be as much surprised as I was on learning that this paragon of perfection was his own biographer, and with the assistance of a young

* The Empress Catharine II. had a medal struck in honour of Prince Orlof’s success in quelling the rebellion, and expelling the plague from Moscow; on one side of which is his portrait, and the other represents him in the character of Curtius leaping into the gulph, with the above inscription in Russian.

man whom he chose to call his police-master, composed the pamphlet, and published it at his own expence.

But to return, his Excellency next informed me that there was an apothecary's shop, which was privileged* in his village: this I found so far correct, that the shop existed, but it was not privileged, although an attempt had been twice made to obtain the privilege, *i. e.* the power of selling medicines, and of compounding them according to physicians' prescriptions. As an additional encouragement, he assured me, that not only the physician, but also the apothecary, at Semeonovskoyé, was reckoned in the civil service of the crown, and obtained all the consequent advantages in point of rank, which I discovered to be a violation of truth. He then offered me *the annual salary fixed by the crown*, which I refused, and he augmented it. At this time I was not acquainted with the character of General Nastchokin, nor were any of my Petersburg friends. At length all the terms were definitively settled, and a *perpetual contract*, as it is called, which might be cancelled with three months' notice by either party, was drawn up and signed by the General and myself. A petition was next written and signed by me, which his Excellency said was abso-

* In Russia no public apothecary's shop is allowed to be opened without a special privilege.

lutely necessary to be done, purporting to beg the minister of the interior to grant me the vacant situation in the civil service at Semeonovskoyé; a petition which, I afterwards learned, was never intended to be presented, but was drawn up in order the better to deceive me.

The reader who is familiar with the new comedy of Imposition and Laughter, and who knows that the General is the chief of the *dramatis personæ*, will not be astonished at the above conduct of a nobleman covered with crosses, ribands, and honours.

General Natschokin is descended from a respectable family, and received what is called in Russia, a genteel education, by which may be very frequently understood a combination of French levity and manners with national cunning and deceit, and the faculty of speaking two, three, or more foreign languages, especially French. He was brought up in great awe of his father, who is said to have been a good kind of man, and to have possessed excellent moral and religious principles; an association by no means frequent in the northern empire. He married early in life, and by his lady he had a number of children. At his father's death he became proprietor of some excellent estates, and above 4000 peasants, a handsome though not a colossal fortune, in Russia. By proper conduct he might have been one of the most independent and happy nobles in his country, and have rendered Semeonovskoyé an earthly

paradise ; but by the system of life which he has pursued, he has been involved in a rapid succession and augmentation of difficulties ; the offspring of perverted principles, bad habits, and an ill-regulated mind. His eagerness for worldly rank and popular applause exceeds imagination, and is carried even to childishness ; his credulity and superstition know no bounds ; his low cunning, and his profound dissimulation and craft surpass the powers of description, and his open breaches of the laws of honour, virtue, and religion are quite notorious. He is passionately fond of society ; indeed, his life seems to centre, not in himself, but in his communications with others. Cards, balls, concerts, theatres, masquerades, promenades, dinner-parties, supper-parties, riding-parties, and journies from one place to another, occupy the most of his time, and the remainder is devoted to giving a few directions about the management of his estates, but especially in writing evasive answers to his many creditors, and instructions to his agents about his numerous law processes. Having spent a few years of his life, during Paul's reign, at court, he has acquired most extravagant ideas, and would wish to be a sovereign in all his actions, notwithstanding his inconsistencies, the inadequacy of his means, and an overwhelming load of debt. His recreations, amusements, and extravagance have been the ruin.

of his fortune, and most probably the destruction of his moral and religious character.

Like a great number of the Russian nobility, when resident upon their estates, he gives a weekly dinner to his friends or neighbours, which is followed by every kind of enjoyment, as we shall see immediately. No one ever showed more anxiety to assemble large parties, either on Sundays or festivals. He sends the most pressing invitations to all ranks of the nobility within twenty or thirty miles of Semeonovskoyé, begging them to honour him with their company; and from Sérpuhof, which is only twelve miles distant from that village, he is generally flattered by the appearance of a party of those hungry gentlemen who are attached to the tribunals of the district. The Sunday commences with dressing, drinking tea and coffee, and conversation with some of the inmates of the house. The guests begin to assemble, and as many as have arrived by eleven o'clock, generally accompany his Excellency to church, which is only about forty yards distant from the house. Yet in the finest weather, a large lineika (a kind of long half-open double-seated carriage, in which a dozen or more persons can sit), with four horses and a couple of lackeys, besides carriages and droshkis, are always in attendance, and are generally used to convey and bring back those who avail themselves of the opportunity from the place of worship. The church service continues till

about twelve o'clock, and during its performance, the general affects the greatest attention and devotion. Having got into the carriages, the party roll along to the house, in which, in the meantime, a number more visitors have assembled. The *dejeuner*, consisting of bread, butter, salt herrings, pickled fish, radishes, caviar, &c. &c. with a glass of sweet vodtki, occupies the next half hour. The party now get into groups for conversation, for walking, for cards, and other amusements. Dinner is served up at three o'clock, and generally consists of a number of excellent dishes, prepared in the French style, besides some national dishes. A few glasses of wine, and often of excellent wine of different kinds, are offered to each guest. The party now retire from table, and coffee is handed round. Again the company are in a great degree left to their own will. Some immediately recommence cards, some go to walk, and others to ride, and the remainder to take a *siesta*: and in summer, it is not rare for the whole party to withdraw to the arms of Morpheus. Between six and seven o'clock, a general muster again takes place, and tea is drunk either in the house, or, when the weather permits, in the garden. Those who remain, now adjourn to the theatre or to the ball-room, and there, besides having their minds or bodies occupied, are supplied with lemonade, grog, and negus. About eleven or twelve o'clock, the day concludes with a good supper, and at an early

hour, the guests either return home or retire to their apartments for repose. At their departure, all are heartily thanked for their company, and receive the fervent benediction of their host.

Such is a pretty general picture of the manner in which the hallowed day is spent by the nobles of the Russian empire. Those who are rich become hosts, and those who are poor form guests. Few of them get intoxicated with wine or spirits, but all with amusement and folly. They thus thoughtlessly and extravagantly expend their money and get into debt. But still they go on from year to year as long as they can force the wheels of fortune to revolve, and generally when they die, their affairs are in a state of great confusion, and their estates entailed.

So strong is the passion for entertaining company among the Russian nobles, that were it possible to find the means of supporting it, and to obtain a succession of guests, every day would be passed as they spend Sunday ; and indeed some of the richer individuals keep open table throughout the year.

About the year 1810, the mineral waters of Semeonovskoyé were discovered, and some noise having been made respecting them, Professor Reüss, of the university of Moscow, was employed to analyze them in 1812 or 1813. General Nastchokin afterwards engaged the professor to pass the vacation months with him, and to act as physician, which he did during two summers. The analysis

of the waters was published, as well as a minute account of the diseases in which they would become serviceable. Advertisements appeared continually in the papers in their celebration, and, in a word, every effort was made to bring them into notice. To a certain extent the plan was successful. A number of invalids resorted to Semeonovskoyé, and the general was elated with his success, as by this means he was to secure a succession of company, and at the same time to make that company a source of revenue. A permanent physician was now engaged, and a number of houses were erected for the accommodation of the sick, the invalid, or those who came for mere pleasure. Every season the physician was changed in consequence of quarrels which had taken place. In the mean time, the number of those who frequented the springs annually diminished, and unfortunately for the general, he attributed this to the want of proper accommodations. A fine wood was immediately cut down, and no less than fifteen houses, each capable of containing a nobleman's family, suddenly arose and formed a new street, besides a theatre, an hospital, an apothecary's shop, and an inn, "*Restauration aux armes du Seigneur*;" while a number of the peasants' cottages underwent a thorough repair, and were adapted for the accommodation of the poorer classes. Equipages of all kinds were bought, and they, as well as saddle-horses, were to be hired by

the day or by the month. Assembly-rooms were arranged, which served for the entertainment of invited parties. A person, bearing the name of *police-master*, was also placed in the village, who, among his other duties, had particular charge of the *fire-engine*. Semeonovskoyé assumed the appearance of a colony, and was much beautified by a fine boulevard and a Chinese temple. Two regular streets terminate in corresponding barriers or *zastávas*, with a couple of columns, similar to what we see in all the principal towns of Russia. But these preparations were made in vain; for those in search of health go not to find that lost treasure at Semeonovskoyé. The fact is, the general ruined his own scheme by his slanderous tongue, his capricious conduct, and his mean actions. Those entertained with sumptuous dinners, balls, concerts, and suppers, had no sooner gone into another room, than his Excellency took delight in traducing one individual after another till the whole society had received their meed of abuse. The visitors soon found they had all been the sport of the general's sharp tongue, (*langue tranchante*,) as one of them well called it. Friends and relations shared the same fate. All the slander of the district (and who knows how much of it originated within his own brain), was repeated to every guest who came in his way.

The two springs, — perhaps somewhat profanely nominated the “Waters of our Saviour,” because

the copy of the image of our Saviour, not made with hands, to which the church in Semeonovskoyé is dedicated, was transported thither, and with much ceremony placed in the rotunda which is erected over them, — are of a saline and ferruginous nature ; while another spring, called “ The Spring of Yazikof,” is remarkable for its purity, if Professor Reüss’s statements can be fully relied on. I shall here quote the tabular form of his analysis of all the three springs.

A Pound, of Sixteen Ounces, of the Waters of Our Saviour contained

	Spring,	
	No. 1.	No. 2.
Carbonate of iron, - - -	0.212	0.287
Carbonate of manganeze, - - -	0.006	0.012
Carbonate of lime, - - -	0.324	0.245
Sub-carbonate of Magnesia, - -	0.012	0.012
Alumina, - - -	0.050	0.050
Silica, - - -	0.264	0.303
Alkaline muriate, (muriate alcalin) - -	0.025	0.025
Extractive, - - -	0.224	0.256
	1.107	1.190

A Pound, of Sixteen Ounces, of the Water of Yazikof.

Carbonate of lime, - - -	0.060
Sulphate of lime, - - -	0.030
Muriate of lime, - - -	0.000
Alumina, - - -	0.035
Silica, - - -	0.103
Oxide of iron, - - -	0.008
Resino-gummy extractive, - - -	0.034
Gummy extractive, - - -	0.023
Total,	0.293

Speaking of the water of Yazikof, Professor Reüss says, “ When we compare this water with the purest springs which we know, we find that it surpasses them much in purity.”

Never was there a better example of the inordinate curiosity which is pretty generally prevalent among the Russian nobles *, than at Semeonovskoyé. The most insignificant occurrence could not take place, the most trifling observation could scarcely be made, without its being communicated to the general. Nor could the ostentation be made better known, which is characteristic of these seigneurs. To such a degree does its lord carry this feeling, that at the approach of a visitor, his band of musicians are ordered immediately to take their station in the Chinese tower, and, as they pass, to astonish them by a sudden burst of instrumental music. One of the servants who had been appointed to keep watch in the tower, but failed in his duty, and allowed a prince to arrive without having surprised him in this manner, was severely punished.

The estate of the Gurief family on the left presented one of those pleasing sights which are so frequent in Russia ; — the elegant parish church, the mansion of the noble, and the country village, rising together amidst luxuriant trees, verdant fields, lowing herds, and groups of active peasants.

* Character of the Russians, p. cv.

A ride of ten versts through woods alternating with open undulating country, and presenting beautiful and diversified views, brought us to Sérpuchof.

Sérpuchof is the chief town of a district of the same name, in the government of Moscow, and is only 93 versts distant from the ancient capital. Its situation is elevated and romantic, and commands extensive views of a very fine country, through which the Oká flows towards the Volga. It lies chiefly upon the side of a hill, or rather, as it appears, of a number of hills with deep ravines between them, which give it a singular appearance. The Nára, a small river, passes through the town, and four versts from it, falls into the Oká. The numerous spires and churches which we had remarked at a distance when approaching Sérpuchof, led us to expect a much more populous and more beautiful town than we found it in reality. Still it is one of the handsomest small towns in the Russian empire; and, according to Dr. Clarke, “it perfectly resembles Newmarket in situation, appearance, and surrounding scenery.”* The figure of the town is oblong, and by no means regular; and it is divided into three quarters by the Nára and the rivulet Serpeika. It is said in the Geographical Dictionary of Russia, that it contains fifty-eight streets and cross streets; but although

* Travels, p. 174.

I resided some months there, I could never discover above a dozen worthy of that name. Some of them, however, are regular, and most of the houses are of wood, others of stone. The churches, eighteen in number, and a couple of monasteries, both from their romantic situations, their gaudy colours, and gilded domes, add a considerable life and beauty to this town. The stranger's attention is arrested by the *plóstchad*, or market-place, an immense oblong square, large enough for a capital of the first magnitude. It is surrounded by shops, in which all kinds of goods are to be found. On market days it is filled with crowds of people, horses and cattle, and *telégas* or carts loaded with provisions, especially corn and timber, and firewood. Though so near Moscow, the latter article does not cost much above one-third of the price which it does in that capital. The large edifice, like a noble palace, which contains all the tribunals and all the public offices of the crown for the district, well deserves a visit from the curious traveller, who is anxious to get an idea of the mode in which civil administration is carried on in the country towns of Russia.

The ancient fortress, situated upon an insulated hill, and surrounded by high sand-stone walls, though falling into ruins, has a somewhat venerable aspect, and adds variety to the view. It was built in the year 1556, as one of the defences against the attacks of the Tartars: and so lately as 1598 it

was fortified strongly, when all the forces of Russia were assembled in Sérpuchof, under Boris Godunof, to oppose the marauders of the Krimea.

Sérpuchof is a busy and industrious town, and it will serve to make known the kind of manufactures which succeed in the vicinity of Moscow, to state, that it contains seven sail-cloth manufactories; eight tanneries; nine breweries; two cloth manufactories; two calico and calico printing fabrics; and one tallow manufactory. The merchants of Sérpuchof carry on an extensive commerce in corn with the neighbouring districts, and with the government of Orél by means of the Oká; they transport it to Moscow in winter by sledge-roads, when carriage is cheap. They are also great dealers in horned-cattle, which they buy in the Ukraine, and drive to Moscow and Petersburg; as well as in fish, honey, wax, tallow, leather, hemp, coarse linen, and timber.

The population of Sérpuchof is said to amount to between 5000 and 6000; and is always greatly augmented by a number of troops. In summer a wooden bridge maintains the communication across the Nára. It is formed of wood, supported on diamond-shaped buttresses. In spring, before the ice breaks up, cart-loads of stones are laid upon it, to prevent its being carried away by the flood of the river, by which it is completely inundated. A raft is then established, and it is most amusing to see men, women, and horses wading up to the

knees in mud, before reaching and after quitting it. In Britain we have little idea of the difficulties and the *désagrémens* of travelling in Russia ; many a dangerous ford is passed, and many a crazy bridge is crossed, without a thought being bestowed on so common an occurrence.

In walking through the streets of Sérpuchof I remarked images, — as pictures of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints of the Russo-Greek rubric, — many of them in frames, over the gates of most of the houses ; a practice which, as far as I know, is not common in many of the towns of Russia.

Another curious custom prevails in this town, at least among the merchants and burgesses. The females do not go to church on week-days, nor even on Sundays, except they be great festivals, till after marriage. I was led to enquire as to the cause of this of a merchant, whose two daughters always remained at home, while his wife and his daughter-in-law were almost daily attendants on divine service. All the answer I ever received was truly Russian ; “ I know not — it is the custom — it is not considered good to act otherwise.”

Having breakfasted at Sérpuchof, on the morning of the 11th, at a good Russian inn, we proceeded on our journey. Soon after passing the *zastáva*, or barrier, we remarked a stone column, the fellow of which we afterwards saw on the south side of the Oká. This river forms the boundary

between the governments of Moscow and Túla, and is one of the largest rivers of European Russia. In spring it is an immense river, and approaches nearly to the barrier of the town, but in summer it is much smaller, though it never loses its majestic appearance. Its banks present fine views, and on its south side is one of the best cloth manufactories, in Russia. This fabric belongs to Mr. Baradúlitch, who makes no difficulty about showing it. The Okâ is, of course, crossed upon the ice in winter ; in spring, for some days after the breaking up of the ice, all communication is stopped for carriages ; but, for transporting the mail, a floating road of barrels and deal planks is formed, and persons on foot carry the bags. As soon as the immense masses of ice have ceased to flow, rafts are employed and continued till about the middle of the month of May, when the Okâ having regained its proper channel, an excellent floating-bridge is arranged. Having crossed this river by a raft,* our horses found so much difficulty in dragging the carriages through heavy sand that we were glad to walk. We now followed the banks of the Okâ for some versts, admiring the extensive rich meadows which are irrigated by inundation in the spring, and which yield extraordinary crops of hay without toil to the husbandman. We then turned to the south, passed the village Lipetski, and continued

* Clarke has given an excellent representation of the passage of the Okâ. --

our route to Závodi, the next post station, through a pleasant and undulating country, though in a great measure destitute of wood, and presenting a white clayey soil. At 13 versts from Závodi we met with an accident, not uncommon in travelling in Russia ; a horse in one of the carriages dropped down and expired. We were then told that the *yamstchik* had only arrived two hours before us at Sérpuchof, from Závodi, with a heavy carriage, and that, as there were no other horses at that station, the *smotritel* had ordered him to return with us. The day was very sultry, and although the horses were evidently fatigued, we did not apprehend such a catastrophe. After bargaining with a number of individuals, who demanded a most exorbitant price, we at length succeeded in obtaining four horses from a neighbouring village for a ten-rouble note, which was considered a moderate sum under such circumstances. Závodi is a village of considerable size, with straw-covered houses, situated in a hollow, and ornamented by a new and elegant post-house. The road having become excellent since we crossed the Okâ, opposed no obstacles to our progress ; and the drive to Voshán was rapid and delightful, as well as that from Voshan to Volótya. Each of these villages is provided likewise with fine post-houses. The country through which we passed appeared fertile, is scattered with villages, but is too bare of wood. We arrived at Volótya in the evening, yet it was our intention only

to change horses there, and to dine at Túla, though late at night. But the *smotritel*, by one of the tricks common to his brethren, deprived us of post-horses; and, as he had apartments, was most desirous that we should pass the night under his roof. Neither persuasion nor menaces had any effect upon him, though I was quite certain that he had post-horses in the court. At length, on proposing terms to him, he asked 15 roubles, and said he would engage peasants' horses for us immediately. I apparently consented, and in the meantime desired him to register our *poderojné* in his book, the number of horses we took, and the post-hire for them, which amounted to six roubles. He did so; and, of course, proved that we were to receive post-horses. I paid down the six roubles, and added, I will arrange for the nine roubles at Túla. Having reached that town I wrote him a note in Russ instead of sending him the money; reminded him of his roguery; threatened to complain against him to the governor; and informed him, that if he had any just claim upon the party, he would find them in the St. Petersburg inn at Túla, and would meet with justice; but we heard no more of him.

During the last station, after having made about half the distance, we, for the first time, employed the drag-chain in descending a steep hill. Darkness came upon us; but at 11 o'clock in the evening we got comfortably housed in the above-named inn.

We passed two days at Túla, and very actively. Next to the capitals, it is one of the most interesting cities in the dominions of Russia, and therefore deserves a particular description. It is the chief town of the government to which it gives a name, and lies upon both sides of the Upa, at the distance of 900 versts from Petersburgh, and 185 versts from Moscow. It is supposed to be a very ancient town, and to have been built by the first inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, the Sarmatians and the Tchoods; but the date of its foundation cannot be fixed with precision. One of the earliest notices of it is in Stritter's Russian History, where he speaks of Sviatoslaf Olgovitch having passed through it, in the year 1147. Ancient Túla, however, did not occupy exactly the same situation as the present town, but was situated on the right bank of the Upa, at the embouchure of the Tulitsa, but of it no traces are now to be seen. Modern Túla was founded in the year 1509, and surrounded by a ditch and rampart. The great importance of this town, situated on the road by which the Tartars and the Poles made irruptions into Russia, induced the Great Duke Vassilii Ioánnovitch to build a citadel in the centre of the fortress, which was commenced in 1514, and finished in seven years. This citadel still exists, and forms an oblong square of great size, with towers at its angles, and gates in the centres of its walls. Within them we remarked the cathedral of the Assumption, a wooden exercise-house, and some salt magazines.

Túla has often been the theatre of war when Russia was invaded by her enemies, and her inhabitants generally behaved with determination and courage, and successfully resisted them. Notwithstanding this, in the year 1605, they received the traitor, the false Dmitrii, with acclamations, and fought in his cause; and, in 1607, they shared in the revolt of another impostor, who called himself “ the Tsaré-vitch, Prince Peter, son of the Tsar Phédor Ivánovitch;” they gave him shelter in the town, and not only defended him, but made different successful sallies. In 1613, when Poland was invaded by the Poles, Túla was ruined and its environs burned. Under the wise government of the Tsar Michail Phédorovitch, it recovered its former prosperity; and, notwithstanding some great fires, especially in 1779 and 1781, up to the present date it has continued to be one of the most populous and flourishing towns in the Russian empire.

The situation of the present Túla is partly low and partly somewhat elevated. It occupies both sides of the Upa, and is formed of three great divisions. The first, on the left bank of that river, and around the citadel, is called the *Posádsкая Stórona*; the second, on its right bank, is named *Zarétskaya Stórona*; and the third, on the same bank, opposite the fortress, is nominated *Tchúlkova Slóboda*; all of which compose four police-quarters, one of which is called the *Orujéinaya Stórona*, on account of its vicinity to the arm-fabric. Two

suburbs, inhabited by the post-boors, likewise lie close to the town. The communications between all the divisions of Túla, are maintained across the Upa by a number of wooden and stone bridges, none of which have any grandeur. The number of houses in Túla may be reckoned at 5000, and that of the inhabitants at 30,000 or 35,000, exclusively of the troops which are always stationed in the town. In it there is a monastery and a nunnery, besides 26 churches, all built of stone. The edifices which chiefly attract the stranger's attention, are the Arm-Manufactory ; the Gymnasium of the government of Túla ; Alexander's School, which was opened in 1802, for the education of youth at the expense of the nobility ; the Foundling Hospital, which is a branch of that at Moscow ; the House of Correction ; the *Ostrog*, or Prison ; the Arsenal ; the Bazaars, or shops, amounting to 7000 or 8000, which deserve examination, especially the hardware and cutlery shops. Some visitors will also find amusement in examining the silk and hat fabrics, and the tanneries. In Túla, it is said, there are 106 streets, a few only of which may be called handsome. There is a continual mixture of wood and stone houses in this town, but the Kiévskaya, and the Bolshoi Million streets are lined on both sides with stone houses, many of which are massy and in good taste.

The *Arm-Fabric* has long been the object which has met with the greatest attention of travellers at

Túla, and we procured easy access to examine it in detail. A short sketch of its origin and progress may precede my remarks as to its present state. About the end of the 16th century the rich iron mines in the neighbourhood of Túla seem to have led to the assembly of about 30 smiths, in one of its suburbs called *Kuznétskaya Slóboda*, or Smith's Suburb, who enjoyed certain immunities and advantages, and who were occupied in making fire-arms and small arms. Their numbers were successively augmented in the years 1686, 1687, and 1707 ; but though the establishment was protected and encouraged by the Tsar Phédor Alexievitch, yet it may be justly said to have been founded by Peter the Great. In the years 1712, 1713, and 1723, many improvements were made by imperial order, and, in the year 1728, it was totally renewed. In the years 1737, 1739, and 1742, different additions and changes were made. The whole fabric was re-established and improved in the year 1785, by Catherine II's. orders ; it was protected and encouraged by the Emperor Paul ; and, since the commencement of the reign of Alexander till the present moment, has received the utmost attention.

An idea of the gradual progress of this manufactory may be formed from the number of hands who have been employed in it at different epochs. As already mentioned, they amounted to 30 at the end of the 16th century ; to 664 in 1704 ; to 2056 in

1724; to only 1688 in 1737, the rest having been allowed to join the merchants; to 4443 in 1762: in the reign of Catherine II. to 5152; and, at present, to 7000. Only one half of this number are, however, in actual employment, there being no great demand for arms in time of peace. The workmen at the arm-fabric still enjoy peculiar immunities and privileges; they form a peculiar body, and have their judges selected from among themselves. Those who are unemployed at the fabric receive passports, go to other towns, and search after employment of different kinds. For this liberty they pay an *obrók*, or tribute, to the treasury of the manufactory. The workmen are divided into five trades — barrel-makers, lock-makers, stock-makers, *appareil* or furnishing-makers, and makers of small-arms. The barrel-makers, the lock-makers, and the small-arm makers, consist each of 20 artels*; and the stock-makers, and the furnishing-makers, consist each of 10 artels. Besides arms, the workmen also make mathematical and physical instruments.

Till the year 1782, a larger or smaller quantity of arms was annually made according to necessity, so that the workmen were sometimes almost without work and provisions, and at other times were necessitated to labour night and day. Subsequently, fire-arms and small-arms were made

* Artels, societies or companies, who have a common purse and funds, and are generally messmates.

annually for 15,000 men. In the year 1797, were made 24,438 fire-arms ; 7553 were repaired ; 4976 small-arms were made, and 8612 repaired. In 1798, were made, fire-arms 45,438, and repaired 6363 ; small-arms 103,434, and repaired 17,340. In 1799, were made, fire-arms 43,388, and repaired 4159 ; small-arms 76,180, and repaired 883.

At the present moment the arm-fabric can easily make 50,000 stand of arms annually ; and, in case of necessity, even 100,000 ; but, of course, they would not be of so good a quality.

As I have elsewhere particularly described the improvements introduced into the arm-fabric of Túla by our countryman, Mr. Jones of Birmingham, I can only shortly allude to them here.* That gentleman has re-organized the whole department of lock-making, and perfected the Russian artizan in the knowledge of his trade. He has also introduced improvements in the formation of most parts of the lock by dies and swedging-pins ; a prodigious saving of labour, in comparison of the old method of forming them by the hammer. The iron used at Túla is all brought from Siberia.† The

* Vide “ Account of the Organization, Administration, and Present State of the Military Colonies in Russia,” &c. p. 52.

† Dr. Macmichael very incorrectly says—“ The articles, among which the chief are bar-iron, bayonets, swords, and muskets, are fabricated from an iron ore *found in the neighbourhood.*” But the Hon. Mr. Strangways properly states, “ that the crown works of Túla employ, exclusively, Siberian iron.” See this gentleman’s very able and highly interesting paper on

greatest obstacles the fabric long encountered arose from ignorance how to make and temper the best steel. But in this respect it is said that the greatest improvements have of late been made. Mr. Jones, most likely, however, will not introduce all his plans at once; and he will do well for himself to receive some reward before he is too free in his communications. Both the government and private noblemen are distinguished in Russia for their extravagant and seducing promises, and even their liberal and prodigal deeds, so long as they have some object in view, some advantage, real or fancied, to attain; but the moment they are independent of a person's services, they treat him with neglect, and if they perceive that his feelings are wounded, they sometimes add scorn and contempt to insolence: besides, they act at times with a degree of meanness and injustice which ill tallies with their pretended rank in society, and their assumed importance in the scale of nations, and of which the meanest mechanic or tradesman in Britain would be ashamed. But shame is little known in Russia; and, as if the cold climate had some physical effect, the "rosy blush" of awakened conscience is rarely perceived.

I have been extremely surprised by the very opposite opinions of travellers as to the quality of

the geology of Russia, in the Transactions of the Geological Society of London.—Second Series, vol. 1. part 1. note, p. 31.

the arms of the fabric at Túla, as well as the cutlery of this town, which has been not unappropriately termed the Sheffield and the Birmingham of Russia. This wide difference must have arisen from ignorance or prejudice. Tooke, speaking of the visit of the Emperor Joseph II. to Russia, says, “ he stopped at Túla to examine the hardware manufactory, on which Catherine had spared no expence for bringing it to its present perfection, and perhaps it yields in no respect for the beauty of its workmanship to the manufactories of Sheffield and Birmingham.”* Had Mr. Tooke been at Túla, and exercised his own eyes and judgment, he could never have spoken in such high terms of its productions ; but I suppose he was led away by the opinions of the German writers. A late author has spoken nearly to the same effect, “ Mais ce qu’il y a de plus remarquable,” says he, “ ce sont les fabriques en acier, et surtout celle d’armes, que l’on travaille maintenant d’un tel fini qu’on ne peut pas les distinguer des ouvrages Anglois.”† A Russian author has also reported, that the arms made at Túla, in beauty and in workmanship, do not fall below those of the best manufactories in Europe.‡ These statements only prove, that their authors were neither judges of cutlery nor of arms.

* Tooke’s Catherine II. vol. 2. p. 407.

† Lettres écrites dans un Voyage de Moscou au Caucase par le Docteur Kimmel, 1812. p. 4.

‡ Great Dictionary of the Russian Empire. Article, Túla.

Dr. Clarke, — who was never fond of paying compliments to Russia, her productions, or her natives, the ladies and the kozáks excepted,—when alluding to the hardware and the cutlery of Túla, states, that “the work is showy, but very bad, and will not bear the smallest comparison with our English wares ;” and, of the arms, he reports, that “the name of musket is almost all that connects the appearance with the reality. It is wonderful any troops can use them ; besides being clumsy and heavy, they miss fire five times out of six, and are liable to burst whenever discharged.”*

I differ in opinion from all these writers. No man who has the least knowledge of fire-arms, of cutlery, and of what is technically called *finish*, would ever compare the best productions of Túla with those of Sheffield or Birmingham ; or, if they did, the vast superiority of the latter would only be rendered the more evident. It is but fair, however, to admit, that very beautiful and highly-finished fire-arms, small-arms, and a variety of articles in cutlery and hardware, are now made at Túla, both at the arm-fabric and in the town. One person who lives in the Bolshói Millione street, is more famous than all his competitors ; and he shewed us guns and pistols which did him much credit, but they were inferior to those made in England, while he required a very high price for them ;

* Clarke's Travels, p. 180. and p. 183.

more, I think, than would be asked for as good, or better, articles in London. There can be no question as to the accuracy of Dr. Clarke's statement, that the muskets were of a very inferior quality at the time of his visit, as well as before Mr. Jones's arrival at Túla ; but, had they missed fire five times out of six during the campaign of 1812, the battles of Borodíno, of Málo-Yaroslávets, and of Krasnoyé, &c. &c., would not have been so bloody ; or, rather, they would never have been fought. Therefore a medium opinion as to the real quality of the Túla arms and hardware is alone warranted by truth. The future traveller, however, will likely be able to give an account of the flourishing and improved state of the arm-fabric under the care of Mr. Jones. Russia has been peculiarly fortunate in her iron founderies and her arm-fabrics ; for, while she has given an asylum to Sir Charles Gascoyne, to Messrs. Baird, Clarke, Jones, &c. she has reaped the advantage of their talents and improvements.



CHAP. II.

COAL MINES AT TÚLA.—ARSENAL.—ANECDOTES.—YÁSNAYA
POLYÁNA.—MTSENSK ORÉL.—BOOKSELLING TRICK.—SEVSK.
—LITTLE RUSSIA.—GLÚCHOF.—BATÚRIN.—ANECDOTE.
—NÉJIN.—BROVÁRI.—THE DNÉPER.—VIEW OF KIËF.—
KEYS TO THE HEART OF THE RUSSIANS.—SPREAD OF
LIBERAL OPINIONS.—KIËF.—ANIMAL MAGNETISM.—
TRIBUNALS.—GENERAL CORRUPTION OF ADMINISTRATION
THROUGHOUT RUSSIA.—CAPTAIN COCHRANE'S EVIDENCE.
—INSTANCES OF INJUSTICE.

THE Emperor, anxious to have the coal, which is found in different parts of the government of Túla, properly examined, in the year 1817, through his ambassador in London, engaged Mr. Longmire, of Cumberland, to go to Russia, and allowed him a handsome salary. Accordingly, he arrived

at Túla, with a number of workmen from England who received permission to quit their country, sunk a number of shafts in different districts, and made his reports to the government. He found coal, which was worth working, at different places, and, after nearly four years' residence, he left Túla in 1821. The coal of this neighbourhood for the most part contains a great deal of pyrites, and the hard coal is mixed with much soft coal and dross. The great object which the Russian government had in view, was the employment of coal in place of charcoal, in the furnaces at the arm-fabric, and afterwards to have it introduced in place of fire-wood, for common use, in the houses of the inhabitants of the town and government, as well as of the neighbouring governments, in which wood is both scarce and dear, and in some parts of which the stoves are warmed by means of dried turf, dung, and straw. It is true, that the Túla coal is of an inferior quality, but it was, probably, of little consequence with those appointed to make a report as to its adaptation for the purposes of the fabric, whether it was good or bad. The fact is, that many interests were concerned; and it would have caused heavy losses to some individuals, had the plan been successful. Many of the proprietors of forests, who supplied charcoal to the fabric, would have suffered by the introduction of coal, and all the perquisites and presents which the purchasers or agents have been

long accustomed to receive, would have been lost, and would not have been replaced by others, as the mines belonged to the crown. We need not, therefore, be surprised, that the Túla coal was reported to be altogether unfit for the purposes of the arm-fabric ; and that, finally, the plan of using it in lieu of charcoal was abandoned.

I believe there can be but one opinion as to the use of the coal at Túla. In the arm-fabric, if it was not adapted for every purpose, it might still have been extensively used, either alone, or mixed with some charcoal, and would have been a great saving to the government. It assuredly is not so well fitted for the warming of stoves. Accidents often arise even from charcoal, which the inhabitants have been accustomed to manage from time immemorial. We cannot, therefore, be astonished that they should abstain from the use of *pyritic* coal. That it, however, could be used, was proved by the fact, that, even in the severest cold of winter, Mr. Longmire burned nothing else in his house. The way in which this speculation was desisted, may serve as a specimen how all affairs are managed in Russia : individual interest is constantly consulted, and the monarch and the government are daily deceived.

The *Arsenal*, sometimes named *Orujeinoi Dvore*, or armory, is situate in the *Zarétskaya Stórona* ; it consists of a fine large central edifice, and extensive buildings on each side, which inclose an im-

mense court, and is unquestionably one of the most remarkable structures in Túla. It is capable of containing fire-arms and small-arms for 100,000 troops; but at our visit no more than for 75,000 men were arranged. Arms of all kinds, and of different nations are tastefully displayed in the vestibule, as well as in the upper and lower stories, according to a regular plan. It requires a long time to take even a glance of the interior of this building. In a press in the lower story are preserved different fusees, which are said to have been made *during the visits* of the sovereigns of the empire, and of the members of the imperial family, to the fabric of arms, and to have been presented to them before their departure, in order to show the expedition and the quality of their workmanship. They are so beautifully executed, that one is apt to suspect the truth of the above account.

Soon after our arrival at Túla we sent our letters of recommendation and our cards to the civil governor, Count Vassiliévitch, by a messenger who was ordered to present our compliments, and ask at what time it would be convenient for His Excellency to receive us. The servant returned with a card for each of us, and with a verbal message, that the governor being unwell regretted much that he could not have the pleasure of seeing us that day. Count G., to whom we had also sent our letters and cards, very soon afterwards called upon us, and invited our party to dinner. After

remaining an hour, he proposed to carry us to a short distance to see some regiments on parade. On our way thither in one of the principal streets an equipage rapidly approached. Count G. asked if we had any letters for the civil governor. We replied, we had sent some to him. But before we had time to add another word, the Count said, "This is the governor," and made a sign that he wished to speak with him. The carriage stopped accordingly, and we were introduced to him. This might have been expected to be rather an awkward *rencontre*, but Count Vassiliévitch behaved with the greatest *sang froid* and politeness. The ordinary salutations being over, he tranquilly said, "Gentlemen, I had the honour of receiving your letters, and of returning an answer to your polite message. Though unwell, I thought afterwards of going to call upon you, and am now so far on my way." But we found that the Count was on his road to call upon another traveller, who had taken up his quarters at the same inn.

On the same day we dined with a Russian Count, who was most affable, obliging, and communicative. He invited us also to supper; and the invitation, after some attempted evasions, was accepted. At half past nine o'clock we arrived at the house, and, to our utter astonishment, were told by the servant in the anti-chamber "that his master, the Count, was gone to bed." On the following

day his excellency called upon us, made an awkward apology, and continued his kindnesses.

On the 13th April, in the evening, we left Túla, and near the Kiévskaya Zastáva, or barrier, we had a fine view of the town. A church, in an elevated situation, in the middle of the public cemetery, which had previously attracted our attention, rose before us. It is of a roundish form, adorned with columns, and surmounted by a dome, and affords a singular specimen of ecclesiastic architecture. Its height is by far too great for its other proportions; and, as Dr. Clarke, who has represented it in a view of Túla, has well said, it is more like a nobleman's palace than a place of worship.

Soon after quitting Túla we were struck with the blackness of the soil, and the nakedness of the country. Having advanced about 12 versts, it became undulating and woody; and near the 1st station, the interest of the scenery was enhanced by the noble mansion of Princess Volchónskii. South of Túla there is not such a profuse waste of timber in the construction of the houses of the peasants as nearer St. Petersburg, for the best of reasons, that it is infinitely dearer. Indeed, some of the houses are not built in the usual way with large barks, or real trunks of trees, morticed together at the corners, but consist of wattled wicker-work. The dwellings, or rather the huts, of the peasants, which range along both

sides of the road, are more paltry in their appearance, and more simple in their structure, than those between the capitals. Indeed they gradually become more miserable as we proceed southward, till we come to regions where stone abounds. The vignette at the top of this chapter illustrates the appearance of the better houses of the Russian peasants, with their gables fronting the road ; as well as their usual mode of drawing water from numerous wells remarked in almost every village ; and the manner of travelling in winter. The costumes are too characteristic to require description. In the first vignette is obscurely seen one of the meaner huts on the right, many of which we remarked in our progress to the south.

Yásnaya Polyána is called a *seltzo*, or small village with a church ; and the traveller is not deceived by its unassuming appellation. From this station to Sólova the scenery is of the same kind ; the soil still blacker, and the corn-fields so extensive as to seem boundless : and such was the face of the country, with little variation, to Mtsensk.* In the way thither we passed a few of the seats and villas of the nobles, and near Sergiévskoyé, the fine house of Prince Gagárin presented itself before us.

The stranger who leaves Moscow with the idea that the Russians are barbarians, and that the coun-

* This town is called Metzinsky by Macmichael.

try is in a savage state, must be equally astonished and gratified by the sight of such noble mansions, such splendid villas, and such beautiful estates, as every now and then burst upon his view. They are indications of a certain degree of civilisation and taste for improvement ; although not commensurate to what a mere inspection might suggest. They are rather the harbingers of future, than the test of present refinement in the general population, or, more correctly speaking, among the mass of the nobility. For, though it cannot be denied that some of the travelled nobles, of those who have passed their days at court, or who have dwelt much in the capitals, have adopted all the refinements of polished life in their palaces, in their gardens, in their carriages, in their persons, and in their manners, and have encouraged literature and the fine arts, yet it must be avowed that a love of display, rather than real taste and knowledge, have led to the erection of enormous edifices, the formation of extensive gardens, valuable collections of paintings, as well as cabinets of minerals and other productions of nature. Hence, it frequently happens that, after having admired a magnificent mansion, we can scarcely suppose that we are in conversation with its proprietor, so inconsistent is the tenor of his questions and his answers, and his general behaviour, with the princely place he occupies.

At the distance of sixteen versts from Mtsensk,

we entered the government of Orél, as was indicated by a massy square column. Mtsensk is the chief town of one of the districts of this government, and lies upon both sides of the Zusha, and at the embouchure of the Mtsena, from which it derives its name. It is situated in a plain, but surrounded on every side by hills: its vicinity is rich in meadows and corn-fields, but not in wood. Like most of the towns of Russia, its appearance at a distance is much more pleasing than its reality. This is chiefly owing to the number of churches and monasteries which are found every where, gaudily painted, and almost always displaying their gilded domes. Mtsensk is divided into three parts: the Zámok, or Castle, as it is called; the Kremlé; and the Zemlianoi-Górod. The houses are mostly built of wood, and amount to 800 or 900. The population has been stated at from 3500 to 5000 souls, and for this population there are twelve churches, besides a monastery, at which divine service is daily performed. Like all the edifices for the tribunals, &c. which arose in the district towns of Russia, in the reign of Catharine II. that of Mtsensk greatly resembles a palace. The principal commerce of this town consists in corn and hemp, which are embarked upon the Zusha, and by means of the Oka, into which this river falls, they are transported throughout the empire.

Having left Mtsensk, we advanced rapidly

through an unornamented but fertile country, and in the afternoon entered Orél at full gallop. We got into a very dirty inn, though it was said to be the best in the town ; and, had it not been for our own cook, we should have fared badly.

Orél is the chief town of the government of the same name. It is situated on the banks of the Okâ and of the Orlík, which join together in the town, at the distance of 367 versts from Moscow. The traditions of the vulgar derive its name from *Orél*, an eagle, and pretend that this bird indicated where the town should be built. This reminds us of the eagle which was said to hover over the head of Prince Kutúzof before the memorable battle of Borodíno, and was ominous of victory. But we believe the eagle was only seen in books ; and if it did show itself, it rather portended defeat ; for though the Russians made a noble stand at that village, they were subsequently obliged to retreat. The name *Orél* is evidently derived from the *Orlík*.

The date of the origin of Orél is unknown, but it was almost entirely destroyed by the Lithuanians in the beginning of the 17th century ; indeed it has frequently been pillaged and ruined both by the Poles and by the Krim Tartars. It extends along the banks of the Okâ and the Orlík, chiefly upon an extensive plain, amidst gentle hills, which being nearly destitute of wood, have a bleak ap-

pearance. It is divided into three quarters, the Moskóvskaya, the Krómskaya, and the Zäörlítskaya. The terrace—formed by the palace of the governor, the house of the vice-governor, the post-office, the dwelling of the commanding general, and the *ostrog*, or prison, with its towers and white walls, like a little town,—occupies a commanding situation, and forms the chief ornament of the city. By far the greatest part of the houses are built of wood, at the same time there is a considerable admixture of stone edifices, and their number is daily increasing. The scarcity of wood in this part of the Russian empire, is conducive to the improvement of architecture, as it forces the inhabitants to use stone. Few of the streets in Orél are worth notice. There are 18 churches and two convents in this town, which, as well as the popular school and the tribunals, only claim a glance from the traveller. In the year 1805, the number of its inhabitants was estimated at about 7717, and by Mr. Vsévolojskii, in 1813, at 15,000; and, at that time, he probably was accurate. In 1823, the same number is given by this author; but, after the facts which have come to our knowledge, we have no great faith in his *recent* statements.

The arts of bookmaking, and of low booksellers and publishers, are not unknown in Moscow and Petersburg. Examples of the illustration of this fact might be easily given, but I shall content myself with a single case, as it is a very remarkable

one on account of the individual who put it in practice.

In the year 1813, a “*Dictionnaire Géographique-Historique de l'Empire de Russie*,” was published at Moscow, by Mr. Vsévolojskii, State Counsellor, Chevalier of the order of St. George, &c., who, for many years, had the most distinguished printing-office in that city, and who is the present governor of Tver. This dictionary is chiefly an abridgement of a great and most useful work, which made its appearance likewise in the ancient capital of Russia, between the years 1801-9, in seven volumes, or parts, 4to., under the title of *Slovár Gèogra-phícheskii Rossiiskaho Gosudárstva*, or, “A Geographical Dictionary of the Russian Empire.” Being published in Russian, it has procured little fame for its author, Mr. Stchékatof, beyond his native country; and Mr. Vsévolojskii, in my opinion, did not sufficiently acknowledge his obligations to the *basis* of his French performance. It is true, he compiled likewise from other authors, especially from Pallas, and his account of Odéssa he took from Mr. Sicard's Letters, nearly verbatim, without the least allusion to their author. Mr. Vsévolojskii's two octavo volumes must have been found particularly useful to travellers and foreigners; and, though numerous errors, and some important omissions, might be complained of, still I am inclined to palliate the imperfections of a first edition of such a production, and even to allow its

compiler considerable merit for his labours. A number of copies of this work being retained for sale in Russia, the principal part of the edition, I have been told, was sent to be disposed of in Germany. Four years ago a copy of Mr. Vsévoljskii's dictionary could not be bought, but at an extravagant price, in either of the capitals of the northern empire; but, after another twelve-month, it was exposed in all the booksellers' shops, and at the original price of 16 roubles. On expressing my surprise at this circumstance to a bookseller, he replied, that the solution was very simple. "Most of the copies," said he, "which were sent to Germany, not having been sold, have been returned to Moscow, and we are now in possession of them." Last spring a new edition of the work in question was announced in the newspapers; I read the advertisement with mingled feelings of astonishment and suspicion of fraud. Soon afterwards the said edition was published, and I procured an early copy, and subjected it to examination and comparison with my copy of the first edition. I discovered that the chief differences between the copies were the following, — that of the first edition had a blue cover, that of the second a red cover; the last had received a new title page, a re-printed dedication to the Emperor, an "*Avis aux Lecteurs*;" and, besides, an "*Avertissement sur cette seconde édition*." Two or three pages had been re-printed in the body of the work, that it

might not be exactly the same as the first edition, and an Appendix was added of 32 pages, said to have been composed by Maurice Allart; and which, had there been really a second edition of the book, of course would most naturally have been incorporated in alphabetical order with the original work. But the fact is, that no second edition was printed. The changes and additions having been made as above enumerated, the *second* edition was patched up out of the first edition. Independently of the difference of paper, and other indubitable evidence of this deceit, unfortunately the marks of the glue, and of the blue cover of the second volume, of the first edition, almost half an inch broad, have not been destroyed in my copy. Although the trick has been awkwardly managed, yet some *finesse* was attempted, as the inquisitive reader may assure himself of by inspection.

The soil all round Orél is black, and yields most abundant crops. This town may be reckoned the emporium of commerce between Russia, Little Russia, and the Crimea, and at the same time the depôt of corn, both of its own and the adjacent fertile governments. The principal articles of commerce are corn, hemp, tallow, butter, bristles, leather, honey, wax, cloth, horned cattle, &c., which they chiefly buy in the southern provinces. They also deal in wine brought from Little Russia, from the Krimea, and from the Don. Enormous quantities of most of these articles are embarked

upon the Okâ, and transported to Petersburg. Numerous manufactories, similar to those we have enumerated at Sérpuchof, also exist in Orél and its vicinity. The inhabitants of this government are, upon the whole, industrious and wealthy.

Having dined at nine o'clock in the evening, we left Orél and travelled all night and the following day, by the stations indicated in our itinerary, to Sevsk, where we arrived at 5 p. m. of the 15th for dinner. From Orél to this town the country is rich, has the same black soil, and is scattered with villages. Few of the places we saw deserve notice. Krómi is a district town of the government of Orél, built at the confluence of the Nédna and the Króma. Its population amounts to about 5000. It was founded in the year 1594 for the defence of the frontier provinces. Dmítrevsk is likewise a district town of the same government, and stands upon the rivulet Obstcherítsa. It is but a trifling place, and its only ornament are three churches. It was one of the first towns which hoisted the standard of revolt in favour of the false Dmitrii. It was long afterwards presented by Peter the Great to the Hospodar of Moldavia, at whose death it returned to the crown. Sevsk forms another district town of the government of Orél. It occupies the left bank of the Seve, from which it has received its name. Its population has been stated at 4500. Even with its ten churches it has a paltry appearance. In ancient times it was surrounded by a wooden wall

flanked with towers, and by a ditch, like most of the frontier towns near Poland.

Some of our party were surprised that a blacksmith, who had been sent for, would not undertake a few trifling repairs to one of the carriages, it being six o'clock on Saturday evening, at which time the Russian Sunday commences; and, indeed, the Saturday evening is often kept equally sacred with Sunday, if not more so. Having arranged the carriage with ropes, we left Sevsk late in the evening, and travelled all night. In the morning of the 16th, a verst beyond Tolstudúbova, and $195\frac{1}{2}$ versts from Orél, we remarked a wooden pillar, with the imperial arms, indicating the entrance into the Ukraine, or Little Russia, and the government of Tchernígof. The foreigner often complains of the want of accommodation, even on the road from Petersburg to Moscow, on which are found by far the best wooden villages in Russia. But on the road by which we were now travelling, he is ready to lose all patience, because he is as yet unacquainted with this country. Most of the villages have a very mean exterior, and consist of straw-covered cottages, in which you find stoves without chimneys, and which are completely filled with smoke in the mornings, the door, and a hole in the wall, when opened, forming its only means of escape. The roofs and upper part of the walls are, of course, covered with soot. All the dirtiness and filth of the Russian peasants is remarked to the

very frontiers of the Ukraine, which circumstance only renders more striking the difference between their habits and manners and those of the Little or Málo-Russians. The first station we reached in the country of the latter is Yesmán, and though only 19 versts beyond the pillar above noticed, it seemed as if we had been transported to a new country. The houses, unlike those in Russia Proper which present their gables, front the road; and their exterior is white-washed. The interior is separated into kitchen, room, and bed-room, even in small houses. The rooms are furnished with tables, chairs, and bed-steads of unpainted fir-wood, and over the beds we remarked white coverlets. At the post-house we found the *smotrítel* and his wife, clean and orderly. They were greatly surprised at our examination of their house in detail. In a word, here, without and within, all had a most pleasing air of order, neatness and cleanness. Though inclined to urge, that the cold climate of Russia, the circumstances of the greater part of the peasantry, and the necessity of a whole family being lodged in the same apartment, oppose strong physical difficulties to cleanliness, yet it appears evident, that there must be an hereditary want of the principle of order among them, to explain so remarkable a difference between the Russians and the Little Russians, from whom they are only separated a few miles, and, of course, where the climate, at least, has no influence. But

cleanliness is one of the fruits of civilisation, and civilisation follows liberty ; now, in my opinion, the superior state of civilisation of the Málo-Russians, can only be attributed to their not being *adstricti glebæ*, and their other peculiar immunities, which generate and cherish independence of spirit.

Another proof that the dirtiness characteristic of the Russian peasantry does not altogether depend upon climate, or other physical causes, may be derived from the account given by Captain Cochrane of the mixed race of the people in Siberia. "On reaching the Asiatic side of the Ural chain," says he, "I could not help remarking, that the inhabitants of all the villages were much more civil, more hospitable, and *more cleanly dressed*." *

In little more than a couple of hours, we were transported to Glúchof, a remarkably pleasant and lively small town, on a hilly situation upon the Yesmán, and by the side of a small lake. Its streets are regular ; the principal one is of no great length, and has an arched gate at each end, being the outlets to Moscow and to Kiéf. The houses present their fronts to the streets, and are almost all white-washed. It contains seven or eight churches, and two convents. Formerly it was a town of some moment, but it was nearly consumed by a fire in 1782, and still, one of the churches and some houses in ruins, attest that its former

* Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey, &c. p. 105.

prosperity has not returned. It is supposed to be a very ancient town. After the treason of the hetman of the Kozáks, Mazéppa, and the ruin of Batúrin, it became the residence of the hetman of the Ukraine. It was for some time the abode of the governor-general of Little Russia, but now it is merely a district town.

From Glúchof to Tuligólova the road is more level, and the country better wooded. We passed crowds of peasants encamped upon the road-side, and cheerfully partaking their social meals, while their unyoked oxen and unharnessed horses were feeding around them. The superior skill of the Little Russians in thatching their houses, over their neighbours, the Russians, struck us forcibly. Some art and some care are shown by the former in their work; the latter heap up quantities of straw upon the roof, and fasten it down by means of young birch trees laid over it, in all directions. The consequences, in a stormy night, are dreadful, especially if in winter. Whole villages are unroofed, and the materials are carried all over the country. But experience will not teach the Russians. They re-cover their dwellings in the same manner, though the same accident should occur annually. From Tuligólova to Królovets, the road is sandy and heavy, and lined on each side by high old willows, so that it has the appearance of an interminable avenue. Królovets is placed upon the rivulet called *Dobroyé-Vodi*, or

Good-Waters. With some adjoining villages, it is said to contain 10,000 souls. It has but a very paltry appearance. From Królovets to Altínovka, the road goes through woods, is sandy and heavy, and greatly resembles many parts of the summer-road between Petersburg and Moscow. In other places it is very broad, and is bounded on each side by lofty, and even venerable willows, which form an avenue on each side. These southern roads may have suggested the idea to the emperor, Alexander, of having all the principal roads throughout Russia adorned in a similar manner. In this drive we observed a good deal of wood, often dividing immense corn-fields, a number of small lakes and ponds, and, within three versts of the next station, after emerging from a forest of stately pines, Batúrin suddenly burst upon us. The palace of the late and last hétman of the Ukraine, Count Razumóvskii, placed upon the top of a hill, an elegant adjoining church, and numerous houses of the peasants, with the Seima at this season more like a lake with numerous islands than a river, in the foreground, altogether formed an imposing picture. Early after the breaking up of the ice, the passage of the Seima is no easy affair; and even, when somewhat later, we found it very disagreeable. After going through water, we crossed a wooden bridge, got to dry land, and then embarked upon a raft, landed upon an island, crossed another wooden

bridge, and soon afterwards reached the post-house in the town of Batúrin. The band of the Kozáks, who parade near this river every evening in summer, were playing in martial stile when we arrived. Here we found a good inn ; and, having ordered dinner, went out to examine the town and palace.

Batúrin is situated in the district of Néjin, and in the government of Tchernígof. It is dignified with the appellation of town ; but it struck us as being a very irregular built village. It contains but few good houses, two or three of which, however, reminded us of English cottages. It contains a convent, and four parish churches. It is distant from Kiéf, 215 versts, and was founded by Batórii, who gave it its name, when he was king of Poland, and when all the neighbouring country was subject to that power. In the year 1654 it came into the possession of Russia. At one time it must have been a place of some strength ; for we are told, that “ when Bogdán Khmélnitskii with his Kozáks, submitted to this empire in 1664, John Casimir was in the territories of Russia, with a formidable army, but dared not undertake the siege of Batúrin, on account of its strong fortifications.” From the year 1669, it was the residence of the hétmans of the Ukraine. The well-known traitor Mazéppa, likewise hétman, chose it for his residence in 1708 ; but his crime proved its destruction, for Peter the Great caused it to be razed to

the ground. It afterwards, in some degree, recovered this catastrophe; and the empress Elizabeth made a present of it, and of all its dependencies, with a population of 9259 souls, to the last hétman of the Ukraine, Count Kiríl Grigórievitch Razumóvskii; one of the many instances of that profusion, with which the monarchs of Russia have wantonly squandered the public money upon their favourites: a profusion not confined to Catherine II. The tsars and the emperors have also been liberal in their waste of that property which did not belong to them, but which absolute despotism could command without opposition, and dissipate without availing censure.

Batúrin now belongs to Count Andréi Kirílovitch Razumóvskii, one of the sons of the late hétman, who has here a considerable and celebrated manufactory of wax candles, and two cloth fabrics. I have been informed, that the population of Batúrin and its dependencies has been greatly augmented since it first came into the possession of the Razumóvskii family, and may now be reckoned at 1500 souls; besides, about 700 Kozáks have their residence here promiscuously with the peasants.

We traversed extensive gardens, all in disorder, before we got to the palace. It is a handsome building, the front is adorned by Doric columns, and the wings are detached. It was built by the hétman Razumóvskii, but it has been long un-

occupied, and appeared to be going to ruin for want of a few repairs.

We had heard so much of the extraordinary beauty of Batúrin, that we were somewhat disappointed on seeing it. It was the first place where we had the opportunity of examining the peculiar physiognomy and the dress of the Málo-Russians, and of attending to their language, which differs materially from that of the Russians.* In their external appearance they more resemble Tartars than the latter people; and they think themselves, and I believe with good reason, far superior to both.

One of my valuable and worthy friends passed many years of his life at Batúrin; and as his case subsequently at Moscow, well illustrates the reckless nature of the arbitrary actions of an aristocratic nobility, ungoverned by public opinion, I shall here introduce it.

Dr. Hunt, a worthy and venerable man, nearly eighty years of age, experienced a severity of treatment, which has some parallels, yet, I am happy to say, they are not very numerous, in Russia. He had been physician to the celebrated Count Razumóvskii, spoken of above, with whom he resided many years at Batúrin, and at Moscow. After the old Count's death, Dr.

* A useful Grammar of the language of the Málo-Russians, bearing this title, "*Grammatika Málorossiiskaho Narétchia*," was published at Petersburg in 1818, by M. A. Pávlovskii.

Hunt entered the service of one of his sons, Count Léon Kirílovitch Razumóvskii, with the same conditions which he had had from the hét-man, and lived in terms of great harmony and friendship with his excellency till his death in the year 1818. The Count left extensive property both to his wife and his children. But a dispute arose about the legality of the marriage, and a law process was the consequence. In the meantime, the Countess pretended, that being uncertain as to the result of the said process, she could no longer retain Dr. Hunt in her service. Thus, this old man who had been in the Razumóvskii family above twenty-five years, was in a moment cut off from an annual revenue of nearly ten thousand roubles. Her ladyship did not use the language of consolation, or of hope, when the messenger was sent to communicate the news of his discharge: she did not say, if the process was decided in her favour she would do any thing to make Dr. Hunt's condition comfortable: and even when she did obtain a favourable decision, she made no offer to do the smallest office of kindness to him!

To the honour of some of the higher nobility, be it recorded, such inhuman conduct did not pass without severe animadversion and reprobation. Had not Dr. Hunt had a small competency for life, *in a reduced rank of society*, apparently, he might

have experienced an instantaneous change from living like a nobleman, and driving his carriage with four horses, to the deepest poverty.

Dr. Hunt has now paid the debt of nature ; and I understand that the Countess has been profuse of her worldly goods to a young medical man, who treated her with animal magnetism, at present a favourite means of cure, as we shall see hereafter, in Russia as well as in Germany.

We left Batúrin in the evening, changed horses at Bórzna, a small town full of churches, and proceeded to Komárovka, a large village. We entered it with the flocks and herds which belonged to the peasants, consisting of a motley assemblage of cows, calves, sheep, goats, and especially pigs. We were highly amused at seeing the Málo-Russian women rushing out from their dwellings, bawling to, and beating, and separating their share of the common stock, and driving them homewards, while the lazy herdsman sat down to repose himself, his duty being fulfilled.

A rapid drive through a pleasant country brought us to Néjin, which is reckoned the finest town in Little Russia, and merits more attention than it seems to have generally attracted. It is a district town, is seventy-four versts south-east of Tchernígof, and occupies the left bank of the Oster. Its situation is nearly level. The streets are numerous and intermixed with many large gardens, filled with fruit-trees of various kinds, which were

observed in the fullest bloom. Some of the houses are of wood, but more of stone, or of wood with their exterior covered with clay in lieu of plaster, stuck over with small pieces of brick, and white-washed. The principal street, which formed part of our road, contrary to what we generally find in Russia, is extremely narrow, and has quite an European appearance, being lined with shops and crowded with people. Néjin is surrounded by an earthen rampart, and the banks of the river are neatly embanked with wood. It contains above 1000 houses, two convents, and sixteen churches, all of which seem to be built after the model of those at Moscow; and, like them, also display a variety of crosses over their summits. Besides Russians and Kozáks, many Greek families, who enjoy great privileges, as well as Armenians, compose the population of this town, which may be estimated at 12,000 souls. The Greeks and Armenians, who have the greatest share of the flourishing commerce of Néjin in their hands, have connections with Turkey, Poland, and Silesia.

Of all the objects at Néjin the splendid gymnasium of Bezboródko claims most attention. It is a very large edifice, adorned by a colonnade of twelve Ionic pillars; and, being surrounded by high trees, it has a truly noble appearance. It was instituted a number of years ago by Count Bezboródko for the education of young nobles and burghers. As the system of education here followed is every

way similar to that of the best institutions in the empire, of which I have elsewhere treated at length, I shall not enter into its details.*

Unable to procure post-horses at Néjin, and unwilling to be detained, we preferred hiring, and were obliged to do so likewise at the next station. The road from Néjin to Nósovka is flat, in some places sandy and surrounded by enormous corn-fields and extensive pastures, mixed with wood, sometimes with ditches on each side, sometimes with rows of willows, and sometimes naked. As is common in the south of Russia, we crossed many rivulets, and marshes, and low-lying places, upon wooden bridges, and sometimes passed through water, while the carriages could scarcely be dragged along. In other places the road was heavy, and as the horses could only go at foot pace, I had time to examine the plants by the way.

From Nósovka, a Kozák village, although we had only four horses as usual to each carriage, we flew at full gallop to Kozári, in forty-five minutes, a distance of nearly ten miles. It is needless to add that the horses were excellent: they were also beautiful, and they, as well as some of those we got at the following stages, formed a wonderful contrast to the over-worked and half-starved post-horses which are frequently given near the capitals.

Kozári is a Kozák station. The extremely neat

* See Character of the Russians, p. 318. 546.

house of the post-contractor, in the middle of a court, induced us to enter it. Its interior, well-furnished, tidy, and clean, astonished us. The stables next were examined, where we saw above a dozen very fine strong horses in good condition. The cause of this manifest prosperity was explained by the fact that all the horses belonged to the post-contractor, who devoted his whole care and time to his business. Here we were advised to take six horses for each carriage, and at the time, we were suspicious that difficulties were raised only for the purpose of imposing upon us. We were afterwards well pleased, however, that we had taken the advice; for after a rapid drive of twelve versts, we had other twelve to make through deep sand, over numerous marshes, and across bad bridges, before we reached the station of Kózelets, a district town in the government of Tchernígof, at which a very fine church is the only object which arrests the attention. The road to Semipólki being through an open country, and very good, we arrived there in an hour and thirty-four minutes, having made the distance of above sixteen miles. At Semipólki, a mean village, our road joined that which leads to and from Petersburg, and we were obliged to pay eight kopeeks per verst for each horse, instead of five as before. Traversing the same kind of scenery, we reached Brovári. It had been our intention to arrive at Kiëf in the evening; and we had pushed on still with six

horses in each equipage, with the view of passing the Dnéper before it was dark. The post-master and the master of an excellent inn, represented to us the danger of such an attempt, and the impossibility of its execution at so late an hour in the evening, it being now dark. We consented to take their advice and wait till the morning; though at the same time we suspected a collusion between them in order to profit at our expence. Imposition and deceit are so common among people of their denomination, that travellers seldom believe any of their statements till verified by ocular demonstration. This was exactly our case; but we found that their accounts were all correct. We had roused the whole house from their slumber; the master (a German), mistress, and servants, were soon in motion, and a good dinner was prepared, to which we did ample justice; for we had only eaten a morsel of bread from the time we breakfasted at Néjin. After a good night's rest, and partaking of an early breakfast, we left Brovári with the same number of horses, which we still found useful, as the road, though nearly level, is sandy and heavy. We passed through many dense and fine woods. Indeed, in former times, the whole of the country which we were now traversing formed an immense forest, which became the resort of banditti, who attacked and robbed the passing travellers. To prevent this, the government ordered part of it to be cut down, and especially

near the sides of the road, so as not to afford a lurking-place, which might cover a sudden attack, and provide a secure retreat.

The Dnéper had not yet returned to its channel after the spring flood; and we had to cross, as it were, different lakes between islands, up to the horses' girths, before we reached the place of embarkation upon the real river, which we passed upon an excellent raft. About two versts from Brovári, one of the steeples of Kiëf, and soon afterwards the town itself, came into view, and highly diversified the scenery to which we had been for some days accustomed. The views of Kiëf, on the approach, are extremely varied and beautiful. That from the river while crossing it is peculiarly picturesque and interesting. The town rises to a great height, on the crest of the hills, which form, as it were, a beautiful amphitheatre over the bosom of the majestic Dnéper, whose banks are broken with ravines covered with wood, or descend with gentle slopes to the water's edge. Their sides, as well as their summits, covered by numerous houses, monasteries, and churches, whose golden domes reflecting powerfully the rays of a glorious sun as we approached, presented a *tout-ensemble* altogether enchanting. But this exterior splendour only renders the disappointment experienced on entering the town doubly severe.

Having gained the place of disembarkation, while the carriages proceeded to make a *detour* by

the regular road, we ascended the steep hill in as straight a line as we could, and unconsciously, and irregularly, got within the ramparts of the fortification, in passing along which we had most charming views of the surrounding country. The sentinels very properly asked an explanation, which being given, and our *poderojné* and names having been delivered to a police officer, we arrived in Kiëf. In our progress from Moscow to this town, as well as on the remainder of the journey, I found it of great service to observe certain rules which I had formed for myself in order to obtain information; and, as a knowledge of them may be of use to the future traveller in Russia, I shall here introduce a few remarks.

There are two keys to the hearts of the Russians, *acquiescence* among the higher, and *bribery* among the lower ranks. By the former I have acquired much information; but, the latter, I have never employed. It was a considerable time after my arrival in Russia, before I discovered, that any intelligence would be given, provided the individual who wished to receive it knew how to conduct himself. I shall illustrate this statement by a couple of anecdotes. I was in company with a nobleman, when he abruptly broke off the subject of our conversation by the following exclamations: “ Well, Doctor, I am altogether harassed with this law process, which has now been in the tribunals for ten years, and has cost me enormous sums of

money, besides a number of horses from my stud, and other presents ; and now, when I expected a favourable decision, my agents again tell me I must still advance more cash or I am sure to lose. I am now out of all patience. Ah ! what rogues we have in our courts of justice ! Nothing can be done but by bribery, and bribery to such an extent, that a man's fortune may be spent before an important cause is determined." I replied ; when he made a pause, with a look which signified, what say you ? " Allow me to state to your excellency, that I think your views are perfectly correct. Your civil administration is in a lamentable state, notwithstanding the boasted meliorations of Peter the Great, and Catherine II. From reading I had been led to believe, that the legislature was in a state infinitely superior to that in which I find it really to be. A poor man, or a man without rank, can do nothing here ; and from what you, as well as many others, have told me, even a great man, and a rich man, has no small difficulties to encounter, and a terrible trial of his patience to undergo, before he can obtain a decision, not to speak of the sums he expends. Your courts are polluted by bribery and corruption, and justice is almost expelled from their walls. How clear is your own case ; one would suppose it might be decided in ten days, nay, ten hours, instead of ten years. I do not pretend to say, that our courts of justice in England exhibit a picture of perfection, but I cannot help wishing your cause

had been tried in that country!" During the latter part of my reply, the gentleman exhibited symptoms of great uneasiness; and, when I concluded, he again had recourse to his declamation — "What, in Britain! no, no; I have been in England; your legislature is defective enough. Don't I know how your members of parliament are elected! how your laws are perverted, as well as ours! And what is your far-famed and boasted trial by jury? A dozen of ignorant men, often picked up in the streets, are called upon to decide important questions, and even upon life and death. No, no, we have no trials by such kinds of juries, thank God. In this respect we are much better off than you; for, in such important criminal cases, we know at least, that men who have skill in their profession, in fact, that judges will decide the destiny of those whose life or death may be pending. Speak not of Britain to me. Law is the same every where — it knows not justice — it is a shadow without substance." I was about to make a second reply, and to correct the errors of the gentleman, when he interrupted me by saying, "My head aches: I am in a state of agitation; pray let us have no more of law to-day."

By speaking as I did, I had acted in coincidence with my conviction; but, by attaching particular blame to the miserable state of civil administration in Russia, I degraded the countrymen of my opponent, I roused his patriotic feelings for the *great*

nation, but at the same time I barred the door to information. I therefore determined to profit in future by the lesson which I had just received.

A few days afterwards the same nobleman, on my visit, thus addressed me : — “ Well, my dear Sir, I have been very busy this morning : only look at the number of letters I have written myself, besides that packet prepared by my secretary.” — “ So much the better,” said I, “ if they be respecting business of an agreeable kind.” “ An agreeable kind !” he vociferated ; “ no, indeed : they are all about interminable law processes : — there is no justice in Russia ; — what, corruption in our tribunals ! — I cannot think of it : — I must send more horses, as I have no spare cash.” He was here interrupted by a man-servant, who said, “ Your excellency, the horses are before the window.” He then resumed, while approaching it, “ Ah, Doctor, look here at these horses, some of the best I have. I have got no spare money, and therefore I must part with them. Where think you they are to be sent ? I will tell you. A pair is a present to ———, my agent in the capital ; I think they will look well in his black calash. That other horse is for ———, my under-strapper, he will make a fine appearance in his droshki. I am loath to part with them, but there is no other alternative except the loss of my cause.” “ Indeed, your case is very hard,” I calmly answered. “ No help for it, my dear Doctor. Vassilii, come here, put these letters

into your bag, and set off in a *teléga* immediately ; tell the servant to follow you with the horses, and take care that no injury befall them on the road. Let it be known, as is really the case, that now I have no ready cash, but that when I receive the *obrók* I shall be liberal, and shall not forget my obliging friends.” The servant being despatched, he again turned to me, and continued his speech : “ It is hard, indeed, to send these horses away. I have now made presents of a large number of horses, besides some thousand roubles, since the commencement of the present dispute, and still it is unsettled, and God knows what may be the result. If I could give a large sum of money at once, the decision would be obtained, but this I have not at present, and it is no easy affair for me to borrow.” He now paused, in expectation of my speaking, and accordingly I replied. “ Indeed, Sir, I think they ought to decide your cause early, since you have been so very kind to them.” “ They may decide,” said he, “ in my favour, and then my opponents may carry the business to a higher court ; and, in that case, I shall have the same system of bribery to renew, so that it is morally impossible to say when a permanent favourable decision may be given, if ever that happen ; or what enormous sums I may be necessitated to expend before I gain my purpose. Is this not a hard case ? ” “ Very hard, indeed,” said I ; and he continued, “ Well, since I have already expended

so much, I am determined to persevere, and to make presents of all kinds, as long as my fortune will stand it." I merely answered, "I hope your excellency will ultimately succeed." "Pray, have you heard the news?" "What news?" "That the Neapolitan rebels are all quelled;" and then the subject was changed.

By associating with those military officers who are endowed with open generous hearts much information is also obtained. There can be no doubt that liberal sentiments are taking deep root among the Russian nobility, and especially among the officers of the army. The campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814, &c. have had a most powerful influence in enlightening the minds, and meliorating the hearts, of this class of society, the impulse of which is likely to be felt by distant generations. I have been surprised, and highly pleased, to hear some of these gentlemen uttering opinions which reflected the highest honour upon their characters: and I understand that in some foreign countries, the Russian nobles have spoken in such a manner, as at the time to have caused the belief, that they were not only *liberals*, but even *radicals*; either really so, or that, as spies, they had assumed these characters. Time, however, has proved the fallacy of the latter supposition, and generous and liberal opinions continue to make progress, in spite of opposition. The illumination of Russia Proper pro-

ceeds, and will assuredly end in the overthrow of despotism, though the time be yet distant. We may, however, expect that the present Russian empire will ere long be convulsed to its centre.

Kiëf, the ancient capital of the great Dukes of Russia, and now the chief town of the government of the same name, lies upon the west bank of the Dnéper, or Borysthenes, under $30^{\circ} 27'$ east longitude, and $50^{\circ} 27'$ north latitude. It is distant from Moscow, according to our itinerary at the end of this work, 878 versts, and from Petersburgh, by the direct road, 1286 versts. It has received a great variety of appellations, or of different forms of the same appellation, in different languages, as Kiovia, Kiiioviie, Kiowia, Kiowie, Kiew, Kiow, Kiev, Kieff, and lastly, Kiëf, which is the real name, and gives the pronunciation in English, as spoken either by a Pole or by a Russian. The Greeks knew this town by a number of different names, which are collected together by Sestrenevicz de Bohujz. *

Though involved in much obscurity, the foundation of Kiëf is referred to a period long antecedent to the Christian æra.† With much plausibility, Mr. Tatístchef supposes that Kiëf may have been built by the Sarmatians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country, in which

* *Récherches Historiques sur l'Origine des Sarmates, &c.* vol. iii. p. 578, &c.

† On this point the Russian historians, and Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, vol. x. p. 219—225. may be consulted.

it is situated, and received its appellation from Kiovi or Kii mountains, while its inhabitants were named Kivi, or mountaineers. The Slavonians who dwelt upon the Danube, having been chased away by the Romans, were necessitated to seek for other settlements. Some of them having arrived on the Dnéper, subdued the Sarmatians, who resided on its banks, established themselves among them, and adopted their denomination translated into their own language. Hence the Kivi were called *Gorianyé**, or mountaineers, the inhabitants of the plain were denominated *Polianyé*†, and those who took up their abode in the north were named *Séverianyé*.‡ Other writers attribute the foundation of Kiëf to three Slavonic princes, Kii, Shtchek, and Khoref, and their sister Libed; but no memorials of their reign are in existence. § According to the Polish historians, Kiëf was founded in the year A.D. 430. It belonged to the Khozárs, who had rendered the *Gorianyé*, and the *Polianyé* tributary to them. In their turn, the Khozárs were overcome, and governed by two distinguished Varaigne princes, Oskold and Dir. The Russian chronicles contain no clear and certain information respecting Kiëf, and the neighbouring country before the middle of the ninth

* From *Gorá*, a hill,

† From *Pole*, a plain,

‡ From *Sévera*, the north,

§ Vide Karamzín, vol. i. p. 33.

} in the Slavonic
language.

century.* The inhabitants of these districts, worn out by continual wars with the Khozárs and other neighbours, and oppressed by heavy taxations, at length sent a deputation to the Great Duke at Nóvgorod, praying for assistance. According to some, Rurik sent Oskold, a distinguished nobleman, with a numerous army, who delivered them from the yoke of the Khozárs, and remained himself at Kiëf to govern them. Oleg, tutor of Igor, the son of Rurik, having received complaints from the Kivii, against Oskold, and, perhaps, jealous of his power, assembled his army, marched against him, slew him, confirmed his own power in Kiëf, conquered many of the surrounding tribes, and rendered them tributary.† From that epoch this country was called Russia, and Kiëf became the capital of all south Russia. In the year 880, an event of great importance gave Kiëf quite a new rank; the seat of the grand principality, which had been hitherto at Nóvgorod, was transferred to this town. In the year 1037 Kiëf was declared the capital of all Russia by the Great Duke Yarosláf.

* Vide *Récherches Historiques sur l'Origine des Sarmates*, &c. by Sestrenevich de Bohujz, vol. iii. p. 583.

† According to Sestrenevich de Bohujz, Oleg carried the young prince with him, and when he arrived at Kiëf, held him up in his hands, and, addressing himself to Oskold, "Behold your master, you are only an usurper," instantly caused him to be massacred. *Récherches Historiques sur l'Origine des Sarmates*, &c. vol. iii. p. 585.

In the 11th century, Kiëf must have been a town of considerable size, since it is said to have then contained 400 churches, to have been the greatest ornament of Russia, and *amula sceptri Constantinopolitani*. * But, as Gibbon has with great truth remarked, its degree of greatness and splendour, was compared with Constantinople, by those who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars. † Besides, as we have had many opportunities of remarking, the number of churches in a town of Russia does not form a true criterion, either of its real importance or of its population: and in those early times, the ignorant, superstitious, and unbounded enthusiasm of a people in favour of the Christian religion whose glorious beams had just dawned upon them, most likely led to the erection of innumerable temples, as the best means of insuring eternal felicity. Since this is a prevailing opinion in Russia, even in this comparatively speaking enlightened age, we can easily conceive how places of worship have profusely arisen in every town, in every village, and in every street, throughout the empire.

In 1169, after a long siege, Kiëf was taken, pillaged, and burned by the troops of Prince Bogholyúbskii and his allies; and in 1174 it was also taken by Sviatoslaf Vsevolódovitch, Prince of Tcherníhof. Pressed by the Tartars, who had not before

* Karamzín's History, vol. i. p. 246., and Notes 522, 523.

† Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. x. p. 225.

exacted sufficient attention, toward the end of the twelfth century, the Great Duke Andrei Yúrevitch Bogholyúbskii, having transferred the great principality from Kiëf to Vladimir, the former fell entirely from its grandeur, became daily weaker, and so often changed masters during the civil wars of Russia, that at length, the princes of Lithuania and the Poles took possession of it in 1205, after the death of Román, the prince of Gallicia. In Red Russia, the Russian princes chose Kólomán, son of the king of Hungary, to reign at Kiëf, but he did not remain there a long time, for Mstisláf, hereditary prince of Gallicia, seized the town, and made Kólomán prisoner. In the year 1222, after the death of Mstisláf, Kólomán obtained his liberty and his estates and reigned in Kiëf. In 1235, Kiëf was taken by Isyasláf, with the Pólovtsi, and Prince Michail with the Tchernigovians. In 1239, Batii, khan of the Tartars, took Kiëf, when it was almost completely rased and destroyed. It remained eighty years under the domination of the Tartars, and, in 1320 it was seized by the Lithuanians. In 1481, it was not only taken by Mengli Gherri, khan of the Krimea, but also destroyed and pillaged, and its fortifications ruined, and the inhabitants with the Lithuanian Vóévodes were carried into captivity.

During the Polish government, the Roman Catholics had not only a bishop, a college of Jesuits, and a convent of Dominicans in Kiëf, but also

some churches of their ritual, which were afterwards converted into Greek churches; all efforts to unite the two forms of religion into one as in former days having proved abortive. In 1654, the Tsar Alexéi Micháilovitch took Kiëf from John Casimir, king of Poland. By the peace of Andrusof, Kiëf was left for a certain time to the Russians in 1667, but in 1686 it was altogether ceded to them. In the year 1710, at the division of the Russian empire into governments, Kiëf was made one of them, and its governor-generals commanded the regiments established at Tchernígof, Néjin, Pereslávle, as well as on the frontier of the empire on the side of Poland, the Krimea, and Turkey. In the year 1782, all Little Russia was divided into the three governments of Kiëf, Tchernígof, and Nów-gorod-Séverskii. According to the last division in 1796, Kiëf remained the chief town of a government which now bears its name, but the towns which are annexed to its jurisdiction, almost all lie upon the right bank of the Dnéper, and were recently acquired from Poland.

Individuals of different tastes may gratify themselves at Kiëf. The lover of fine scenery and the painter will betake themselves to the fortress and the banks of the Dnéper; — the devotee and the monk will immure themselves in the holy caverns with the *incorruptible* remains of the saints, and in the churches; — military men will be found in the castle, and in the arsenals; — the antiquarian will

be chiefly delighted with old Kiëf and its vicinity ; — the architect will find little occupation, unless the ecclesiastic structures of Russia interest him ; and the historian, to a certain degree, will be interested by all those objects. *

On our arrival in Kiëf, after examining different inns chiefly kept by Jews, we took up our abode in one of them, a very small house, but pompously nominated, “ *Hotel de Londres.*” We were comfortably lodged, and found better cheer than appearances led us to expect. The four days we remained in this town, were most actively employed. Our letters of introduction made us acquainted with the commandant, General Arak-tchéëf, and with Mr. Buchárin, the civil governor, with whom we dined, the day after reaching Kiëf. Here we met with Count Oliza, the *maréchal de la noblesse*, who also invited us to dinner. We were agreeably surprised to find such good taste displayed by the Polish and Russian nobility, resident in this town. The greatest part of the society we met with, was such as is to be found in the most

* Those desirous of finding a detailed history of Kiëf, and of its monasteries and relics may consult the Geograph. Slovár Ros. Gosudárstva, the Polnii Khristiánskii Mesiatsoslof, both in Russ. Platon's Puteshestviyé iv Kiëvé, and likewise, Reizze des Lord Harris von Moskwa nach Odessa, (von Seinem Gefährtem dem Hern Walch.) Odessa 1803. Recherches Historiques sur l'Origine des Sarmates, des Esclavons, et des Slaves. Per M. Stanislave Sestrenevicz de Bohujz, vol. iii. chap. 34. p. 576, &c. 4 vols. &c. Petersburg, 1812. Histoire de la Tauride, by the same, 2 vols. 8vo. Brunswick, 1800. Karam-zín's History of Russia, vol. i. p. 33. 120. 246, &c. &c.

refined circles of European capitals, but it must be allowed we only saw the flower of it. At Count Oliza's we met with Major-general Orlof, who had just quitted his command in Moldavia, and from him as well as others, we learned that the Russian troops were all waiting with anxiety the declaration of war between Russia and Turkey. He formed one of the partizans who distinguished themselves in the campaign of 1812. By him we were invited to sup at his father-in-law's, General Răëvskii, whose prowess and military talents were conspicuously displayed in the campaign of 1812, especially in the defence of Smolénsk with 16,000 men against the very superior forces of the French.

At General Răëvskii's we were introduced to a Polish nobleman, Count Chodkiëwicz, who has porcelain fabrics in the vicinity of Kief, who is a great amateur of chemistry, and a strong advocate of animal magnetism, and probably of somnambulism; subjects respecting which a general and lively conversation took place, in which the ladies warmly participated. For the last ten years animal magnetism has been much in vogue in Russia, and by it a number of medical men have made their fortunes. I was not surprised, therefore, that every effort was made to have my opinion as to this renowned method of curing diseases. At length, finding evasions useless, I frankly stated, that for some years after animal magnetism was greatly employed at Petersburg and Moscow, I was one

of its decided opponents and took all occasions of turning it into ridicule, notwithstanding that some of my friends, whose talents I highly respected, were its greatest patrons; that I had received some curious histories from undoubted authority, and witnessed some experiments that astonished me; and that, as yet, I could not make up my mind to decide, whether the *marvellous* cures were merely happy coincidences, the effects of the imagination, or the results of the operation of the boasted magnetic fluid. With the utmost difficulty was I allowed to maintain my determination to remain neutral between the opponents and the patrons of animal magnetism, which has but too frequently been made the instrument of the greatest abuses, and of the most immoral conduct, especially in Germany. There, indeed, it has led to the disgrace of some well-known characters, and to the dishonour of some families.

At a dinner party we got acquainted with a gentleman who was dressed in a wide-flowing dark purple-coloured tunic, and who belonged to one of the tribunals of Kiëf, which being more a Polish than a Russian town, still retains some of its former privileges, and among others that of having a fixed number of Poles in the courts of justice. I was in expectation, in consequence of this, to have found the civil administration in a state of greater purity, dignity, and independence than in the other government towns

of Russia ; but I was disappointed. My enquiries only led to the confirmation of the opinions which I have already laid before the public in the *Character of the Russians*. It has been supposed by some, that my animadversions upon this subject are more severe than was warranted by truth. A few facts in illustration of this important point may not be misplaced here, and may afford some entertainment and information to the reader.

The following case is notorious at Moscow and Petersburg, and indeed among the mercantile world, throughout Russia. Seven years ago, an American gentleman who was established at Archangel, sent a quantity of cotton of the value of about 300,000 roubles, to a Russian merchant resident at Moscow, for the purpose of being sold upon commission. Soon afterwards he received intelligence that the whole of the cotton had been sold to *Mr. Phillipóf, a merchant of the interior*; and, to his surprise, at a price much below what the state of markets led him to have expected. The gentleman was by no means satisfied with the transaction ; and his suspicion of dishonesty, from various causes, having been more and more confirmed, he set off to Moscow. Here he got such information as led to the discovery of the imposition which had been practised upon him. He went to the Russian merchant who had really bought the cotton and asked him if he would be so kind as to show him his books, in so far as they had a reference to

the affair. To this request he obligingly complied, and even allowed the gentleman to copy any thing he liked relative to the business. Thus fortified he next called upon his agent, who entered into long explanations, and then exhibited his books which were all in regular order, and the name of *Mr. Phillipóf* and his residence affirmed. The American then said there was no such person as the *Mr. Phillipóf* represented, and stated at all events, that it was *Mr. Rachmánof* (I think this was the name) who had bought the cotton. He now presented the copy of the transaction from *Mr. Rachmánof's* books, when his astonished agent endeavoured to amuse him with some falsehoods. The injustice of the deed was evident; yet no proper arrangement was agreed to, and immediately a law process was commenced. The business was kept in the *courts of justice* above five years, and was then by the advice of those who were well-disposed to the American, referred to the decision of an arbitration. But it might still have been prolonged other five or fifteen years, had not the present governor-general of Moscow taken an interest in the affair, hurried on the steps to be taken, and done every thing in his power that justice might triumph. To the honour of his name be this told. But although the injured gentleman had ultimately been successful in obtaining a just decision, when I left Moscow about a year ago, his friends entertained great doubts whether he would recover any of the

cash, as the Russian merchant was taking every means to deprive him of the probability of this ; and it was feared that he would make a fraudulent bankruptcy, and thus add roguery to deceit. If this happen, Mr. ——— will not only have lost a great part of his capital by this transaction, but also five of the best years of his life, which have been passed in anxiety and trouble, and ended in disappointment.

In my opinion, the state of civil administration in Russia cannot be represented in too black colours. In so far as regards Siberia, the corruption, the venality, and the oppression of the legislature were lately most lamentable and incredible. A sufficient confirmation of its woeful condition is afforded by the fact, that when the late governor of that part of the Russian territory, General Speránskii, left his situation, an immense number * of individuals who were in the tribunals, and who had command over their fellow-creatures, were thrown into prison, because that well-meaning man, a real friend to his country, had exposed their nefarious practices and conduct. I should suppose from what I have heard, that the gentleman spoken of will never return again to Siberia, although I understand he has occupied himself much in preparing plans for the general melioration of that extensive district, which have met with the approbation of the Emperor Alexander,

* I have been told between 500 and 600.

who, as a testimonial of his regard, has appointed him a senator. When we see distinctions so judiciously bestowed, we are led to acknowledge the anxiety and assiduity of his imperial majesty, for the welfare even of his remotest subjects.

General Speránskii acted with great propriety in making his retreat before it was attempted to introduce his innovations and improvements, as probably he might have forfeited his life to his zeal in the cause of his country. Perhaps the recollection of the fate of Dr. Bootatz, hastened his departure. That gentleman, after having lingered away some of the most valuable years of his life in a Polish prison, on a charge of misdemeanor, was liberated about four years ago, and returned to Petersburg, and was soon afterwards made medical inspector of the governments of Siberia. Having carried his family to Yekaterinburg, at the foot of the Ural mountains, and settled them in that town, he set out on a journey with a view to examine the hospitals, apothecary-shops, &c. In proceeding from place to place he discovered and exposed the grossest imposition and plunder, which conduct created him many enemies. At Irkútsk death was the reward for his diligence and his probity. It is said that he was there poisoned, and thus fell the prey of wanton barbarity.

The reader who may wish to be further satisfied as to the generally corrupt state of all the departments of the administration in Siberia, may peruse

the interesting narrative of a pedestrian journey into that country, lately published by Captain Cochrane. In it are contained innumerable and irrefragable proofs of the accuracy of the assertions made in the volume to which I have had, and still shall have, so often occasion to make a reference. With all his complacency and partiality towards the Russians, from the time the pedestrian leaves Moscow till his return to that capital, including a course of many thousand miles in Siberia, he candidly and honestly exposes the frightful state of the general administration and of the tribunals of justice, as they are profanely called; and illustrates the universal oppression of the miserable inhabitants, even in the remote peninsula of Kamstchátka. They are obliged to succumb in silence to the yoke of, comparatively speaking, a few mean venal governors, corrupt judges, haughty commandants, and overbearing police-officers; and, besides, to bear the impudence, insolence, and oppression of all their shabby underlings, who are generally a race reckless of human feelings and of human misery. But, according to their general proverb, "God is high, and the Emperor is far away." The first part of this saying is but too characteristic of its abettors, and under cover of the latter, as behind a shield, they have long found concealment and protection from the punishment which their sovereign might have awarded them. We must, therefore, rejoice, for the sake of our fellow-

mortals, that at length General Speránskii has broken down this barrier between the monarch and the people, and that the Emperor is no longer "far away," at least from the knowledge of the delinquencies of the ruling few, and of the sufferings of his remote subjects.

Beyond all question, the time is not distant when his imperial majesty will be equally alive to the correction of abuses, and to general civil improvement, more near his residence. However much Alexander may be displeased at my unwelcome exposition of facts notorious in Russia, yet He must be conscious of the truth of the pictures I have drawn. His actions may yet aver this, while his words and his *ukázes* proclaim other sentiments, in order to tranquillise his irritated and all-powerful nobility. Upon what a prickly and painful bed must despots repose, when even the mild, the good, and the generous Alexander has not only to study the humour of his courtiers, his ministers, his generals, his admirals, and even of his nobles, but, besides, (as I have been assured,) in order to please them, to act contrary to the dictates of his own heart. Who would envy the life of such a sovereign, with all its eastern gorgeous splendour, and all its apparently gigantic powers? The shades of Peter III. and of Paul must sometimes disturb the midnight slumber of all their successors to the throne of Russia.

A corporate body of tradesmen had engaged to

pay a fixed annual sum to the city of St. Petersburg. Nearly ten years ago, in consequence of a number of the members having failed, or being in poverty, the sum total to be paid became a heavy burthen upon those who were in better circumstances. One of them who was unable to advance the assigned portion of the general sum, although willing to make an effort to give the same as in former years, was thrown into confinement, and placed amid the basest classes of society. A friend of his immediately used all possible means, except money, in order to obtain the release of this tradesman, but without success. Whilst he was standing in one of the tribunals in great agitation, a person who held an inferior office gently approached him and said, "Sir, I perceive that you do not know how to extricate your friend from his disagreeable situation. If you will give me a twenty-five rouble note for the purpose of being properly distributed, I shall get him set at liberty to-morrow morning." The money was instantly deposited, and on his return the following day, he was informed that twenty-five roubles was too little, and that other twenty-five must be given. This second request was likewise acceded to, and on the third day, the tradesman was released, upon condition of paying his individual portion of the general sum due by the corporate body. When about to walk off, however, the same obliging agent politely came up and made a new

demand upon the generosity of the person who had already given fifty roubles. He told him a long story about the distribution of the money, and begged to have a five rouble note for himself. This was also granted, though no doubt, he had made sure of a liberal proportion of the former spoil.

It is very common in Russia to make written agreements, or contracts, as they are called, even on trivial occasions, and almost always in affairs of importance; because, however difficult it may be to obtain justice or any kind of decision, even with a contract, without it you can do nothing in a court of law. No case is admitted for prosecution unless there exist some written document between the parties at issue, except in the *slovésnií sud*, or oral court, for trifling cases.

A countryman of mine was about to enter the service of Admiral ———, a liberal-minded man, distinguished for the amenity of his manners and his generosity, and who has different estates in the south of the Russian empire. The terms of agreement having been settled, the Scotchman asked this gentleman if there should not be a contract. The admiral replied in these words, which, remarkable as they may appear, alas, are but too true: “As far as respects me, I have no desire to have any contract with you; because, should you, at any time, wish to leave me, the sooner you did so the better, as I should not like to retain any

person in my service by restraint; and should I wish to get rid of you, I shall find no difficulty in obtaining my purpose; besides, you have been long enough in Russia to know that, in case any dispute arise between us, a contract would be of no real use to me, and to you of no advantage: it might be the cause of your expending money in the *courts of justice*, but not of obtaining a favourable decision."

This unintended *critique* is perhaps too severe; for, although there be too much truth in what the admiral said, yet written contracts are of great utility in Russia. They form invariable testimonials of the ostensible intention of the contracting parties; and they are the more necessary, because the Russians are much given to prevarication. Indeed, so little faith have they in mere verbal agreements, that men of business, as stewards, &c. commit the merest trifles to the pages of their daily records. We need not be surprised, then, at the Russian proverb: —

" Shto yest písanno pérom
Nelzá rúbit topórom."

" What is written with a pen
Cannot be erased by an axe."

On leaving Russia, in 1823, I determined to take a Russian servant with me, who had lived for some time in the family, for the sake of my children. She is a free woman, her brother having paid 700 roubles for her manumission, and ranked

among the burgesses. From the magistrates of Moscow she received an annual passport, by virtue of which she could serve any where she chose in the Russian empire. Before she could quit her native country it was necessary to have a special passport for that purpose. I applied to the magistracy, after her name had been three times advertised in the newspapers, along with those of my family, as is absolutely necessary before leaving Russia. The under-agents said the passport could be obtained in a day or two, provided I would give them thirty, while the real expense did not exceed five or six roubles. On demanding why thirty roubles were necessary, they replied, that they had to apply to different departments of the magistracy, the clerks of which require to be rewarded by small sums. I refused compliance, and employed the whole of two forenoons in going through the almost innumerable ceremonies myself. No less than five certificates were obtained from as many departments of the magistracy, each of them signed by twenty, twenty-five, or thirty names, the object of which was to show that no obstacle, 'as debt, prevented the servant's departure. This done, at length the passport was got; but still it cost me above fifteen roubles, for stamped paper, small bribes, &c. The very seal was not impressed upon the passport till paid for. The sums were openly asked, and there seemed no end to imposition, or, as the Russians say, to presents.

In taking a female from Russia, whether free or bond, no deposit is necessary ; but, before a male bondsman can leave his country, security must be made, by the deposit of a sum, whose interest will equal his obrók, or annual contribution.

Medical men, though they had been professors in another country, are not entitled to practise in Russia until they have undergone an examination in one of the universities or academies, and have receive a special licence. Of course I was necessitated to submit to the usual routine. Two Britons had been lately rejected ; and I was advised by some to bribe the professors liberally, as the surest mode of exhibiting skill in my profession. As I did not follow the counsel given me, I am unable to speak from personal experience ; but, I have been assured by a number of individuals, that some of the Russian professors receive bribes from the candidates ; and indeed a young man, whose veracity I had no cause to doubt, said plainly, that he had given *douceurs* to some gentlemen—if they deserve the appellation — who are attached to one of the most celebrated institutions in Russia. It has even been stated, that some of the foreign professors have been equally open to corruption. If this be the case, I am sure there are others who are totally incapable of such conduct, and whose feelings would be severely hurt at the very idea of such an imputation.



CHAP. III.

PUNISHMENT OF MALEFACTORS AT KÍEF. — DIVISIONS OF KÍEF. — THE FORTRESS. — THE ARSENAL. — THE INSTITUTION FOR ORPHANS. — THE PETCHÉRSKOI MONASTERY. — THE MILITARY HOSPITAL. — THE THEATRE. — OLD KÍEF. — THE PODÓLE. — CONCLUSION. — DEPARTURE. — VASSÍLKOF. — IMPOSITION OF POST-MASTERS AND MODES OF REDRESS. — ZVENÍGÓRODKA. — ROGUERY OF THE JEWS. — DISTILLERIES. — SINGULAR CUSTOM. — ÚMAN. — SOPHIÉVKA. — COUNTESS POTÓTSKÍI. — THE POET TREMBÉSKÍI. — KHOLOVÍNSKA. — ARRIVAL AT BÓGHOPÓLE. — RUSSIAN STEWARDS. — RECRUIT OF THE ARMY. — COUNT OZERÓVSKÍI. — BÓGHOPÓLE. — KONSTANTÍNOVKA. — CAVALRY. — VOZNESÉNSK. — NEW SYSTEM OF MILITARY COLONIZATION. — RAPIDITY OF TRAVELLING. — ODÉSSA.

ON the morning after our arrival at Kíef, we were informed that some malefactors were to receive the *knot* in a square opposite the inn, where an im-

mense crowd was assembled. A circle had been formed by the military, within which Mr. Dúrof, the police-master, remarking we were strangers, kindly invited us to enter. After the prisoners heard their sentences read, the punishment was inflicted. A man received twenty, and a woman fifteen strokes of the dreadful knoot. Mr. Dúrof related to us that the man was a notorious character. He had been a soldier, had seen foreign countries, spoke a little German, deceived every body, and at length robbed a monastery. His physiognomy bespoke coolness and determination, and the blackest passions of the heart. On his trial he boldly told the judges, that the money he took was lying idle ; and, consequently, was of no use either to the monks or to the world, and that by taking it and distributing one half to the poor, while he kept the other to himself, he had really been serving both God and man. The deliberate strokes of the knoot disturbed his stoic indifference, and drew forth his cries. When loosened from the rack, a shtoph (a square gallon bottle) was presented to him. He looked around the circle, saluted the multitude, put it to his mouth, and then, manifesting the utmost indignation, dashed it on the ground, while he sneeringly said, “ I thought it was spirits, but it is only water.” He was next branded on the forehead and cheeks. While the blood was flowing, the wounds were rubbed with gun-powder, so

as to render the circular marks, nearly as large as a halfpenny, quite indelible, except by excision.

The woman screamed and groaned terribly during the infliction of the strokes. When loosened, she seemed to faint, and was laid upon the earth, and then covered with a *shoob*, or sheep-skin pelisse.

Two boys and a woman next received the *pleti*, or whips. By turns, their bodies being partly uncovered, they were laid flat down with their faces on the ground, and were held firmly by a number of assistants. The executioner standing on the right side, inflicted a certain number of strokes, and then as many while on the left. [All the sufferers cried most bitterly ; and, indeed, this mode of punishment, although apparently puerile, is extremely severe, It leads to the most indecent exposure, and could only be tolerated in a demi-civilized or barbarous country.]

All the prisoners were re-conducted to prison, and we returned to our lodgings.

Kíef, properly speaking, is composed of three grand divisions, viz. the fortress of Petchérsk with its suburb, ancient Kíef, and the Podóle, each of which has its peculiar fortification, while the whole are included by an earthen rampart, and have a garrison, which is under the orders of the commandant of the town. The fortress occupies a beautiful and commanding hill on the west bank of the Dnéper, which rolls its noble stream about 300 feet below the spectator. It is surrounded by

ditches and high earthen ramparts, with numerous bastions, all of which we found in excellent repair. To the stranger who is not in search of antiquities, it forms the most interesting division of Kief. It is one of the numerous memorials, which everywhere present themselves, of Peter the Great. This sovereign was present at the religious ceremonies which preceded the foundation of the castle, in 1706, which he afterwards laid with the usual formalities.

Of the objects within the boundaries of the fortress, the *Arsenal* claimed our first attention. It was founded by Catherine II. and is unquestionably the finest edifice in Kief. It is built in the form of a square, of whitish-coloured bricks which were made in the neighbourhood, and is two immense stories in height, with fine arched windows. In the centre of each façade is a lofty and handsome gate. A walk round the exterior of this building is just half a verst. The interior of the under story presents a fine sight. The ceiling is very lofty, and the whole width, by two rows of pillars, is divided into three equal parts, in each of which are arranged cannons, mortars, howitzers, ammunition-waggons, pontoon-bridges, horse-harness, ropes, bellows, &c. ; in a word, all kinds of military stores, and all in the best order. The superior workmanship of the cannons, the cannon-carriages, and the ammunition-waggons, delighted us. In the upper story we saw 44,000 stand of arms,

some of which were of moderate, and others of very inferior quality. The arsenal is capable of containing 80,000, or even 100,000, and it is sometimes filled. In some parts of the second story we also remarked a number of small cannons on their carriages, which rather surprised us, till we were shown an inclined plain for their ascent.

We next visited the *Institution for the Male Orphans of Soldiers*, which adjoins the arsenal. The number of boys in it amounted to 1800, and almost all of them we saw had a squalid sickly appearance. Diseases of the eyes and of the scalp were very prevalent among them; besides, no less than 302 of their number were patients in the military hospital: strong proofs of some great defect in the management of the charity, which excited our enquiries. Damp beds, or rather wooden platforms placed against damp walls in a kind of barrack, want of proper beds, dirtiness, and a deficiency of proper food, were the causes assigned by an officer of high rank for the distressing state of this institution. The management, only a few weeks ago, had been given to new hands, and an immediate improvement of the whole establishment was in contemplation. The orphans are here taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and geometry, upon the Lancasterian system, which seemed to flourish. They are educated so as to qualify them for the duties of under-officers, clerks, &c. in the regular army. General Arak-tchéef, who had accompanied us to the arsenal, on

entering the garden of the Orphan Institution, was saluted by a numerous band of musicians, composed of the oldest pupils, who performed remarkably well.

Within the precincts of the fortress are also situated the commissariat, the commandant's house, the barracks of the garrison, numerous military magazines, a few edifices occupied by military and civil officers, some churches, and the renowned monastery of Petchérsk. Among the churches, the most remarkable is that of Saint Nicholas, — built upon a hill near the banks of the Dnéper and over the grave of Oskold, by order of the princess Olga after the reception of Christianity, — and that of the Transfiguration erected by Saint Vladimir, but in what year, or on what occasion, is unknown.

The *Petchérskoi monastery* with the cathedral of the Assumption, some other churches, a printing office, the house of the metropolitan of Kiéf, and the houses of the monks, are surrounded by a high stone wall with towers at its corners, like a fortress. The cathedral was founded by Antonius and Theodosius in 1073; but, having been frequently renewed, it now resembles the cathedral of Moscow. Its seven golden domes, with those of the other churches, and that of the belfry, which towers above the hill to the height of about 300 feet, and above the Dnéper to that of 586, have a splendid effect, and rivet the attention. The belfry

is reckoned by the Russians a *chef d'œuvre* of architecture. Its under story is in rustic, the second is adorned by thirty-two Doric columns, the third by sixteen of the Ionic order, and the fourth by twenty-four pilasters, arranged in threes, of the Corinthian order. It is the workmanship of an Italian architect. To the cathedral belongs a library, said to be rich in manuscripts, and especially in Greek ones.

The Petchérskoi monastery has been well described by James, and therefore I shall only supply a few particulars. After its foundation in the eleventh century, it was called Petchérskoi, because the monks at first inhabited two caverns*, which they formed in the hill on which the monastery has since been built. These caverns are behind the monastery, have a deep ravine between them, and stretch toward the Dnéper. They are subterraneous vaulted labyrinths, with different branches, numerous cells and chapels, in which repose the uncorrupted relicks of saints, and martyrs, and holy men. One of them is called the *Pestchéra Blijnaya*, the near cavern, or that of Antonius, after the name of its first abbot, who died in 1073; the other the *Pestchéra Dálnaya*, the distant cavern, or that of Theodosius, from the name of the second abbot. †

* *Pestchéra*, in Russian, means a cavern; hence the origin of the name.

† A small work by Herbinus entitled "*Religiøsæ Kyoviensæ Cryptæ* (Jenæ, 1675.) contains views of these caverns.

We were accompanied by a monk in visiting the catacombs of Kiéf. The devotees there spend hours, and days, and weeks. The bodies, or rather the forms of bodies, are like Egyptian mummies, and are arranged in the sides of the caverns, in the chapels, and in small cells. If we may judge by the numerous specimens which we saw here, almost all the saints are persons of low stature. Their names are indicated by labels over the cells, or attached to the tombs. Their number amounts to above 150. The insertion of their appellations and distinctions would be equally useless to the writer, and to the reader. The latter, however, should he ever visit these far-famed caverns, may be desirous of having a general acquaintance with his miscellaneous society; and under this impression I have drawn up the following concise list. In the two caverns are found the relicks of archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, hegumins, monks, anchorites, deacons, miracle-workers, saints, martyrs, princes, princesses, physicians, historians, stewards, bigots, soldiers, bakers (of bread for consecration), wafer-makers, image-painters, fast-observers, and grave-diggers; besides those of the obedient, the silent, the patient, the penitent, the unlettered, the intelligent, the penetrating, the venerable, the disinterested, the active, and the laborious, and of twelve masons who built the cathedral. Here are also shown a great number of

ODORIFEROUS HEADS, and one of the children which was murdered by Herod's orders, and brought from Jerusalem. In the cathedral is likewise preserved the head of the Great Duke Vladímir.

We were all contented with having examined the cavern of Antonius, and had not the least desire to make our respects to that of Theodosius. Having enjoyed a fine view from a balcony, at the lower extremity of the labyrinth, recompensed the monk and the people in attendance, and left our charity in the chapels, we made our way back through a long covered wooden gallery, in which were assembled the poor, and the lame, and the blind, seeking alms.

The suburb of the fortress, as it is called, is of considerable extent. It contains the "*administration of the government*;" an edifice of two stories in height, over a high basement, and adorned by a flight of steps, six Doric columns, and a pediment with the imperial arms, the same as may be remarked all over the empire in the crown-buildings. Here was also the imperial palace, a wooden structure, which was burned in 1809; its foundation and wings alone remain. On one side of these we found a delightful *boulevard*; on the other the imperial gardens, high and low, which are joined together by terraces and flights of stairs. They form the fashionable promenade in the evening, and few spots can be more charming.

We made a visit to the military hospital, at some distance from the monastery. It consists of four wooden edifices, one story high, in which every thing is well arranged. The number of sick in all amounted to 735.

In the traveller's rambles in Kiéf, the shell of a large wooden theatre on the left of the road which leads to the Podóle, catches his eye from its gloomy desolate appearance, and surprises by the want of foresight in those who planned and superintended its erection. It stands upon an elevated hill, extremely difficult of access; and yet this forcible objection was not perceived till the edifice was roofed. The work was immediately interrupted, and the whole property is to be sold. In the meantime a small building, which stands at the juncture of the roads from Old Kiéf and Podóle, serves as a temporary theatre, in which a Russian troop of actors perform during winter.

The prison, or ostrog, a neat small edifice, and the "House for Invalids of Prince Prosérovskii," of considerable size, are both situated near the barrier of the road which leads to the south, and deserve a visit.

Old Kiéf is situated upon another hill between the division of Petchérsk and the Podóle, but more to the east. Its fortifications are now in ruins. It can scarcely be said to have one regular street; and but for the churches and the monasteries, of which I have spoken at length in a dissertation

upon the architecture of Russia*, its boasted splendour is completely faded.

From the Petchérskoi quarter to the Podóle the road leads down the side of a very steep hill. It has been much improved of late years, but still it explains why we see all the *droschkis* for hire at Kiéf, with a couple of horses, as they are continually ascending and descending this mountain. On the right, in a pretty and romantic spot, is elevated the *Krestchátik*, a lofty column surmounted by a cross, of which James has given a plate. It was built over a fountain, where the children of the Great Duke Vladímir Sviatosláf were baptised. On the left, we were struck by the singular situation of numerous small houses along the brow of the hill overlooking the Podóle. The difficulty of access, and the want of water, we should have thought would have deterred any individual from choosing such a spot for the site of his dwelling. The streets in the Podóle are not very regular, and few of the houses are good; the wooden bank of the river is falling into decay, and the whole has a mean appearance. It is partly inundated during the spring-flood of the Dnéper. In the river a great many flat-bottomed barges were lying, and

* Character of the Russians, Appendix. In addition to what is said of the tithe-church, I may remark, that Karamzín, in the second edition of his history, has added notes to the former eight volumes, among which is given a representation of the inscription upon the slabs alluded to, but which, unluckily, is not intelligible.

the quay, while it afforded some pleasing views, also exhibited the only scene of great activity and industry, which had met our notice in Kiëf. The Podóle is crowded with churches and monasteries, and also contains the academy, the spiritual school, and the post-office.

Of Kiëf, as a whole, it may be said, that the streets are excessively irregular, and for the most part unpaved, or boarded over. A few of them have bad wooden trottoirs. In it are reckoned thirty-two churches, besides those at the convents : now, as there are nearly a dozen monasteries and nunneries, at each of which are two, three, or more churches, we, probably, under-rate the sum total of places of worship at eighty. It is supposed to contain about 4000 houses, exclusive of various manufactories. Its internal appearance ill corresponds with the ideas of magnificence, which its approach had inspired. In 1813 and 1823, its population is stated by Vsévolojskii at 30,000 ; but my enquiries lead me to doubt whether it be not overrated at 20,000 souls, among which are a great many Jews, a few Poles, and some Little Russians ; but the mass of its inhabitants are real Russians.

On the 21st April we left Kiëf. The country during the first station to Véta, and half of the second to Vassílkof is hilly, bleak, and unpleasant, and frequently covered with underwood : few corn-fields are to be seen, and the soil is clayey and sandy. In many places the road runs through deep

sand, but an excellent and rich loam assumes a black appearance near Vassílkof, a small town, which lies upon the rivulet Stujna, thirty-five versts from Kiëf, part of which is elevated and picturesque. Before the union of the Polish provinces to Russia, it was a frontier town; it is now the chief town of a district to which it lends its name. In speaking of towns, however, in most parts of Russia, it is necessary to caution the reader not to be deceived, and to expect more than really exists, as many of them are but villages. Vassílkof is an instance in point; for, though a district town, its population does not exceed 2500 souls, and I have been informed that it scarcely contains a single merchant, unless we call petty dealers by that name.

We met with an unlooked-for detention here. We had a single *podorójnë* for six horses, three for each equipage, though we always took eight, and paid for the whole of them. On presenting our order to the uncouth *smotrítel*, he said there were *no horses*. After I had examined the table and found the number of horses kept at the station, and the number out according to the book in which the *podorójnës* are registered, I threatened to enter a report in the *complaint book*; when he without apology for his lie, or the least ceremony, wished to put *six horses* in each equipage, because the road was bad. I explained the attempt at imposition to the party, and asked if they wished to see

his character a little more developed. Being answered in the affirmative, the *smotrítel* was told that he might put twenty horses in each equipage, if he liked, but that he would only be paid for eight; that was for two horses more than our *podorójné* ordered. But he answered, if we did not take six horses for each carriage and pay for them, he would give six horses, and put them all in one carriage; pretending that he was authorised to do so. I had satisfied myself, that, by the regulations for the summer season, we were not necessitated to take more than four horses for each carriage, and requested they might be given immediately. On his non-compliance we went to the *Gorodnítchii's* house, and were lucky enough to find him at home. Having heard our complaint, he instantly accompanied us to the post-house. On the way thither he spoke of the small revenues of his office there being scarcely any merchants in the town, stated that he had a large family, and added that he was in a *consumption*. I replied, that, no doubt, he would be better in a larger town, as the merchants made large annual presents to persons of his rank; I hoped he would always find enough for the support of his family; and said that, as I was a physician, and had a medicine chest with me, I should be happy to give him advice and remedies gratis. I then began to question him seriously as to the symptoms which he had of consumption, when he exclaimed, "Ah! Doctor, you mistake

me; my disease is (Tchichótka iv karmáné), “*a consumption in my pocket* ;” every where a prevalent epidemic. At the post-house a long explanation and amusing farce took place; the *Gorodníтчii* scolded, and ordered horses to be given; the *smotrítel* was bold, and defended his conduct. Under pretence of thanking the officer for his trouble, I now shook hands, and left a five rouble note with him, which had the desired effect. He sallied out, threatened violently, brandished his stick, and in a few minutes the horses were harnessed, and we were in motion. It is true that the *smotrítel* received nothing—unless he shared in the bribe—and revenge might have been gratified, but we were detained two hours, while a much smaller sum than a five-rouble note, given in time, would have procured horses. Thus, a traveller, who complains of a *smotrítel*, to the police-master, in a large town, or in a country-town, to the *Gorodníтчii*, may sometimes get instant redress, but frequently the remedy is as bad as the disease, and indeed, often worse. A small bribe will generally satisfy the *smotrítel*, and procure horses; whereas a larger reward is necessary for the police-master, or the *Gorodníтчii*, who may have assisted in settling a dispute.

We travelled all night. The road from Karapíshi is hilly, with immense corn-fields on each side; the soil is a fine black mould. Numerous small woods, and tall scattered trees, render the scenery

very pleasing. The three first stations from Kiëf to Grébenki cost eight kopeeks per verst for each horse, the rest to Uman only five. Bóghoslavle is a small mean district town, which has always belonged to the principality of Kiëf, and whose population is chiefly Jewish. It is surrounded by woods rising in amphitheatre, and cultivated fields. The river Rossa, which has numerous masses of granite lying in its course, flows through it, and its banks present those romantic features which are common in Britain, but are rarely to be seen in Russia, except in the Caucasus and Siberia. Part of this town belongs to the crown, and Countess Branitskii has large possessions in its vicinity. From Moskalénki the scenery is varied, and very fine to Korsún, a small village in a beautiful situation, and surrounded by a delightful country. Between Korsún and Olshána, the soil is extremely fertile: pastures, corn-fields, woods and small lakes, with a few scattered villages, were seen in succession. The road is broad and excellent, and we travelled at full gallop; the drivers of the two carriages racing against one another. In one of these races we met a herd of oxen, and were in the midst of them before the coachmen had power to check the speed of their horses. One of these animals fell, but the horse with which it had come in contact leapt over it, and we continued our journey, luckily without injury to any of them or to ourselves. The sight of six oxen, and three

persons employed here for each plough, struck us forcibly. Between this and the following station, innumerable trees, which had lost their tops, and others which were withering, caught the eye, and appeared to have suffered from lightning. Olshána is a village of considerable size, but with little to attract attention, except a line of about twenty neat white-washed cottages, separated from each other, and each with its garden. The lively appearance of this part of the village is greatly diminished by the vicinity of two old gloomy wooden churches, such as are very common in the Ukraine. The style of their architecture is exactly the same as that which prevails in Russia Proper.

We had now got fairly into that part of the Russian empire which is chiefly peopled by Jews and Poles. Both speak the Russian inharmoniously and incorrectly; and the Jews have a jargon composed of Polish, Russian, and German, in which they address foreigners of all nations.

A rapid drive through a charming country brought us to Zvenigórodka, a small shabby district town in the government of Kiëf, which lies upon the rivulet Gnloi-Tikitch. We found the Jews had made a contract for the post-horses here, and were determined to maintain their character for roguery. In escaping from the Russian *smotrítels*, most of whom are scoundrels, but manageable by bribery, we found ourselves in the hands of impostors, who, being proprietors, were exorbitant in

their demands, and resolute in their exaction. Having dined in this town, and still finding that they made false pretences and evasions, and would neither give us post-horses, nor compound upon reasonable terms to give any horses, we again had recourse to the *Gorodnitchii*. He was kind enough to send a soldier with orders, accompanied by a menace, to these contractors. The mandate was obeyed, the post-horses were harnessed, and we again pursued our route.

Almost all the Jews we had seen, in the course of our journey, except at Kiëf, exhibited a picture of great degradation, wretchedness, and imposition. Baron Sacken, Commander-in-chief of the 1st Russian army, in a letter to Prince D. V. Galitsin, Governor-general of Moscow, dated Mohilef, 12th April 1822, after noticing the nature of the country in White Russia, and the encouragement it holds out to agricultural improvement, with equal freedom and truth, remarks that the peasants, with their whole families, almost continually beg alms upon the road; and that all occupation consists in the distillation of spirits, which is in the hands of the Jews; "in the hands of a people, who, to the disgrace of humanity, live in idleness, in roguery, and in dirt."* This description of the Jews may be well applied to their

* Journal of the Agricultural Society of Moscow. No. IV. 1822.

brethren whom we saw in the governments of Kiëf, Khersón, Yekaterinosláf, and the Krimea.

Since the crown has monopolized the sale of spirits throughout the European dominions of the empire, the Jews as well as all others, are obliged to furnish from each distillery a certain quantity of a given strength, at a fixed price, to the immense public depôts or magazines. Therefore the more spirits sold the greater is the advantage to the government. But the *immoral* and wretched policy of raising a revenue from the vice, and at the expence of the health and lives of the peasants, who are the chief consumers of the spirits,—their nectar *vodtki*,—can never be sufficiently condemned. The government may pretend that by monopolising the sale of spirits, it is intended to furnish the boors with a good article at the same price as they had formerly paid for an adulterated and deleterious fluid, produced by individual distillers. So far the intention is excellent; but it is a notorious fact that no improvement of the spirits has resulted from the measure. Indeed, as Capt. Cochrane has justly remarked, in his narrative of an extensive journey in Russia and Siberia, by farming the distilleries, a system of plunder is practically encouraged; while the losers in the long run are the poor peasantry, “who receive a trash of spirit, far below the proof,” it being “doubly and trebly watered.” The same author well explains the degrading system of fraud which is carried on be-

tween the vice-governors of the provinces, the farmer-generals and their clerks, all of whose "immense subductions" are paid by new additions of water to the spirit which is valued to the deceived peasants as *genuine*.

As the Jews do not possess land, some of them purchase the produce of the soil, particularly wheat, from the proprietors, and transport it to Odéssa and other ports of the Black Sea. But wherever we met them, with a few exceptions, they presented the appearance already described, and bore the same character.

Indeed, during our visit to the south of Russia, every where we heard heavy complaints with respect to their imposition, and their monopoly of every profitable employment. From various rumours it was evident that some great revolution in their fate was approaching. Different individuals spoke of the "colonisation of the Jews," but none of them seemed to know what was meant by these words, and all were anxious to receive information. The mystery is at length unveiled, in an imperial and irresistible mandate. By an *ukáz* of the emperor of Russia, dated Warsaw, August 29. 1824, all Jews who are not physicians or established merchants, are ordered, by the year 1825, to renounce the petty commerce they have hitherto carried on, trades, &c., and to return to the occupation of their ancestors, that is

to say, to till the ground. For this purpose, the government will assign them lands in the temperate climate of European Russia, provide them with every thing necessary to commence their agricultural pursuits, and found them new settlements; besides it will exempt them from taxes for some years, if they conform to the supreme will of his Majesty. On the other hand, they have no alternative, except to quit Russia and Poland. As was naturally to be expected, the publication of this *ukáz* has caused great consternation among the numerous Jewish population.

Not to speak of the natives of the country, Russians, Little Russians, and Poles, three great classes of colonies will, therefore, be established in the southern provinces of the Russian empire, *viz.* German colonies, Jewish colonies, and Military colonies, of which we shall speak hereafter. It seems natural to expect some strange result, before a long period revolve, from this heterogeneous assemblage. The crown in one point, however, appears to consult the true interests of the state, in endeavouring to extend and improve the cultivation of her most fertile possessions.

In travelling in the south of Russia, the attention is attracted by a singular practice which prevails among the Jews. Attached to high poles, and extending in various directions across the streets of the towns and villages which they in-

habit, are seen many cords, connecting as it were the houses with each other. "As long," said our Jewish host, "as these strings are seen stretched between the different poles, it is permitted to have free intercourse with our neighbours; but when they are taken down, on the sabbath for instance, a Jew is forbidden, in case he quits his own house, to carry any thing loose about his person; in his pocket must be found neither snuff-box nor handkerchief."*

The authority for this strange custom, is said to be derived from the Talmud.

We travelled in the night through fine and fertile districts, which, however, were neither enlivened by country-seats nor by large or flourishing villages. We passed through Yekaterínopóle, a small town upon the banks of the Gnílaya, and at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 23d of April we reached Uman, by a level and most excellent road. All our acquaintances at Kiëf spoke of Sophiévka, adjoining to Uman, as one of the objects most worthy of a visit, and of the military colonies at Voznesénsk, as very interesting for the stranger's examination. We therefore followed the route which led to these places.

Uman, or Húman as it is often written, in former times, was a place of considerable importance during the almost continual wars between the Tar-

* Macmichael's Journey, &c. p. 467.

tars of the Krimea, the Poles, and the Russians, as well as on account of its vicinity to the Zaporógian Kozáks. In the year 1655, the khan, Mahomed, advanced with a chosen army and joined Potótskii, the Polish general, and their combined forces besieged Uman, which was defended by three ramparts and 30,000 men. The Poles regarded this town as the bulwark of the Kozáks, and desired its fall, and the Tartars would gladly have rased it to the ground, because it was a great impediment to their incursions into Poland. The attack was terrible, and the first rampart was carried; but the besieged having discovered their errors in the preceding manœuvres, took fresh courage and new measures, and the Tartars were repulsed in the following assaults.

Uman received its appellation from the river upon which it lies. It now forms a district town in the government of Kiëf, and, by our route, is 302 versts distant from the town of Kiëf. It formerly belonged to the late Count Potótskii, a Polish nobleman, well known for his encouragement of literature and science. It is a paltry and miserable town; and, though it contains a number of churches, most of them are very indifferent, and all in want of repair. As an officer remarked, the inhabitants do not build good houses here, more than in many other towns of the empire; “because,” said he, “we get possession of all the best by being quartered in them.” There is not a single

edifice worth notice in Uman, and the dwelling of the late Count Potótskii is small and of a very plain appearance; indeed it is more like a cottage than a palace. The population of Uman has been reckoned at from 300 to 500 souls, chiefly Jews, some Poles, and a few Russians. Potótskii's gymnasium claims attention. It was erected by the late Count for the children of reduced Polish nobles. A hundred are fed, clothed, and educated by the interest of funds left on purpose, and 360 receive their education gratis. A number of regiments are stationed in and near Uman; and a military Lancasterian school is instituted for the education of the soldier's children. A small *Exercise-house* for the military is likewise found here. The prisons were extremely dirty, ill-regulated, and in great want of ventilation; they were more like an abode for dogs than human beings.

Uman was crowded with people on our arrival, and we learned that there was a great fair. We took up our lodgings at an inn kept by a Jew, and, to prevent ourselves being imposed upon, fixed the price for the day. Prince Serge Volchónskii, who was stationed here with his regiment, and to whom we had sent the letters received at Kiëf, called upon us, invited us to dinner, and walked with us to shew the town. He gave us an excellent dinner, in a neat white-washed cottage, and entertained us much by his intelligent conversation. He spoke with enthusiasm of the climate and country of the

south of the Russian empire, in comparison of the neighbourhood of Petersburg, where he had passed much of his life, and where almost all his relations reside. After treating us with the greatest hospitality and attention, he furnished us with letters for Count and Countess de Witt, at Voznesénsk, and also for Colonel Terpelévskii, at Konstantínovka, and assisted us in making a contract with the Jews to carry us to Bóghopóle, with twelve horses, at the rate of no less than twelve kopeeks per verst for each horse.

We made a visit to Sophiévka, the chief object of attention at Uman. This place may be said to have been formed by Count Potótskii, who was extremely rich. It is reported that he had 80,000 peasants, besides money and moveable property. At his death a number of years ago he left an immense fortune. The Countess was one of those romantic characters, whose beauty, charms, and coquetry, gained many admirers, and led to a great variety in life. It is related, that among the women who had resorted to the court of Catherine was a Grecian lady, already famous, Madame de Witt, who was beloved by Prince Potyémkin, and seemed likely to snatch him away from the crowd of beauties who were contending for his favours. From his partiality for her, the prince gave the government of Khersón to her husband, Colonel de Witt. This did not prevent Madame de Witt being guilty of some infidelities to the amorous prince.

Under pretence of making a visit to her mother, who was a poor trades-woman at the seraglio, she went to Constantinople with the Countess de Mnistchek, and there Choiseul Gouffier gave her lodgings in the Hotel de France. After the death of Potyémkin, Madame de Witt, for a while, followed the fortune of Count Felix Potótskii; but, at the solicitation of his lady the Countess, the Empress caused her to be shut up in a convent.*

From the above relation, it appears pretty clear, that Colonel de Witt was rewarded by Prince Potyémkin for his wife's infidelity; or, it might be said with greater propriety, — as has often happened in Russia, — he tacitly connived at her association with the prince, and reaped the wages of her iniquity. Hence we can easily conceive the truth, or at least the probability, of the report, that Count Potótskii absolutely bought Madame de Witt from her husband, and gave an immense sum for his purchase. This lady however, in losing one husband, secured another; for, though it is reported that Count Potótskii enjoyed her favours, previous to marriage, and that she bore him children, yet he acted most honourably in making her his Countess, and in procuring an imperial order by which their children were legitimatised.

The following curious anecdote is well known. When Ismail had been besieged by the Russians

* Life of Catherine II. vol. iii. p. 156.

for seven months, Potyémkin began to grow impatient, though living in the camp, in the midst of luxury, and surrounded by a crowd of courtiers and women, who employed every effort to amuse him. Madame de Witt, one of these females, pretending to read the decrees of fate in a pack of cards, presaged that he would take the town at the end of three weeks. Prince Potyémkin smiling, answered, that he had a method of divination far more infallible, and that instant sent his orders to Suvárof to take Ismail within three days. The brave, but barbarous hero, obeyed his orders to the letter, and, after a dreadful slaughter, succeeded in making himself master of the town.*

Countess Potótskii was a well known character in Russia, during a long series of years, and was a fit compeer for Catherine in the career of voluptuousness and libertinism. But riches frequently blind poets, imparting the lustre of virtues which were never possessed, and throwing a veil over failings, vices, and wickedness. But, however they may impose upon themselves, the public will not be deceived. The Polish poet, Trembéskii, might sing the charms of Sophiévka, and the virtues of Countess Potótskii, in enchanting verse, and by his condescension, flattery, and assiduity, obtain the protection of his heroine ; but,

* Vide Life of Catherine II. vol. iii. pp. 161. 282.

in so doing, he condemned his works to an ephemeral existence.

The Countess passed much of her time at Petersburg and at Sophiévka, but her favourite residence was at Tultchín, in the government of Podólia, and near Bratsláf, where she had a palace and magnificent gardens, worthy of a sovereign, and where she lived with truly royal splendour. In James's Journal of his Travels in Germany, &c. a friend of his has given a very amusing and interesting account of a visit to Tultchín, in the year 1806, after the death of Count Potótskii. He speaks of the "air of feudal state" which there reigned, and seems to think that the "cumbrous magnificence, and ostentatious hospitality," of Moscow, was replaced by elegance and grandeur of a more simple and more natural kind; but here, as is but too evident, splendour and meanness were also powerfully contrasted.*

The neighbourhood of Uman seemed so destitute of wood and romantic beauty, that we could not conceive where *Sophiévka* was situated. On our approach to it, a woody dell opened to view, which we afterwards found to be the gardens, adorned by broad walks, terraces, summer-houses, parterres, and statues, with a channel between hills covered with immense masses of transported rock, over which, at times, roll foaming cascades.

* Journal of a Tour in Germany, &c. p. 495.

In an almost unbounded flat country, devoid of the wildness, the grandeur, and the sublimity of natural scenery, we need not be surprised that the Russians, and the Poles, spoke of Sophiévka as an enchanted place, and as a rarity in the land of the Slavonians. Though highly pleased, still we felt great disappointment. Our expectations had been raised too high by the accounts of our friends, as well as by the poem published by Trembéskaa, under the name "*Sophiévka*," and the views it contains. The gardens are not large enough to have any grandeur about them; the cascades are only seen when a sluice is opened and admits the water from a superior dam; and, however well art may imitate, she can never equal the delicacy, the harmony, and the majesty, of natural scenery. Still, it must be allowed, that Sophiévka is a charming spot; and the effect of the scenery, combined with the music of a military band and the stillness of a delightful evening, lulled our feelings into harmonious repose.

Sophiévka was a fit residence for a contemplative poet, such as Trembéskaa, who here passed the maturer years of his life in "the contemplation of human existence, and its immutability in an after state, embodying the results of his thoughts in tender and flowing verse — charms in a high degree peculiar to his fascinating poetry."* These sub-

* Vide *Letters, Literary and Political, on Poland, &c.* Edin-

jects form the chief theme of the poem "*Sophiévka*," which was translated into French by the Count de la Garde, splendidly printed at Rome with the Polish original, and embellished with imposing views of the gardens. The early years of Trembészkii were passed in activity, and adulation of the great, on whom he lavished unmerited praises, clothed in the garb of harmonious and enchanting verse. Placed by fortune beyond the reach of poverty, and surrounded by scenery congenial to the passions of his heart, it might have been expected that he was a happy man; but, with him, as with many others, splendid talents, acute feelings, and a morbid constitution, were associated together. The last stage of his life was characterised by misanthropy and solitary retirement. His only companion was a Kozák boy, with whom he played at chess, or was cheered by his songs, accompanied with the music of a *torban*, a sort of ancient Polish instrument like a guitar. During summer, in the room where he lived, swallows and sparrows built their nests undisturbed, and their hospitable host is said to have known the genealogy of his feathered inmates.

burgh, 1823. This is an interesting work, and, though published anonymously, is well known to be the composition of Mr. Lach Szyrma, a gentleman who does honour to the land which gave him birth, and which he is well qualified to describe, were he beyond the limits of despotism.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that Countess Potótskii died lately, while travelling in Poland or Germany, and the property she left becomes the portion of two sons and two daughters.

When we were ready to set off from Uman, the horses were not sent according to agreement, and I was obliged to go and find them. They were then put to the carriages, but their proprietor refused to let them go away unless he had his fare beforehand. Having seen enough of Jewish roguery we declined giving the whole, but offered a part of the money. He would not receive it, the horses were taken from the carriages, and sent home. Having had a letter for the *Gorodníchii*, a Greek long domiciliated in Russia, we had become acquainted with him, and now, though late in the evening, I went to his house, and made a complaint against the Jew. An imperious order was sent immediately to harness the horses, which was reluctantly complied with, and at mid-night we left the town. We travelled all night, and on the morning of the 24th April arrived at Kholovínska, a distance of nearly forty versts. The light of the moon enabled us to see the nature of the country we were traversing, which was varied and pretty, but not so fine as that we had passed through two days before.

Kholovínska is really a wretched village, almost entirely filled with Jews whose appearance and tattered clothes betokened indigence and want. It

was our design to remain here only to breakfast, but we were detained half a day by the stupidity of a Russian smith, who undertook to fasten the ring within the box of one of the wheels of the calash which had got loose. He took the wheel with him, but instead of fastening the ring, he spoiled it. He then made a new ring which was too small, and in cutting the wood to admit a second, he made the opening by far too large. The defect he remedied with tow, and made a paste of earth and tar, with which he filled up the interstices, and covered all blemishes. We paid him for his trouble, and laughed heartily at the *ingenuity* of his imposition, at which the Jews seemed highly pleased.

Soon after leaving Kholovínska we entered upon a plain; on which scarcely a village, a tree, an animal, or a human being was to be seen. As we foresaw, we had scarcely commenced the stage before the smith's workmanship gave way; but fortunately this was of no immediate importance. At some distance from Bóghopóle, by a sudden spring of the horses in crossing a ditch, the pole of one of the carriages was broken. We were near a village, and sent back a servant on horseback to find some kind of pole or piece of wood, which was purchased for five roubles. While the pole was arranging, Count Ozeróvskii came up with us, politely asked what accident had oc-

curred, then entered into conversation, and finished by inviting us to pass the night in the house of Countess Potótskii at Bóghopóle, as no good inns or lodgings were to be found there. After traversing about forty versts of a *step** country we arrived at Bóghopóle, were kindly received by the Countess's steward, and got tea and supper and a comfortable lodging for the night. The steward appeared quite master of the place, and probably he had more influence than his late employer.

In Russian Poland, as in Russia Proper, the stewards of the nobility frequently gain a complete ascendancy over their lords and their property; and contrive, by direct or indirect means, to secure

* *Step*, and not *steppe*, as the Germans, the French, and the British generally spell it, is a very expressive Russian word, and is differently applied. It often means an immense extent of uncultivated land devoid of habitations and trees. Such *steps* are to be seen in many parts of the south of Russia, and in the Kubán. They are generally level or nearly so, and often seem boundless, but they are not deserts; on the contrary, many of them are covered by a rich soil, produce most abundant crops of grass, and are enamelled with the choicest tints in the diversity of their wild flowers, which all flourish in the plains till the change of the seasons, when they wither and decay, and renew themselves by their seeds, from year to year, untouched by the hand of man. How often, in traversing these *steps*, have we thought of the *feasts and revels* the half-starved animals of the creation would have if let loose among their abundant herbage. Other *steps* are nearly barren, and like deserts without trees, present a boundless surface of arid sand, as is the case near Astrachan.

their own fortune, even should they keep their places but for a short time.

I have stated, in another work, that the stewards of the Russian nobility, for the most part, are a set of men—unworthy the name of men—of villains and of robbers, in no degree behind the merchants in their proneness to deceit, while they are equally destitute of virtue, equally void of shame, equally given to corruption, and equally depraved in morals. They seldom fail to enrich themselves; and it often happens, that while their lords and masters come to poverty and starvation, they are enjoying themselves in revelry, the song, and the dance.* I have also said that, “to procure a good, and honest, and clever steward, in Russia, is a matter of infinite difficulty:” hence an adage, ‘*Buy not a village, but buy a steward for yourself.*’ “As things are at present, by far the greatest part of stewards upon noblemen’s estates are their own slaves, and are generally very corrupt in their morals. Some of the richer nobles have free stewards, and most of them are great villains; a few, however, are reputed for their honesty and good conduct.”† The same remarks might, perhaps, be applied to the Polish stewards, with a slight shade of difference in their favour. It must not be understood, however, that I mean this di-

* Character of the Russians, &c. p. xxii.

† Ibid. p. 550.

gression as a censure upon Countess Potótskii's steward, who, on the contrary, bore an excellent character.

The Russian nobility are not ignorant of the infamous and extensive injustice they suffer at the hands of their stewards. Many cases have occurred in which the relations or friends of a nobleman have pointed out numerous palpable instances in which he had been grossly cheated. But the general answer is, "I am well aware that my steward deceives me, and cheats me in kind and in money, and is becoming rich by his nefarious conduct; but what can I do? For the same reasons I have repeatedly changed my stewards, and found every one as bad, or worse, than another; and to say the truth, the present is more moderate in his impositions than his predecessors. I may discharge him to-day, and have a worse to-morrow, and besides suffer all the disadvantages which every such change necessarily incurs." A few anecdotes will tend to illustrate these statements.

When the late Count Platóf was informed by his relations that his stewards received greater revenues than he himself, and openly acquired considerable property, he answered them with *sang froid*, in a Russian proverb: "*Every lime-tree is not in a line.*" "You think I do not see: I see all; by whom, if not by us, can they enrich themselves? I am content: let them alone, and they shall be content, and shall become rich for

their pains, provided my peasants, my *golúbtchiks*, (my doves) are happy and tranquil.” *

A nobleman, with whom I lived as physician, for a short time, and who had the fascinating art of inducing persons, wherever he resided, to give him credit, even when he was well known to be a bad payer, at length lost his character, both in the capitals, and even in some small towns, except among strangers. In a district town he was in debt to all the principal merchants, not one of whom would send their wares to his excellency upon credit. But, strange to tell, they would all give credit to a considerable amount to his steward, who was his slave. I have known tea and sugar refused to the master, but sent to his estate immediately when the steward put his signature to a scrap of paper, the contents of which implied that he bound himself personally to make good their payment.

In the year 1815, I arrived at Avtchúrin, in the government of Kalúga with Mr. Poltarátskii. This nobleman, many years ago, had made one of his slaves, who had been educated on purpose, his steward, upon that estate. He behaved so infamously, and was guilty of such roguery, that his master displaced him, reduced him to his former condition, and as a peasant he again was employed. By his submission, assiduity, and apparent

* *Jisn i Podvigi*; or, Life and Combats of Count Platóf, part iii. p. 42.

contrition, after two or three years, he accomplished his redemption, and Mr. P. upon his swearing, in future, to be faithful and honest, reinstated him as steward of the village. For a short time he acted properly, but afterwards was guilty of most profligate and flagrant acts of dishonesty. On the afternoon of the day of our arrival, he made repeated courteous visits and was well received; his master gave not the slightest indication of displeasure, or of any knowledge of his false conduct and breach of his oath: little was dreamed of what was approaching. Mr. P., some weeks ago, had sent a poor officer to reside in his house at Avtchúrin, and to be useful in any capacity. He was a spirited young man, and, agreeably to the plan concerted between Mr. P. and himself, he prepared a couple of bundles of rods (called in Russ *batóji*), and then stationed two strong men, in a room in one of the wings of the house, whom he instructed in the part they were to execute. The steward, who was loitering at his ease in his own house, was sent for to come and speak to Mr. Poltarátskii. He soon reached the house, but was told to go to the wing. He hastened thither, and was somewhat surprised at his entrance, instead of his master, to meet the officer, who pretended he had something to say to him in another room, which they both entered. The officer then peremptorily ordered him to pull off his clothes, and instantly the men stood ready

with the *batóji*. The steward demurred and made an effort to escape, but he was overpowered, his clothes were torn off him, and he received a severe flagellation. I must confess I was not at all sorry at his punishment, for he richly deserved it; but this mode of chastising a steward, and the artful manœuvres of Mr. P. to accomplish it, both surprised and amused me. His master did not displace him, but threatened that for his next offence, the strokes would be inflicted with greater severity, or that he would give him away for a soldier, the most severe punishment in Russia; perhaps, even more dreaded than a trip to Siberia; because the peasants know what is a soldier's life, but few return to carry tidings from the mines of the east. Yet it has been said — though “the recruiting of the Russian army is not by volunteer engagement;” though “the magistrates select the most efficient young men, according to the required number;” and though “the day of nomination is passed in general grief, and each family is in unaffected affliction at the approaching separation of a son or a brother” — that “no sooner is the head of the reluctant conscript shaved, according to military habit; no sooner is he recognised as a defender of his country, than the complaints and lamentations cease, and all his relations and friends present articles of dress or comfort to the no longer reluctant recruit;” that “their revel, with the music and the dance, takes place, until the moment arrives when he is to

abandon his native home, and the adored tomb of his fathers ;” and that “with cheers, the eternal farewell is mutually expressed, and the exulting soldier extends his regards to his country, and devotes his new life to the glory and prosperity of his sovereign and Russia.” It is also added, that “this moral death, this military resuscitation, is a phenomenon generated and perpetuated by patriotism, the fundamental principle of Russian action, which cheers the soldier in hardship, and animates him in danger.”*

This is a very lively and honourable picture of the enthusiastic and heroic patriotism of the Russian peasants, and of a higher degree of that virtue, I fear, than is likely to be found in a land of despotism and vassalage, even among many of the privileged aristocracy. When a new levy of men takes place, and when every crown-village, corporate body, or nobleman, receives notice of the quota of recruits to be furnished, if the peasants know of the business, nothing is to be seen among them but agitation and misery. Among those to be given away as soldiers, *though at times determined by ballot*, are sure to be included all useless persons — all individuals who have given offence — in a word, as the Russians express it, all *mauvais sujets*. The nobles with deep regret are often necessitated to part with men who are valuable to them in a double capacity: first having learned

* Character and Composition of the Russian Army, &c. p.11. by Sir R. Wilson.

some profession or trade, as clerks, musicians, tailors, coachmen, shoe-makers, &c. they are of great consequence to them upon their estates, as they command part of their labour for nothing, and should they grant them a passport to enable them to engage in business for themselves, they receive a large *obrók*, or annual tax: and, secondly, because the value of such people when sold, is double or treble that of a common peasant. The masters threaten to sell these *mauvais sujets*, or to give them away as soldiers, if they do not make amends for their bad conduct; and not unfrequently the menace is realised when least expected. I knew a coachman, who was worth a thousand roubles, (about 43*l.* at the present rate of exchange) who had often been in disgrace and confinement, for drunkenness and theft, and whose master had in vain endeavoured to reclaim him; he was suddenly seized by the police, his head was shaved, and he was transported to Moscow, and so rapidly transformed into a soldier, that when he spoke to me in uniform, a short time afterwards, I could scarcely recognise him. Contrary to the most lively part of the above description of Sir R. Wilson, I have seen the recruits upon *telégas* and sledges, drawn at a solemn pace, and surrounded by their relations and friends who bewailed their fate in the most lamentable manner; while they, dejected and absorbed in grief, sat like statues, or lay extended like corpses. In fact, a stranger

would assuredly have imagined that he saw a funeral procession, and heard the lamentations and the wild shrieks, which, in Russia, are uttered for the dead. Nor, indeed, would the mistake be great according to the ideas of the peasants, who take an everlasting farewell of their children, brothers, relations, and friends, and consider their entrance into the army as their *moral death*. They seldom indulge the hope of seeing them, or of hearing from them again, especially in the distant governments of the empire, and but too often their anticipations prove correct. Few furloughs are given to Russian soldiers, the distance from their homes rendering visits impossible; and seldom can a correspondence be kept up by those who can neither read nor write, and who must trust to the precarious chance of sending verbal messages. The chances of falling in battle, or by natural death, before the expiration of twenty-five years' servitude, present but a gloomy and doubtful perspective of the soldier's ever again beholding his native home, and justify the grief and lamentation of his friends.

We found Count Ozeróvskii a singular personage; he amused us till midnight, by his anecdotes, his grimaces, and his extravagancies. Among other things he told us, that by the present system of military colonisation, in thirty years, Russia would have six millions of troops; but to the question, "What would she do with them?" allowing

the possibility of the case, he could give no satisfactory answer.

Bóghopóle is a small town, of an exceedingly mean appearance, in the government of Podólia. It occupies the angle which is formed by the confluence of the Sinyúcha, and the Boog, and is inhabited by Poles, Russians, and Jews. Olvíopóle, on the opposite side of the Boog, is a district town in the government of Khersón, in appearance and population the companion of Bóghopóle. It was once a frontier town of Turkey, and marks the progress of incursion made by her potent neighbour, whose limits are now beyond Bessarabia.

Having breakfasted with our host, the Countess Potóskii's steward, we began to consider how we were to pursue our route. By the road we had taken to Bóghopóle, our Jewish drivers reckoned the distance ninety versts, and were paid for that number, though we were all convinced of their imposition. We should have been glad to have crossed the Boog to Olvíopóle, and to have proceeded by the post road to Voznesénsk, but we could not get horses. Nor could we come to any agreement with the Jews of Bóghopóle. Under these circumstances we were reluctantly obliged to make offers to the impostors who had carried us from Uman. They had the effrontery to ask seventy-six roubles to transport us thirty-three versts farther; and, after much bargaining, we were glad to comply with this exorbitant demand. The ex-

perience of the last two days made us determine never again to quit the post-road ; and, above all, to avoid falling into the hands of Jews. From Bóghopóle, after crossing the Sinyúcha, by a good ferry to Khólta, a trifling village ; the road is *hilly*, and passes over *steps* : the views are bleak and dreary, and few villages are seen, because they chiefly lie in hollóws and on the banks of the rivers. We passed through Románovka and Zverníva, two small villages, and again reached the Boog, which we crossed in a ferry-boat. Having traversed a hill, rock-scenery, in the course of that river, took us by surprise, and produced most pleasing emotions, enjoying which we arrived before the house of Colonel Terpelévskii, at Konstantínovka, the first of the military colonies in this direction. It was formerly a small and shabby village, but its streets, its houses, and its gardens, were repaired and improved, and a number of new edifices were erected, as commodious stables for the horses of a whole regiment, a tolerable sized wooden *manége* for training the cavalry, magazines, quarters for the officers, besides the cottage of their commander. It was converted into a military colony about three years ago, and has ever since been maintained in the best order.

We delivered our letters of introduction, and were very kindly received by Colonel Terpelévskii and his lady ; but, as they only spoke the Russian language, the pleasure of their society

was greatly diminished to our party; and I was obliged to act as interpreter. The situation of the Colonel's cottage, with a garden behind it extending to the banks of the Boog, is very agreeable and romantic. After walking in the garden, and admiring the beautiful stallions which belonged to the Colonel, who is an amateur of horses, as well as others which were kept for the stud of the regiment, dinner was announced. A number of officers, some of whom luckily spoke French, partook of the excellent repast.

After dinner we were shown nearly a hundred of the cavalry horses, which astonished us by their appearance, size, and excellent condition; especially those destined for the under-officers. We were still more astonished on demanding the value of different horses, that the answer was always *two hundred roubles*. The fact is, that the crown only allows two hundred roubles for the purchase of each horse, while some of those we saw had cost a thousand: others were now valued at two thousand roubles; and not one had been bought for less than two hundred roubles. On asking who had supplied the additional money, we were informed that it was Colonel Terpelévskii; and the matter is easily explained.

The annual pay of the colonels and other officers of the Russian army, amounts to a mere trifle; yet most of them, whether they have private fortunes or not, support a high rank in

society, and drive their carriages. The fact is, that each regiment has an annual allowance made for its support, and its *wear and tear*, to use a vulgar expression. When *contracts* are made by the colonel, or the officers, they receive indirect profits ; when they are made by the government, or by the commander-in-chief, at the head-quarters of the first, second, or third army, they have still opportunities of gain ; and, if they choose to give false reports as to the quantity and quality of articles, which is often the case, they acquire handsome sums. Cavalry regiments are particularly sought after by officers, because, not only contracts for the men, but extensive contracts for the horses, are made, and of course their profits are greater. Besides this, they have sometimes an honourable way of saving a good deal of money. The colonel generally has the choice of taking the allowance for his regiment in money or in kind. Now, when he happens to be stationed in one of the southern governments of Russia, where corn and hay are abundant, he takes his allowance in money, makes the cheapest contracts for necessary supplies, and puts the surplus into his pocket. But, again, when he is cantoned in a government in which corn and hay are dear, he takes them both in kind, and prevents loss. With these advantages, a colonel sometimes enriches himself, and generally secures, at least, a handsome competency. It does, however, happen now and then, that an elevation

to this rank proves a man's ruin ; because, a colonel, on receiving a regiment from his predecessor, is obliged to take its *stock*, horses, and accoutrements, at a fixed price. If they fall below the value, so much the worse for him, because good horses, and good trappings, &c. must be procured by the time his regiment is examined, or it may be taken from him. If he be rich, he can afford to do this ; but, some, who were poor, have shot themselves in despair of the ruin which appeared inevitable.

In the spring of 1821, when rumours of an immediate war between Turkey and Russia spread on every side, and when the probability of such an event was greatly strengthened by orders for different regiments of infantry to be ready to march in six days, and for cavalry and artillery regiments to complete their number of horses within two weeks, an officer, who was stationed in a provincial town, was thrown into a dreadful panic. One evening I found him in his garden, standing immovable as a statue, and with a look of despair. At length he returned my salutation ; and then said he was ready to cut his throat. Ten days before this he had received orders to complete a number of horses by a given short time — no easy task — as the sum allowed by government was totally inadequate to procure such animals as were really requisite. Soldiers, however, were sent every where into the country, and nearly the whole number of

horses was bought at an extravagant price, every one of them having cost fifty, sixty, or eighty roubles more than the crown allowance. Just as he was about to conclude the bargain for other six horses still wanting, a communication reached him, in which he was told not to purchase any. He had now all the horses to dispose of, which he assured me would cause a great loss to himself, and not to the crown. This was the cause of his melancholy. I encouraged him, and laughingly said, "My good friend, what you lose to-day you may gain to-morrow. You know the ways and means by which that can be done in the Russian army." With a smile he signified assent; then, thinking for a minute, he exclaimed — "You are right, I shall think no more of the business."

Colonel Terpelévskii is chief of the 3d regiment of the cavalry of the Boog, and has 5000 men, belonging to the military colonies, under his inspection. Our party had the curiosity to be present at a baptism in his house, according to the rites of the Greek church, at the conclusion of which, an officer, who had been with the army in Germany and France in 1812—14, and who had also visited Britain, very *sagaciously* asked me, "*Whether they baptised children beyond the frontiers of Russia?*"

We were about to start from Konstaninóvka, when one of the Jewish drivers came up to us weeping. About half way from Bóghopóle, one of his horses seemed ill, and he thought it best to take it out of the carriage, to bleed it at the nose,

by means of a pen-knife, and to leave it in charge of a guide whom Countess Potótskii's steward had obligingly sent with us. The Jew stated, that another man who had been passing by the same road had just got to Konstantínovka and reported that the horse was dead. He wept and begged our pecuniary assistance. Suspecting that this was, in the first place, a Jew's trick; and, in the second, feeling little compassion, if the report were even true, for a man who had so grossly imposed upon us, and also knowing that the old broken-winded animal was of very little value when living, we dismissed him with a five-rouble note.

We had a military post from Konstantínovka, *i.e.* horses belonging to the colony, at eight kopeeks per verst, soldiers in uniform for drivers, and soldiers for postillions. As each carriage had six horses, as the road was smooth like a bowling green, and as the drivers were masters of their art, we got on rapidly to Alexándrovká, another military station. Our route was up and down hill, through a naked dreary country, on the extensive pastures of which we remarked more cattle grazing, than we had seen between Uman and Bóghopóle. The moment of our arrival at the post-house, a military *smotrítel* ordered our horses and inscribed our *podorójnë*, and by the time we had walked about to see the station, the carriages were ready for our departure.

Alexándrovká is a small village; it has been im-

proved in the same manner as Konstantínovka; and had a clean neat appearance, much enlivened by an inclosed square green court, in which a small church somewhat awkwardly stands.

From Alexándrovká to Voznesénsk the road was much of the same kind as that of the last station; and the drivers being equally adroit, we made great speed, and arrived there about 9 o'clock in the evening.

Voznesénsk which lies upon the Boog, was a very insignificant town, with *Sókolof* in its vicinity, and received its name in the reign of Catharine I. on account of a church which was raised by that sovereign's orders, and was dedicated to the *Vozneséníyé*, or the Ascension. At a new division of the Russian empire in 1793, it became the chief town of a government to which it lent its name, and which was afterwards abolished. The following account of it is given by Castelnau.

“Woznesensk, which ought to be the seat of a government, is only a chief place of the Kozáks of the Boog: this little warlike tribe of six or seven thousand souls forms many regiments: they are the remains of the Moldavians and the Arnaouts who took arms for Russia in the wars against the Turks. They have the same military constitution as the Kozáks of the Don; although they are conducted by their *Atamán*, they are, nevertheless, under the orders of the governor of New Russia.”*

* Vide Castelnau's *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie*, vol. ii. p. 338.

Voznesénsk is now one of the largest of the southern military colonies, and is the head-quarters of the 1st regiment of the huláns of the Boog; indeed two squadrons of this regiment are here colonised. At present it is the residence of Count (Iván Osípovitch) de Witt who is occupied in arranging this colony, and in training that regiment, to serve as models for other places. He intends soon to remove his head-quarters to Elizabetgrad, a district town in the same government, which is chiefly peopled by *Raskólniks* or Schismatics.

Voznesénsk has of late been completely metamorphosed. It now contains a number of regular and wide streets which are lined with new edifices. Almost all the old buildings have been repaired and white-washed. A temporary wooden riding-school; a fine large new stone riding-school; a school for the *cantonists* or young soldiers conducted upon the Lancasterian system; another for the female children under the direction of Countess de Witt; military stores and magazines; numerous houses for the officers who reside here; and a military hospital with an extensive garden round it, were all pointed out to our notice. Many of these edifices are constructed of lime-stone, full of shells, like that which we afterwards saw at Odéssa, and which abounds in this neighbourhood, and over a considerable extent of country. The date of the conversion of Voznesénsk into a military colony is

commemorated by an inscription upon a pillar opposite the school, the 24th December, A. D. 1817; a day which is annually remembered by the inhabitants with deep regret and lamentation.

After partaking of an excellent dinner with a large party of officers, at the Countess de Witt's, we saw a number of the cavalry reviewed in the *manège* and a great many of the best horses; and were afterwards conducted to see a company of 200 cantonists exercise and manœuvre. As all the novel details of the system of military colonisation are contained in a pamphlet lately published, I shall not enter deeply into the subject here.* I may, however remark that the grand feature of this system is the organisation of an immense army from among the crown-peasants, who are to be employed in agriculture in time of peace, and to form nearly the whole of the land force of the empire in time of war; in fact, during peace, to have a *resident self-supporting soldier-agricultural army*, or one, at least, which will cost the crown but little except their arms. It has been rumoured of late that the plan was about to be abandoned; but this is a mistake. On the contrary, it is not long since a fresh *ukáz* was issued respecting the organisation of the colonies; and the whole circle of Starobélsk, which belonged to the government of *Voróneje*, is incorporated with them.

* Vide, An Account of the Organisation, Administration, and Present State of the Military Colonies in Russia, 1824.

All being ready, at one o'clock of the morning of the 26th April, we left Voznesénsk for Odéssa, a distance of 125 versts. The road was excellent, and while in motion we went on very rapidly; but we were detained at the stations, on account of the horses being at some distance grazing in the *steps*, a practice which is very common in the south of Russia. On the arrival of an equipage, a man is sent on horseback half a verst, a verst, or even two versts, and drives home the requisite number. However disagreeable the delay of an hour, or even two hours, may be, the traveller can find no remedy but patience. This is peculiarly the case in the government of the Caucasus. When Count de Witt travels, an *avant-courier* generally prepares horses for him at every station, and he proceeds with great rapidity; he has made the journey from Voznesénsk to Odéssa in six hours, and repeatedly in six hours and a half. The long-continued level roads through the *step-country* of Russia, which in dry weather are smooth as a bowling-green, are very favourable for rapid motion; and at many of the stations excellent horses are kept. A French writer has said, "*on courre la poste en France et en Angleterre, mais en Russie on vole**," which is really pretty correct. But the great impediments to rapid journeys are the delays at the stations, and the continual dismounting of the drivers, to adjust the

* Voyage en Crimée, &c. par J. Reuilly, p. 15. Paris, 1806.

badly arranged horse-harness or ropes. Couriers who travel in *telégas*, (as already remarked, the lightest and best adapted carriage in Russia for speed), make journeys the rapidity of which is almost incredible. Thus they often go from Odéssa to Petersburg and *vice versa*, a distance of 1876 versts (1251 miles) in six or seven days ; and Mr. Yeames the British consul, told us that he once despatched a messenger from Odéssa to that capital and received an answer in thirteen days. A Mr. Clement assured us that he arrived at Mozdók from Petersburg, a distance of 2425 versts (1617 miles) *en courier* in nine days. But when he got to the post-house he was unable to move, having quite lost the use of his limbs, and was carried into it with his despatches. A long-continued Russian bath, plentiful friction with birch branches, and two days' repose however restored him to his usual health. I have heard of many similar instances ; but it is not only in the south, and over level roads, that enormous speed may be made. By paying well, the traveller, if he finds horses at the stations, may do the same almost every where in Russia, and particularly so between Petersburg and Moscow. Long ago Peter the Great made the journey between these capitals, during winter, in forty-six hours ; a journey of 728 versts or nearly 486 miles. When the town of Khersón was erecting, Prince Potyémkin accelerated the works with incredible activity, and “ was frequently seen to set out from

Petersburgh; fly, as it were, to the banks of the Dnéper; and make his appearance on those of the Néva, in less time than would be requisite for an ordinary man to perform the journey to Moscow.”* The Emperor Alexander, however, has excelled all his predecessors in the rapidity of his motions. He has oftener than once travelled in an open sledge, and in severe weather, from Petersburgh to Moscow in forty-two hours. I believe those who accompanied his Majesty have not the least desire for a repetition of the compliment paid to them. But, indeed, in Russia it is quite common to travel above 200 miles in twenty-four hours, including not only the stoppages at the stations, but also the delays absolutely necessary for frequently adjusting the horse-harness, or rather ropes: this gives an average of about eight and one third miles per hour; so that all lost time must be made up by galloping at full speed as seen in the first and second vignettes.

The whole tract between Voznesénsk and Odéssa possesses little interest. The country is, for the most part, level, but in a few places hilly, and is enlivened with few villages. About twenty-five versts from Odéssa, corn-fields and villas drew our attention; and the nearer we approached it, the appearances of cultivation and of population proportionally increased. Ten versts distant we had the first view of this town and of the Black Sea,

* Life of Catharine II. vol. iii. p. 20.

with a small *liman* or salt-lake, on the right. This line of road has just undergone a repair ; and on a considerable extent of it, along both sides, and at short distances, are erected large cones of turf. Near Odéssa are similar cones built of stone, plastered and white-washed. Worms, a small German colony, and Maloi Bujalsk, which is said to contain many Bulgarians, but which we found chiefly inhabited by Jews, one of whom had contracted for the post, deserve no further notice.

Our road lay over bare rocks, and through heavy sands, round the bay ; and we entered the suburbs of Odéssa, through a row of columns, which formed the barrier. A Kozák-guard is stationed here, who took our *podorójnë*, and, after having entered our names in the register, returned it. A long drive through the suburb, called *Persip*, brought us to a pretty steep hill, which we ascended, between two columns, called the barrier of Khersón, and made our entrance into the town of Odéssa, of which a representation is given in the vignette belonging to this chapter. There are few inns in this town ; but we got well lodged at one called the *English Club*.



CHAP. IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF ODÉSSA. — OBSTACLES TO ITS INCREASE. — ITS SITUATION AND ARCHITECTURE. — DESCRIPTION OF ODÉSSA. — LIME STONE. — PLANTS. — PUBLIC GARDENS. — ENGLISH CLUB. — LYCEUM. — SEMINARIES FOR FEMALES. — THE TOWN-HOSPITAL. — THE POLICE-OFFICE. — THE THEATRE. — THE ASSEMBLY-ROOMS AND EXCHANGE. — THE CATHEDRAL AND CHURCHES. — THE QUARANTINE. — ENGLISH RACES. — AGRICULTURAL ESTABLISHMENT. — COMMERCE OF ODÉSSA. — FRAUDS AT THE

CUSTOM-HOUSE. — FANCY-WORK IN RUSSIA. — POPULATION OF ODÉSSA. — ODÉSSA A FREE PORT. — IMPOLITIC CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT. — PRESENT MEASURES. — ANECDOTES. — DEPARTURE FROM ODÉSSA. — COBLEY. — OIBIA. — PHÉDEROVKA, A MILITARY COLONY. — ARRIVAL AT NIKOLÁËF — LODGING SELECTED BY THE POLICE. — ADMIRAL GREIG. — DESCRIPTION OF NIKOLÁËF. — THE DEPÔT DE CARTES AND MUSEUM. — THE DOCKS. — SPASSKI. — THE POPULATION. — DEPARTURE FROM NIKOLÁËF. — KHERSÓN. — HOWARD'S MONUMENT. — CAUSE OF THIS PHILANTHROPIST'S DEATH.

ODÉSSA, a town, which has risen as if by magic, from the bosom of a desert on the shores of the Black Sea, has peculiar claims to attention, especially on account of its commercial relations with Europe ; and yet it has not been accurately described by any English traveller since it acquired much importance. As the history of this town is intimately connected with that of the other ports, and the commerce of the Euxine, I shall here throw together a number of general observations, for which I am greatly indebted to the letters of Monsieur Sicard. I shall then take notice of every thing remarkable in this new city.

Peter the Great, wishing to civilise his nation, wisely considered that he should best effect his purpose by extending and improving its commercial relations. With this design he established the commerce of the Baltic, and had prepared for similar success on the Black Sea ; but different obstacles opposed his plans, and with difficulty he preserved Táganrog upon the Sea of Azof, as the

emporium for the commerce of the south of Russia. It was reserved for Catherine II. to realise his projects by conquest; and for Alexander to consolidate them by the wisdom and the mildness of his government.

By the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, and a convention in 1799, Russian vessels were allowed to navigate the Black Sea; and the passage of the Dardanelles was opened to them. With the view of profiting by these circumstances, and of establishing commerce and a marine in the year 1778, Russia founded the town of Khersón, on the right bank of the Dnéper, and seventy-two versts from its embouchure. Many privileges were granted to this new establishment by the Empress, which attracted a number of strangers, and a considerable commerce to it. Its relations, which began with Constantinople and the Archipelago, soon extended to Marseilles, Livornia, Trieste, &c. But it was soon found that Khersón, however well-adapted in some respects, as the port of the Black Sea, yet had numerous inconveniences. 1. The cataracts of the Dnéper greatly impeded the water communication with the interior; all merchandise being necessarily discharged at them, carried about seventy versts by land, and then re-imbarked so as to arrive at Khersón. 2. All vessels which drew more than six feet of water were obliged to remain at Glubókoyé, thirty versts below the town. 3. From the month of October the Dnéper is

covered with ice, and often remains so till the month of March. 4. The breaking up of the ice is very dangerous, so that commerce cannot be securely carried on for more than seven months of the year. 5. The air of Khersón is insalubrious.

The only way of obviating these serious inconveniences, was to make choice of some more suitable place ; but at that time, this was impossible, because the Boog then formed the frontier between Turkey and Russia.

The commerce of Khersón, notwithstanding all obstacles, continued to extend daily : it employed more than 200 Austrian or Russian ships, which maintained the commerce of Gallicia by the Danube ; of the government of Khersón, by the Dnéper ; and even of Káffa, as the Krimea came under the domination of Russia in 1783. But the war which took place between the Porte and the Imperial Courts of Russia and Austria, in 1787, paralysed this growing commerce. The peace concluded between the Porte and Austria in 1790, in some degree restored its vigour ; but it was not till after the conclusion of peace between the Porte and Russia in 1792, that it quite regained its prosperity. According to this treaty, Russia extended her frontiers from the Boog to the Dnéster ; and, in the following year, by the partition of Poland, she acquired the provinces of this kingdom nearest the Black Sea. The inconveniences of Khersón were now still more felt, and another port was

wanted ; besides, it was necessary to think of finding a more convenient exit for the productions of the new provinces, than by Kherson. The road or harbour of Hadjibey, a Tartar village, composed of a few huts, and with a small fortress, from time immemorial, had offered shelter in winter, or in storms, to vessels navigating the Euxine, and had served for the embarkation of grain and merchandise, which Constantinople drew from the neighbouring regions. From the position of this village and its port, it was thought well-adapted for the fulfilment of the double purpose above mentioned.

The new establishment excited the solicitude of the Empress in 1796, who named it Odéssa, and, indeed, she had already conferred upon it different privileges, which had attracted thither a considerable population and commerce ; a colony of Greeks from the Archipelago were there settled, and a mayor was appointed. Admiral Ribas, by whom Hadjibey had been taken from the Turks, having remarked its advantages, proposed to make it a commercial port, as well as a place of shelter for vessels of war. His plans were approved of, and the necessary works were begun ; but, whether owing to the difficulties that a naked country presents, to the dearth of all the necessary materials except stone, or to some inherent defect in the arrangements, many millions of roubles were expended in the construction of a fortress, barracks, and some other public establishments, at that time

of little importance. It would appear likewise from the reports of some writers that part of the public money had been misapplied, and the port remained unfinished. Strangers, as well as Russians, who had been induced by the proffered advantages to settle at Odéssa, dreading that the town would be abandoned before it was finished, and afraid of risking their capitals, only erected small temporary edifices, notwithstanding that the admiral gave a good example by building a large house for himself. At its commencement, Odéssa became a refuge for the worst members of society of the neighbouring countries. Above 300 Jewish families, most of them from Gallicia, besides a great number of workmen, fixed themselves there. The Emperor Paul, deceived by the ideas given him of the town, endeavoured to put its magistracy upon the same footing as that of Riga and Revel, towns which had existed for ages; but it was soon found necessary to re-establish the former system. Toward the end of his reign, that sovereign bestowed the most signal favours upon Odéssa: he granted to it the farming of spirits, and exemption from all taxes and from providing soldiers' quarters for twenty-five years. He also lent the town 25,000 roubles, without interest, to be repaid at the conclusion of that period, and made a present to it of all the materials which had been collected for making a port for vessels of war. Dr. Clarke, however, has asserted, that the Emperor became

usurer, having lent the merchants a sum of money with enormous interest, and upon the strongest security; but, as in many other instances, I believe this was a mistake of that lively writer's. He must have alluded to a private loan spoken of hereafter.

Notwithstanding all Paul's concessions, Odéssa lost ground during his reign. The treaty of Luneville had just restored peace to the Continent when Alexander ascended the throne. Soon afterwards a termination was put to serious differences between England and Russia, and the commercial relations of France with the latter country were re-established by a treaty in 1801. To the treaty of Amiens, concluded at the commencement of 1802, succeeded that of France with the Porte, by which French vessels were put on the same footing with those of the other nations most favoured in Turkey; and in consequence obtained the liberty of navigating the Black Sea. Soon afterwards the English, the Prussians, the Neapolitans, the Ragusans, the Dutch, and the Republic of the Seven Islands obtained the same privilege. This memorable epoch liberated the Black Sea from the domination of the Turks, which became a common domain, and the centre of great speculations. Odéssa was the essential rallying point of all these nations. The commerce of 1802 was very brilliant; 280 vessels arrived from Constantinople and the Mediterranean; above 300,000 tchetverts

of corn were exported; and a few commercial houses had formed establishments, which, however, wanted solidity. The population might now amount to 7000 or 8000, of whom scarcely a third part were females. Nearly 500 families of this number, however, dwelt in the town-lands at short distances from Odéssa. Early in the year 1803, the activity of the commerce in corn raised great expectations. The government also, with particular solicitude, occupied itself for the interests of New Russia, and encouraged the trade of Odéssa, while it continued to remit twenty-five *per cent.* custom-duties of entry and exit, which Catharine II. had formerly accorded to all the ports of the Black Sea. The growing importance of Odéssa induced the Emperor Alexander to appoint the *Duc de Richelieu* its governor-general, and to grant him very extensive powers. The Duke soon changed the face of affairs, fixed the public confidence, and prepared plans the rapid execution of which was the more remarkable in a country so thinly inhabited. This year, nine hundred vessels entered the Black Sea, of which 536 arrived at Odéssa, the greatest part in ballast. Some brought articles from Spain, France, Italy, and the Levant. All of them returned laden with corn, which was then almost the only article demanded, and the only one Odéssa could furnish: she not having established other connexions with the interior of the empire. This corn was produced by the governments of

Podólia, Volchínia, Kiëf, and Khérson : the three first transported it to Odéssa by land, the last partly upon lighters, which descended the Dnéper, and reached the roads of Odéssa. Mr. Sicard calculates that this year the value of exported corn amounted to 4,995,000 roubles, but, probably, he was extravagant. Though the population in 1803 amounted to about 8,000, yet the town was merely traced ; there were only a few houses, small, badly built, and incommodious ; scarcely any magazines ; no public establishments ; a very incomplete quarantine ; and a single mole in the roads, which badly protected the vessels from the south-east winds. The environs were uncultivated and desert to the extent of nearly eighty or ninety versts on every side ; the commercial connexions suffered by this isolated situation ; the inhabitants of the town, abundantly furnished with the necessaries of life, wanted fruits, herbs, and numerous objects of luxury ; even good water was wanting, at times, for the numerous animals which were used to transport the corn to Odéssa. The government, aware of its wants, eagerly consulted its interest. To the duties upon spirits for the use of the town, were also added, a tenth of the whole products of the custom-house, and new funds to cover necessary expenses. Besides, a sum of money was put at the disposition of the committee of administration of the town, to lend to the inhabitants who wished to build houses at the rate of 6 *per cent. per annum*.

The gains of commerce, and the above-named advantages, gave rise to a great many private edifices, much better built and more convenient than the former. The town, on its side, commenced to form a more commodious and more secure port, and an extensive new quarantine ; it laid the foundation of a Russo-Greek cathedral, of a Roman catholic church, of a gymnasium, of an hospital, of a theatre, and, in general, of all the establishments which, now finished, put Odéssa upon a footing with the other towns of Europe. The administration also established many colonies of Bulgarians, Hungarians, Slavonians, and Germans, who had willingly abandoned their country, in the vicinity of the town. The war suddenly renewed between France and Great Britain in 1803, took the administration by surprise, in the midst of its important operations, which justly calculated, however, that the trade carried on in neutral vessels, and encouraged by the interests and the wants of Europe, would still give great activity to the commerce of Odéssa. The year 1804 realised this hope. The wars of Italy, the disturbances in Egypt, the prohibition against the grain of Hungary, had either exhausted or shut up the granaries of Europe, which could no longer satisfy her wants but by Odéssa. In this year, 449 vessels departed with cargoes of corn. The inhabitants now began to enjoy the advantages of its enlightened administration ; the town was furnished with the neces-

sary artisans ; the surrounding districts were tilled, and a general improvement was made, which promised future prosperity. And as the interests of the town were essentially connected with those of all New Russia, the emperor, the better to identify them, nominated the Duc de Richelieu, governor-general of the governments of Yékaterínoslâf, the Taurida or Krimea, and Khérson.

The commerce of 1804 was flourishing ; that of 1805, still more so, and there arrived at Odéssa 643 vessels. In 1806, political circumstances became unfavourable to the navigation of neutral vessels, and had a great effect upon the commercial relations of Odéssa with Europe. This year there arrived only 279 vessels, but the communication of the Levant was extended, and the merchants of the East found a considerable exit for their merchandise. Towards the end of the same year, a rupture took place between Turkey and Russia, and, of course, a suspension of the connexions of Odéssa with foreign countries was among its consequences. The treaty of Tilsit led to an armistice between these two powers, in consequence of which, in September 1807, different vessels, laden with corn and other articles, were despatched from Odéssa to Constantinople, and goods were received by importation. The war, and the suspension of commerce between the two empires, had produced great reciprocal wants. Turkey, deprived of its hogs' lard, butter, and grain, which were formerly

furnished to it by Moldavia and Wallachia, was in total want of these articles ; and the grain of the Morea, on account of the Dardanelles, could no longer arrive at Constantinople. Egypt had scarcely any connexion with the capital, and Anatolia was in a state of anarchy. These causes had reduced Constantinople, Smyrna, and other places of the Levant, to their only resource, the coast of Russia on the Euxine : and thus gave rise to the remarkably increased commerce of 1808. This year Odéssa dispatched 399 vessels from her port, which had imported articles for Russia from the Levant, to the value of nearly six millions of roubles, and to the value of nearly ten millions of roubles of transit goods. Russian products, such as corn, hogs' lard, oil, candles, caviare, &c., to the value of nearly six millions of roubles, were exported. In truth, at this period, the same circumstances which completely paralysed the commerce of other places, acting inversely upon that of Odéssa, here opened a new branch, *viz.* the transit of cottons, and other kinds of merchandise from the Levant, by Odéssa, to Brodi, Vienna, and other places, as well as the transit of other wares, *vice versa*.

From the above account of Odéssa, up to 1810, Mr. Sicard justly says, that it had made a rapid progress ; and that the individual who had only dwelt in it five years before would no longer have known it. Two powerful obstacles, however,

to the commerce and increase of this town must always have operated, and always will operate, — the want of a navigable river and of a supply of water for the purposes of life, to which may be also added the great dearth of fuel; fire-wood being so extremely valuable that the stoves of the poor are lighted with dried weeds, shrubs, dung, and other refuse. Many attempts to procure a sufficient supply of water have been made by digging innumerable wells in the town; but all, with the exception of about half a dozen, have proved abortive; and that half dozen are valued in proportion to the difficulties which attended their discovery. The peasants, who arrive in summer with corn from the south of the empire, are sometimes in danger of losing their oxen, which not unfrequently amount to two or three thousand, although a watering-place has been made on purpose to obviate this inconvenience. The chief fountain of supply of water for Odéssa lies at the distance of between three and four versts south of the town; and, when we consider the other gigantic undertakings of the Duc de Richelieu, we are truly astonished that he did not cause a reservoir to be formed, to which an abundant supply of water from the fountain might be easily conducted by pipes, and thence to every dwelling. This, no doubt, will be attended with considerable expence, because the spring is greatly below the level of the town, and the water must be raised by hydraulic machines; but, should Odéssa flourish, it will be

an indispensable work. The fountain is situated on the sea-shore, and the rapid descent to it is probably not less than 140 or 160 feet. A small building is erected over the spring, and is guarded by three Kozáks, who live there, and alternately keep guard. The water issues continually in a considerable stream from the limestone rocks, from which, though apparently pure, it receives a strong impregnation, and is rendered very hard. Barrels are filled with it, and transported to town, either by carts or in boats. The ascent of the hill is a serious draft for loaded horses, and increases the expence of the water, each small barrel of which costs from a rouble to a rouble and a half, according to the distance from the fountain. A friend of mine told me, that his moderate *ménage* cost him eight or ten roubles a week, and that some individuals paid double that sum for water — no small tax for one of the indispensable articles of life.

Odéssa is situated in the government of Khérson, under $29^{\circ} 24'$ E. L. and $46^{\circ} 28'$ N. L.*, and is 1876 versts distant from Petersburg, 1402 from Moscow, and 164 from the town of Khérson, forty versts west from the embouchure of the Dnépér, and 51 east of that of the Dnéster.

In a dissertation in another work I have given it

* This is according to Brookès's Gazetteer. In Norrie's "*Seaman's New Daily Assistant*," Odéssa is said to be under $30^{\circ} 37'$ E. L. and $46^{\circ} 28'$ N. L. It is strange, that scarcely two books have the longitudes and latitudes of places alike.

as my opinion, that in point of regularity and architecture, Odéssa may be said to be Petersburg in miniature. In both the experience of ages, and the skill and superintendence of famous architects, chiefly Italian and French, have contributed much to their embellishment. Thus, as on other occasions, by an enlightened policy, Russia has availed herself, to a great extent, of the labours, science, and general knowledge of her neighbours. Petersburg, renovated Moscow, Odéssa, Khérson, Nikoläef, Táganrog, and Nóvo-Tcherkásk, abundantly testify the success which has attended the anxious exertions of her monarchs in raising cities and towns, which excite the astonishment and the admiration of travellers from the most polished nations. Had all the public money, so prodigally dispersed by some of the sovereigns of Russia, been devoted to similar purposes, how many more flourishing towns and villages might have claimed a place in the journals of travellers, even as they traversed unfertile regions.

The streets of Odéssa are all regular, straight, and spacious, and they intersect each other at right angles. Some of them are a mile in length, and a few are adorned by rows of trees on each side. They are still unpaved; and, we were informed, that many of them are indescribably dirty in autumn and spring after heavy rain: it was even said, that it was necessary to order a carriage merely to cross the street. It had not rained

for some time previous to our arrival, yet, in many places, the principal streets were dirty, and had holes full of water. The *trottoirs* are not good ; and, in a modern town, we were surprised at finding deep uncovered ditches on each side of all the streets. In many of them the houses are contiguous, in others they are separated by courts and gardens. All the edifices are of stone, and generally plastered over, and painted different colours. Their roofs are made of wood, or of sheets of iron, gaudily painted, sometimes also of tiles, and of slates from the Krimea. Comparatively speaking, but few low houses are to be seen. Odéssa is built upon the same limestone rock of which its edifices are constructed, and really it may be called “ *Un coquillage*,” a congeries of shells, which falls very rapidly into decay. It cannot escape the notice of the spectator, that every structure of a few years’ standing presents numerous defects in its façades, the stones having been either altogether, or partly, cut out of unconsolidated layers of the rock. Among other interesting observations by Dr. Clarke, respecting this limestone, we find the following : — “ It is in a semi-indurated state ; but, like the Ketton-stone, and almost every other variety used for architectural purposes, hardens by exposure to the atmosphere. When examined closely, it exhibits throughout the entire mass no other appearance than an aggregate of small cockle-shells, all exactly of the same size, perfect in their forms, but crumbling in the hand;

and coloured by the yellow or red oxide of iron.”* Like the calcareous tuf of Moscow†, however, although it hardens for a certain period, it afterwards decays, and requires a continual renewal, especially when near the foundation, or when unplastered.

Near the quarantine, I had an excellent opportunity of seeing the front of the rock, as they were cutting it away in order to clear a site for a row of new buildings, and also for the materials. The nearly perpendicular face of the hill presented ten or twelve feet of yellowish-brown soil, a layer or congeries of petrified shells whose interstices were filled with earth, a very brittle mass, a layer of the same kind more consolidated, a layer or aggregate of shells, but without earth, and still harder; and another layer in the most complete state of consolidation found here; and even this layer is not very hard, so that the workmen, with great ease, cut masses of it into regular determinate shapes, by means of saws. Numerous fine specimens, which I had collected for England, were ruined, in consequence of the servant having put the box which contained them on the perch of the carriage; when I opened it at Nikoläcf, I found it full of powder.

The same kind of limestone, as before observed, is found at Voznesénsk, and even further to the

* Clarke's Travels, p. 625.

† Character of the Russians, &c. p. 75.

north of the empire. I examined the sea-coast with some attention, and generally remarked that the stratum of limestone was horizontal. In some places it seemed to dip *in the line of the coast*, nearly from north to south, and in other places to “*dip from day.*” I suspect that, in consequence of some dislocation, great masses have fallen, and changed their natural position, and have led to the above features. Probably the whole stratum at one period occupied a nearly horizontal position.

By the sea-shore, and in the sea, I collected a number of sea-weeds, and, on the limestone rock and adjoining fields, many plants, the enumeration of which can only prove interesting to the botanist.* All along the coast the sea-water is only brackish.

The *public gardens*, from their central situation, are a great ornament to the town, and a source of pleasure to the inhabitants of Odéssa. On Sunday evening, during the fine season, they become the

* The sea-weeds were the following :

Fucus siliquosus	Conferva polymorpha
—— coccineus	—— fucoides
—— capillaris	—— diaphana
—— viridis	Sertularia abietina
Conferva coccinea	—— cupressina
—— nigrescens	—— vermiculata
—— rupestris	—— pumila.

Some of the plants are mentioned hereafter.

scene of grand promenades, which are attended by crowds of individuals of a variety of nations, habited in their diversified costumes, and speaking different languages. A military band enlivens these assemblies, which the governor-general encourages by his presence. The gardens are not very extensive ; they are kept in good order, but the walks are too narrow.

A number of country-houses and gardens to the south of Odéssa, and upon the sea-coast, which belong to General Cobley, Mr. Rainaud, &c. occupy a charming situation. They, as well as Countess Potótskii's gardens in town, which are open to the public, are generally visited by the stranger.

There are several inns at Odéssa, all of which are very expensive. We resided in the Club, as it is called, and paid twenty roubles a day for four rooms and an apartment for our servants. Dinners were unreasonably dear. There is a lately-formed *English Club*, or reading-room, in this inn, where are received the London newspapers and British journals, &c., and to which strangers are admitted, upon having their names registered by one of its members.

For many years past the Russian newspapers have been continually proclaiming the boasted progress of the *Lyceum*. After reading the various reports on the rise and advancement of the *Lycée Richelieu*, and especially what is said by Castelnau of the gymnasium and the institute, and re-

marked in his plan of Odéssa, "*Emplacement du Lycée Richelieu*," near the sea-shore and in the country, I was in no small degree disappointed to find this institution placed in the very centre of the town, and in a state of decline so rapid as to threaten its fall. The fact is, that some years ago there was a design of erecting a commodious edifice for the said Lyceum, and on the site indicated; but, instead of realising this plan, the gymnasium was enlarged and converted into the Lycée Richelieu. The situation of the present institution may be convenient for the masters, but it is by no means well placed as a seminary for youth. The edifice is very extensive, and in the form of an oblong square, divided by a line of building in the middle. It has no garden, but merely a small court for the exercise and amusement of the pupils. Two of the façades line two different streets; and, as the pavement runs close by them, to prevent interruption to the pupils, the windows have been nearly built up, so that a scanty portion of light is admitted through a few uncovered panes. The rooms in the upper story are excellent. The dormitories are without ventilation; and I could not conceive the necessity of having all the windows blocked up except the highest panes. The bed-rooms, of which every pupil has his own, are well arranged.

The Lycée Richelieu was in the most flourishing state for many years. Its situation in a very fine

and healthy climate, together with the advantages it held out for education, gained it a degree of celebrity far beyond any similar seminary in the Russian empire; and the consequence was, that the nobility of Petersburg and Moscow, and even of remote governments, sent their sons thither for their tuition. Much of its fame, however, depended on the Duc de Richelieu, its founder and zealous guardian, and its able director the Abbé Nicolle, who entered with spirit into all the Duke's views. Unfortunately the Duke left Odéssa in 1814, and the excellent Abbé resigned his place about the year 1820, on account of irregularities and improprieties which he could neither correct nor control. His resignation caused the decline, and, it is to be feared, was also the forerunner of the dissolution of the Lyceum. At his departure, between 200 and 300 of the pupils of the best families of Russia bade the institution adieu. His former assistant now became his successor; and, although I have heard him spoken of as a man of talents and assiduity, he was judged incapable of conducting such an institution. A gentleman from Riga had just arrived at Odéssa, and it was expected, that under his directorship and auspices, the seminary would recover its character. In former times, 300 and 400 pupils were the inmates of the Lyceum; but in 1822 it had only 103 boarders, who pay annually 1200 roubles each, and 100 day-scholars,

who come to the institution and receive their education *gratis*. The same professors teach both the boarders and the day-scholars, but at different hours. The branches of education taught here are religion, languages, the belles-lettres, rhetoric, philosophy, history, geography, the mathematical and physical sciences, military sciences, and the *arts d'agrémens*. The Emperor pays for ten Russian pupils, and he lately sent as many Greeks, to be educated at his expense. The Pedagogic Class, as it is called, contains twenty-four pupils, who are taught with the view of their becoming masters of schools in different parts of Russia. Each professor receives house, wood, candles, and table, 1500 roubles in cash, and, besides, a proportion of the profits yielded by boarders; in all equal now to about 4000 or 5000 roubles *per annum*. The institution belongs to the crown; and, besides the payments of the boarders, it receives the following revenues: from government 37,000 roubles annually, from the Duc de Richelieu 3360 dollars, and a variable sum, according to the state of commerce, of two kopeeks and a half silver, (*i. e.* ten kopeeks copper) upon every tchetvert of corn exported from Odéssa.

The education of females is carefully attended to at Odéssa; and a number of boarding schools, besides public seminaries, are kept by various individuals. We had the curiosity to make a visit to *L'Institut des Demoiselles de Madame Chefdæuvre*,

which was formerly connected with the Lycée Richelieu. It is now a private institution, but is protected by the Dowager-Empress. It is situated in a large house near Countess Potôtskii's gardens, and not far from the sea-shore. It is remarkably well conducted; and, as it contained sixty-three pupils, who pay annually 1000 roubles each, it is evident that it flourishes.

We next proceeded to the examination of *L'Ecole de Demoiselles au Rang des Ecoles de District*, which is under the care of a colonel's widow, who speaks no language but Russian. A hundred girls, including nobles, burgesses, and foundlings, are here instructed *gratis*, in Russian, writing, arithmetic, needle-work, &c. They do not live in the house, but attend from eight o'clock in the morning till noon, and from two to six P. M. We were highly gratified with this institution, which appears to accomplish the objects of its intention.

The *Grádskoï Goshpitál*, the town-hospital, or the civil hospital, which forms one of the most conspicuous objects in Odéssa, stands in an elevated, airy situation near the barrier of Kher-són. It is a fine edifice, two stories in height, with columns in front, but is strangely disfigured by the apertures of numerous ventilators in its walls. The lower story we found occupied by a dirty kitchen half-filled with dried weeds for fuel; the baths; the apothecary's shop; store-rooms; the council-chamber; and the physician's rooms. The

patients are all placed in the upper story, and their number amounted on the day of our visit to 264. Besides civil patients, prisoners and deserters, who are guarded, are also admitted, and one room is allotted for the accommodation of foundlings. Excellent corridors run through both stories, but the rooms are not well arranged for a general hospital; their ceiling is unnecessarily lofty, and the windows are covered by internal building to the height of about seven feet from the floor. Though ventilators are made in the walls both above and below the windows, we found the air very bad for want of renewal. The truth is, that it would be dangerous to open the inferior ventilators, which are as low as the patients' beds, and that the superior ones are at such a height, and so small, as to be altogether inadequate for ventilation, especially in calm summer weather. How dreary are these demi-dungeons for the sick, particularly for convalescents, and how badly calculated for the cure of numerous diseases! On asking for an explanation of this singular modern structure, we were told, that the physician who attended there was of opinion, that light generally had an injurious effect upon the sick; and that, in the delirium of a fever, individuals might throw themselves from unprotected windows. I conclude that this son of *Æsculapius* must have had some curious theory when he proposed such a preposterous arrangement, especially as there exist at Petersburg and

Moscow, both civil and military hospitals which might serve as models for the whole world. Bad smells and filth met us at every step; and we were glad to escape from an institution so ill arranged. It must be much altered since Castelnau, a few years ago, spoke of it in terms of admiration. It appears that no blame attaches to the architect, whose plan was modified by a board of directors.

A white-washed edifice, adorned with columns, and with a green-painted roof, which stands near the cathedral, had an imposing aspect, and caused our enquiries. We were told it was the *Police-Office*; but we found that, though part of it is so occupied, and part by the magistracy, yet that the chief part forms a prison. What a contrast did its interior present to the impressions which had been raised by its exterior! It contained 264 prisoners; males and females, whose fate was pitiable. Every where filth, in various forms, reigned beyond description: "*c'est une véritable cochonnerie*," we all exclaimed, as we made our hasty escape from its pent-up and dangerous effluvia. Nothing can more deeply wound the feelings of the philanthropist, than the inspection of the jails in Russia, with the exception of those at Petersburg and Moscow, and a few others.

With the augmentation of Odéssa, and the influx of its emigrant population, was also augmented the taste and the desire to enjoy the pleasures of polished society. A temporary

Theatre, in which representations took place in the Russian, Polish, and German languages, early arose; but a number of years ago, it was superseded by the erection of an elegant stone theatre, according to a plan of M. Thomon; the front of which is ornamented by a peristyle supported by columns. In it Russian, Polish, and German plays, and Italian operas, have been performed. Soon after our arrival at the inn at Odéssa, a bill was put into our hands, announcing one of Kotzebue's plays in Russian, and an Italian opera, for the evening's amusement. The interior of the theatre we found well-arranged, and not inelegant, but badly lighted. We could neither praise the performances of the Russian actors, of the Italian troop, nor of the orchestra; although they were superior to what we had expected in a town so recently known to the world. On the 2d of May, we were present when the opera "*Il Turco in Italia*" was represented, in which Madame Catalani, a relation of the famous Catalani, was the *prima donna*. We were much pleased with this performance. Madame Catalani has an agreeable countenance, but *trop d'embonpoint* to render her figure attractive. Though her voice was not the *Catalani's*, yet she is a good singer, and no bad actress. The Italian opera is much liked at Odéssa, at which we need not be surprised, since the Italian language is generally spoken there. The representations, of course, are very frequent. The

troop were greatly patronised by Count Langeron, the governor-general of New Russia.

That the people of Odéssa might have variety of enjoyment, *Assembly-rooms* were many years ago erected by Monsieur Rainaud, and, we understood, are well attended. The great oval hall, which is surrounded by a gallery, supported on numerous columns, is used for the double purpose of ball-room, and an *Exchange*, where the merchants sometimes transact their affairs, though they generally prefer the *Café* at the inn in which we lodged; and which was filled from morning till night, especially by Jews, who were engaged more in eating, drinking, and playing at different games, than in making bargains.

Among the public edifices of Odéssa, the *Cathedral*, dedicated, I believe, to Saint Nicholas, stands the most conspicuous. It is finely situated in the centre of the town, and in the middle of an immense square, surrounded by trees, and by a balustrade, in which are four gates corresponding to the four cardinal points. This church is of considerable size; it is built in the form of a cross, and surmounted by a large cupola. Two of its façades present fine porticos, each with a row of columns. Its interior is very chaste, spacious, and elegant, and its floor is formed of white and grey marble. We remarked some other Greek churches, as well as the Roman Catholic church, the church

of the Raskólniks, or Schismatics, and the Jews' synagogue.

The *Quarantine*, within the fortress, is an extensive establishment, and is described by Castelnau. In many parts it is incomplete; and, as Count Lan-geron well remarked, "*it requires a new organisation*;" but there are no funds; and, "*Que faire?*"

Having examined this establishment, on the 12th [the 1st N. S.] of May, we set off, after an early dinner, to the race ground, and could almost have believed ourselves transported to England. Numerous tents were pitched, the course was roped in, and an immense concourse of people, of all ranks, was assembled on foot, or drove about in different kinds of German, French, Polish, Russian, and even English, carriages. English gentlemen, dressed in all the gaudy livery of jockeys, rode their own horses, nine of whom started, and four were distanced the first heat. During the third heat, a Kozák, mounted upon an old half-starved black poney, accompanied the foremost horse, and passed the winning-post together with it, to the great amusement of the spectators. We were told, it was in agitation to have English races annually at Odéssa.

On a delightful evening we went to the *Etablissement Impérial d'Agriculture*, which lies at a short distance from the town, and was founded in the year 1819. It is, in fact, a nursery for fruit and forest trees. It occupies seventy-five deciatins

of land, which are surrounded by enclosures ; and we may judge of its prosperity by the statement we received, that it contained 600,000 young trees and shrubs. It is under the direction of Monsieur de Schmitz, of German extraction, and does him great honour. In the south of Russia, where nature has been so parsimonious of wood, this establishment may prove of the highest importance, as it easily affords the means to propagate ornamental plantations, or forests for timber and fire-wood. The Emperor gives ten thousand roubles annually for its support ; the town has also liberally contributed, and besides it has its own profits by sales. We were told that already above 200,000 roubles had been expended on this nursery, a sum which seems to be too extravagant to be true.

Odéssa maintains *Commerce* with France, Spain, Italy, the Levant, Anatolia, Hungary, Germany, England, Moldavia, Wallachia, Romelia, &c. In general, the articles of importation are wines, cotton-stuffs, perfumes, shawls, oil, spices, tobacco, dried fruits, liqueurs, sulphur, Parmesan cheese, porcelain, cloth, engravings, paper, &c. For some time after the foundation of Odéssa, the only article exported were two kinds of grain. But, within the last ten or twelve years a great variety of merchandise has been exported, as French beans, peas, and other legumes, butter, caviare, tallow, hog's lard, candles, cards, bar-iron, red leather, hides, furs, linen, ironmongery (especially from Túla),

starch, chalk, hemp, lint, tar, wax, wax-candles, horse-hair, isinglass, hemp-oil, linseed-oil, fish-oil, honey, potashes, rhubarb, soap, bristles, tobacco, salt beef, pork, hemp-seed, juniper-berries, mats, timber, &c. &c.

The following table, taken from Reuilly's and Castelnau's works, will give a pretty accurate idea of the trade of Odéssa during a number of years. It must be remembered, that, in general, the exportation has greatly exceeded the importation, hence many ships arrived annually in ballast. I could not obtain any accurate documents at Odéssa, with respect to its commerce, since the year 1813.

Year.	Importation.	Exportation.	Duty.
	R.	R.	R.
1802	772,047	1,525,671	
1804	1,223,027	2,339,509	155,037
1805	2,156,298	3,399,291	203,605
1806	1,845,125	822,927	209,757
1807	490,330	336,022	76,319
1808	1,901,766	1,975,013	256,706
1809	2,259,004	1,776,290	231,424
1810	2,763,874	3,146,994	445,216
1811	7,040,080	7,747,544	829,241
1812	2,313,521	5,855,045	386,918
1813	3,169,895	8,861,956	683,607

I know not the exact extent to which the crown is defrauded at Odéssa; but, I have reason to believe, that the venality is as great at its custom-house as in those of the other sea-port towns in

Russia ; and, as is well known, their general corruption and roguery exceeds the bounds of credibility. But it is not only by the sea-ports that smuggled goods enter Russia. On the frontiers of Poland, for some time past, a nefarious traffic has been carried on to a great extent. The stamps of the regular custom-houses have been imitated, and the wares have reached Moscow, and from thence have been despatched all over the empire. These reasons, together with the fact, that for some years past, the market in Petersburg has been glutted with British manufactures, sufficiently explain the cause of Manchester, Glasgow, and Paisley, plain and fancy muslins, being sold at astonishingly low prices in Moscow. There is another cause which powerfully operates against the sale of flowered and embroidered muslins of British production ; they are not valued by the nobility, they are only purchased by servants, or by the inferior classes of society.

The fact is, that the Russians are far superior to the English in tambouring, ceding, flowering, and embroidering. They have been taught all kinds of the most beautiful needle-work by the Germans and by the French, and have succeeded well in them. Dresden work, particularly, has attained the greatest perfection. Few of the Russian ladies occupy themselves with such employment ; but many of them have a number of women slaves, who are solely devoted to fancy-work ; and in the capi-

tal, those who have not such people, or are not inclined to have any trouble, can at all times purchase what they want in the repositories and shops of foreigners, and even of Russians. The same thing may be done in all the chief government towns throughout the empire, even at Tobolsk, and perhaps also at Kamtchátka. I make more particular mention of these circumstances than they would otherwise merit, because even trifling occupations tend to the advancement of civilisation. In another point of view, this information may have its value, by preventing some from sending improper goods to the Russian market; as they are really a drug there, and of course are sold with great loss.

The following statements, though they do not always correspond, will still enable us to follow the progressive march of the *Population* of Odéssa; but it must be remembered, that the rapid increase was chiefly caused by immigration.* In Odéssa, were, in —

1803,	according to Sicard,	about 8000 souls
	————— Reuilly,	4500
	————— Castelnau,	7000 to 8000
1804,	————— Reuilly,	8000 to 9000
	————— Stchékatof,	15,000
1811,	————— Sicard,	24,000 to 25,000
1813,	————— Vsévolojskii	18,000 to 20,000
1814,	————— Castelnau,	above 30,000

* This convenient word is opposed to emigration, and means the influx of foreigners into some country. It is frequently used in the Quarterly Review.

1820,	according to Castelnau,	above 40,000
1823,	————— Vsévolojkii,	about 18,000 to 20,000
	————— M. De Pradt,	50,000
1824,	————— M. Dupin,	above 40,000
1923,	(by anticipation) M. De Pradt,	200,000.*

Of the different nations which compose the population of Odéssa the Greeks are the most numerous, and consist of a few wholesale, but more retail, merchants and workmen. There are fewer Russian merchants, but a great many servants, as carters, *isvostchiks*, or carriage-drivers, and workmen. Among the Poles there are scarcely any merchants, but numerous individuals in a servile capacity. The Italians have established many commercial houses, and among them are some retailers and artisans. The French, the Germans, the Spaniards, and the English, are not numerous; but they are by far the most wealthy and powerful citizens. The Jews are abundant and a few of them are in very easy circumstances; some are retailers, tavern-keepers, artisans, or bakers, and others are usurers. The population of Odéssa, with that of the town-lands, also includes some Armenians,

* These statements are taken from *Lettres sur Odéssa*, par Sicard, 1812; *Voyage en Crimée*, par J. Reuilly, 1806; *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie*, par Castelnau, 1820; *Great Dictionary of the Russian Empire*, by Stchekatof, 1801-9; *Dictionnaire Géographique-Historique de l'Empire de Russie*, 1813, 1823, par M. Vsévolojkii; *Parallèle de la Puissance Anglaise et Russe*, par M. de Pradt, 1823; and *Observations sur la Puissance de l'Angleterre et sur celle de la Russie*, par M. Dupin, 1824.

some Karaite Jews, some Tartars, and some Moldavians. The environs of Odéssa present a pleasing sight. The former arid *step* is now covered by villages, and farms, and cultivated fields, which near the town, are intermixed with villas, nurseries, and public and private gardens. It has been reckoned by some that the inhabitants, within the distance of a hundred versts of Odéssa, amount to thirty or forty thousand, and occupy between fifty and sixty villages, which seems rather an extravagant statement. The surrounding country now furnishes the town not only with fruits, herbs, &c. but also with different articles of commerce.

The population of Odéssa was certainly augmented in 1820, in consequence of the immigration of many Greeks, but its prosperity was not increased. Their dispersion soon afterwards, and the departure of some foreigners, in consequence of the state of trade, must have counterbalanced the increase. In 1822, the commerce of Odéssa was nearly at a stand. The uncertainty of war between Turkey and Russia; and the question then agitated, whether this town should remain a free port or not, palsied commercial enterprise; and large quantities of goods ordered from Great Britain were rapidly counter-ordered. Indeed, it may be collected from what I have said above, that the lyceum, the quarantine, the prison, and the other public institutions were all in a state of disorder or decay; that the Italian

opera alone seemed to flourish; and that the days of the gigantic annual increase of population, of commerce, and of wealth, which distinguished the government of the late Duc de Richelieu had passed away.

I must now allude to an important circumstance. In 1819, a resolution was taken of making Odéssa a free port: a measure, the propriety of which the Duc de Richelieu had long urged. The annunciation of this event by an *ukáz* of the Emperor Alexander, on the 27th of August, was celebrated with feasting and rejoicing, and the spirit and enterprise of the inhabitants rose to enthusiasm. But joy was soon followed by perplexity and grief; for at the end of three years, it was in agitation to abolish the privilege of *free port*, though it had been guaranteed, I think, for fourteen years. At the time of our visit to Odéssa, all eyes were turned on Mr. Ribaupierre, director of the bank, at Petersburg, who had been sent by the crown to assist a committee in determining the vital question, whether Odéssa should remain a free port or not. The subsequent resolution, that it should be a free port, has given little stimulus to trade during the last eighteen months; at this moment it is in a very languishing condition; and without regard to the flourishing accounts of Messrs. De Pradt, Dupin, &c. I question whether the population of Odéssa amounts to 30,000 souls. Nor can we be surprised at this circumstance. The bad and

faithless policy of having allowed the question to be canvassed, as to Odéssa remaining a free port or not, before the expiration of the time to which it was guaranteed, must prove a death-blow to its interests, unless the crown act with great spirit and liberality. Who will now venture his capital upon the faith of the Russian Government, if not almost seduced to it by the prospect of great advantages. And, perhaps, the best policy that could be adopted would be instantly to grant them. Fortunately, both the Emperor and the government seem to be sufficiently alive to the great interest at stake.

In a communication from St. Petersburg, dated August 27th, 1824, it is affirmed, that the directing senate, in a general assembly of the sections sitting at Moscow, promulgated, by an *ukáz* of the 9th July, various additional articles (twenty-nine in number) to the ordinance regulating the tribunal of commerce at Odéssa, which, by the advice of the council of the empire, have been approved of by the Emperor.*

The appointment of Count Voróntsof, as governor-general of New Russia, in place of Count Langeron, seems to be extremely judicious. The latter, I believe, to be an excellent general; but better fitted for the field of battle than for the management of civil affairs. We received the most

* Vide Globe and Traveller, Sept. 18, 1824.

polite attention from him while at Odéssa, and more frequent invitations to dinner than we could accept of. I believe it was in his house that the two following anecdotes were related to us.

A few years ago, when his Imperial Majesty Alexander was on a visit to the south of Russia, he stopped for a short time in one of the chief towns, where resided a distinguished general as governor, who is remarkable for absence of mind. The Emperor having entered his cabinet with him, sat down to sign some papers: the Governor walked about the room; but at length he walked out of it, shut the door, locked it, and left the house. He was soon reminded of his mistake by one of the Sovereign's aides-de-camp, who followed him. Such an action gave rise to no small degree of laughter at the Governor's expence, in which the Monarch, who was no stranger to the eccentricity of his conduct, heartily participated.

The same gentleman, when at Petersburg, was admitted to the Emperor's cabinet, with some other generals. He laid his cocked-hat upon a chair, upon which was another hat. He spoke with his Majesty on business; but while Alexander conversed with another officer, he put his own hat upon his head, and placed the other under his arm. He again addressed his Majesty, who preserved his gravity, then took leave, and departed. When out of doors he attempted to put on his hat, but his head was pre-occupied: he discovered his

mistake: that which he took for his own hat and carried under his arm, was the Emperor's, while his own was upon his head. It is said that the Emperor was also highly amused by this adventure.

The important change which has just taken place in the aspect of affairs between Turkey and Russia is likely to be of great utility to Odéssa. On the 29th of August last the Emperor sent an *ukáz* to the office of foreign affairs, to the following effect: — “Considering that the Ottoman Porte has consented to the evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia, has adopted new measures respecting the trade and navigation of the Bosphorus, and has remedied the grievances and difficulties which opposed the renewal of our diplomatic relations with it, we have, for these reasons, and in the hope that we may succeed, in concert with our allies, to put an end to the sufferings which affect the East, resolved to appoint our privy counsellor, Ribaupierre, to be our ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte.”

Mr. Ribaupierre is a man of talents, has a general knowledge of diplomacy, and, having been director of the bank at Petersburg, is well acquainted with the monied and mercantile interests of Russia, and especially with the state and wants of Odéssa. I should, therefore, anticipate a great change to the advantage of the town, if his counsels meet with due attention.

On the 4th of May we left Odéssa with Count

de Witt, for Phédorovka, gladly embracing the opportunity to examine the system of military colonisation in detail with the commander-in-chief in the south of Russia. We repassed the barrier of Khersón, by which we had entered, found the road excessively bad through the suburb or village of Persip, and all the way till we came to a *limán*, where we turned to the east; we then coasted the sea, and found it much better. In the course of the first station we traversed three shallow *limáns*; we remarked but few houses, so that the sight of a good village, called Séstchveka, or Alexándrovka, which belonged to the Countess Potótskii, nine versts from Adjulik, was an agreeable relief from the dreary sameness of the surrounding scenery. In our progress to the next station we travelled along the sea-shore, crossing *limáns* and ploughing through deep sands, at a pace which allowed me time to examine the plants by the way-side. About half a verst from the post-house, the small mansion of General Cobley, on the side of a lake, surrounded by a garden and trees, and with a church adjoining to it upon a rising ground, had a lively appearance amid the desert country. General Cobley was long in the Russian service, but having realised some property, he now passes his time either here or at Odéssa. We were told that he is a singular character, and speaks many languages, but not one of them well.

The adjoining station has different names, which

are apt to confound the stranger. It is called Teli-gúl, from the *limán* and river which runs from it; Troitskoyé (Trinity), from the church; and more frequently *Kóbli*, from the General. If the traveller should meditate a visit to Otchakof, so famous in the history of the Turkish and Russian warfare, or to Olbia, the former seat of a Milesian colony, he must quit the post-road either at Teligúl or at the next station. For many years past, Olbia has been a rich mine for the antiquarian, as the reader will find by a perusal of the works of Pallas, Clarke, Guthrie, Reuilly, Castelnau, &c., in which are given numerous descriptions and representations of the medals and inscriptions which have been discovered there.

At the next station we left the post-road, and arrived at Koziánof, where we found fresh horses waiting for us, which quickly transported us to the banks of the Boog. Although it was extremely dark and very windy, and that the river here, including lakes on each side, is nearly a verst in breadth, we embarked, and after considerable apprehension, got safe to the other side, and procured shelter in the ferry-man's house. By Count de Witt's desire, who had preceded us, Colonel Lásitch had sent his carriage to await our arrival, which we made use of, and after seven versts' drive, reached Phédorovka at two o'clock in the morning, supped, and went to bed. After a short repose, and an early

breakfast, we proceeded to examine Phédorovka in detail, but excessively regretted that it rained heavily. The houses of the colonists, the committee-house, the Lancasterian school, &c. were all visited. The precision of the boys in their lessons, and their general healthy aspect, was a pleasing sight. Though the road was extremely bad and slippery, yet a regiment of the cavalry of the Boog were exercised, and went through their evolutions with great celerity and dexterity. Another regiment manœuvred on foot, and afterwards some picked men : next a number of cavalry ; one passed in single file at full gallop after the other, doing the pike and sword exercise with surprising precision. The mode of using the Kozák pike, or lance, in making a charge and in pursuit while at full gallop, they are extremely expert in ; but the art they have of tossing the pike into the air, then seizing and twirling it about, like the master of a band with his staff, in different directions, astonished us. We were surprised on learning that some of these soldiers were very lately mere peasants, and only knew how to handle the spade or the plough.

As is customary still among many of the Russians, Colonel Lásitch did not partake of breakfast at the same time, but directed his attention to his guests. The officers all waited till we had finished our repast before they began theirs ; a ceremony

which, however polite, we could willingly have dispensed with.

Horses having been previously sent forward to Sabinoyé, we bade adieu to our hospitable entertainers, and were again in motion. The road was heavy, in consequence of the rain: it led through extensive plains, many of which had a naked and bleak appearance; but as we approached Nikolæf, the fields began more frequently to show cultivation, as well as some trees. The junction of the Boog and the Ingúl presents an extensive and noble view, the interest of which was much heightened by a number of vessels upon these rivers. We crossed the Ingúl by a floating bridge, ascended a hill, entered Nikolæf, and took up our quarters in the private house of a Greek, which had been prepared for our reception by the police, through the kindness of Admiral Greig, and in which we were well accommodated. It is a very common practice in the south of Russia, and it also prevails in the Kubán and in Georgia, for the police to select lodgings for the convenience of strangers. In these regions, instead of searching for inns, few of which are good, the traveller, on his arrival in a town, at once addresses himself to the master of police, the commandant, or the *Goródnitchii*, and makes known his wants, which are generally attended to. The inhabitants who thus give up their houses for the convenience of travellers in

rotation, are freed from some public burdens, and moreover, they usually receive presents from the inmates, at least from foreigners; but the Russians often leave them without the smallest acknowledgment.

The evening was passed in the most agreeable and interesting manner with Admiral Greig, who afforded us every facility and convenience for examining Nikolâëf. Admiral Greig, the father of our host,—as we may call him, for we almost lived with him during our stay in Nikolâëf,—was a native of Scotland, and, I believe, Inverkeithing was his place of birth. He is well known in the history of Russia, and his merits have not been overlooked by the author of the “Life of Catharine II.” He highly distinguished himself in the celebrated affair of Tchesmé; indeed the honour of the victory chiefly belonged to him; and although Count Alexii Orlof was honoured with the title of the conqueror, yet neither he, nor even his survivors, to their praise be it told, ever forgot their deep obligations to Admiral Greig. The Admiral also commanded the Russian fleet in the gulph of Finland, in 1788, when a memorable contest took place between it and the fleet of Sweden, the issue of which, though bravely disputed, was to the advantage of Russia. He died, loaded with honours from the sovereigns of Russia, and an excellent example to his countrymen, especially to naval officers; for he had risen from the humblest walk

of life by his superior merit, talents, and steady conduct.

The present Admiral Greig was born at Cronstadt, and, in compliment to his father, was ranked as a midshipman at his birth. His earlier years were passed in Russia, but he was sent to England for his education. He afterwards went to the East Indies as a volunteer in the Company's service; and in the same capacity he served in the British navy, so as to acquire a thorough knowledge of navigation, and the duties of a naval officer. Having returned to Russia, after the victory gained by his father in the Baltic, he was made a lieutenant in 1788, and soon afterwards was advanced to the rank of captain. In 1805, he obtained the rank of admiral, and was generally stationed at Cronstadt. In the year 1816, he was appointed admiral-in-chief of the fleet of the Black Sea, and took up his residence at Nikoläcf, where he is likely to reside, unless the report prove true, that he is to be made minister of the naval department.

Though I am aware that critics will scarcely allow the passing stranger to pay compliments, yet it is difficult to avoid saying a few words in praise of Admiral Greig. The complacency, the elegance, and the dignity of his manners, together with his general knowledge, his instructive conversation, and his unostentatious hospitality, delighted us. These qualities, united with true British feelings, sterling virtues, Continental ease, fluency in lan-

guages, and a complete knowledge of maritime affairs, peculiarly well fit him for the very important station which he now holds.

The town of Nikolæf is situated upon a fine plain, on the south side of the Ingúl, near its conflux with the Boog, under $30^{\circ} 46'$ east longitude, and $46^{\circ} 58'$ north latitude, about 77 miles from Odéssa, 40 miles from Khersón, 877 miles from Moscow, and 1362 from Petersburg. It was founded in the year 1791, but made but slow progress, when Admiral Mordvínof took it under his protection, and the admiralty of Khersón was translated to it. Its progress since that period has been irregular, sometimes rapid and sometimes slow, but, no doubt, was greatly impeded by the advancement of Odéssa. Under the auspices of Admiral Greig, it is now fast improving.

The town of Nikolæf, considering the number of its buildings, is scattered over a vast territory. All its streets are very wide and regular, and many are planted with trees on both sides, but scarcely any of them are paved. Almost all the houses are built of stone; they are separated from each other by trees and gardens; scarcely any of them are of a large size; many of them are elegant, but very few can pretend to magnificence. The chief objects which deserve notice in this town are, the New Church built in the public square; the Guildhall (*Hôtel de Ville*) with colonnades; the *Expediti*, or Admiralty, for all the ports of the

Euxine; the Docks; the Port; the *Dépôt de Cartes*; the Custom-house; the Marine Barracks; the Naval Hospital, of immense length; the Pilot-school, under the direction of Colonel Hamilton, a Scotchman; a Lancasterian school; a school of artillery for the navy, such, I believe, as is not used in Britain; an observatory near Spasskii; and a reservoir in town. Some of these edifices were not finished when we were at Nikolâëf, but now are all in an excellent condition.

The *Dépôt de Cartes* is a small edifice, possessing little external attraction, opposite Admiral Greig's house; it is also called the Dépôt of the Black Sea, and the Museum; and, in fact, it seems to combine all the three characters. It has existed for a long time; but the museum was begun by the Marquis de Traversey. Here we remarked a collection of maps, charts, and naval instruments, as quadrants, telescopes, compasses, &c. besides electric, galvanic, and philosophical apparatus, and celestial and terrestrial globes; one set for public sale, and another belonging to the dépôt, for the use of the naval officers. To this institution, likewise, belongs a pretty extensive library, which contains many valuable works. Numerous monuments of stone, with Latin, but more frequently with Greek, inscriptions, which were formerly kept in one of the churches of Nikolâëf, are now assembled together in the museum. They, as also numerous medals, have been copied and described by the late Mr. Afonin

in Pallas's Travels, by Clarke, by Reuilly, and by the Marquis de Castelnau. Here are exhibited models of the great naval hospital at Khersón; of a *corps de cadets* to be erected at Nikolaéf; of different ships and of *camels* for their transport; of a ship upon a camel, &c. &c. A pair of celestial and terrestrial globes, as yet unfinished, of great size, and a printing press, were also among the *objects of curiosity*.

We remarked a collection of minerals, and a few objects in different departments of natural history, but they were of no great value. Large masses of stone, said to have been thrown out of the Euxine, as if from a volcano, near Sevástopole, excited our curiosity. They were of different sizes, from that of a man's head to that of three or four feet diameter, and were chiefly of a globular or oval form, and of a pretty regular surface. They were highly porous, and appeared to be formed of carbonate of lime, intermixed with shells.

A number of vessels lay in the harbour of the Ingúl. At the extensive docks we saw a frigate of sixty-four guns, and another of forty-four guns, on the stocks, and we went on board the elegant yacht of the admiral-in-chief, in which he annually cruizes with a part of the fleet of the Black Sea, in order to train and exercise the officers and the seamen. A number of gun-boats both with sails and with numerous oars, adapted for the navigation of the Danube in case of war with Turkey, were already

completed, and the workmen were occupied in the construction of others.

The timber for ship-building comes chiefly by the Dnéper to Khersón, and from thence to Nikoláief. All the vessels constructed here are transported empty, many versts down the river, to Glubokoyé, where they take in their cannon, tackle, &c. and proceed from thence to the Black Sea upon camels, on account of a sand-bank, near Kinbourn.

The admiral-in-chief of the Black Sea, and a number of inferior officers, have their permanent residence at Nikoláief. The vice-admirals in active service, and the other officers, are stationed partly at Khersón and Odéssa, but principally at Sévastopole in the Krimea. Admiral Greig's house, though by no means a palace, is very commodious. It consists of a single story, and is placed in one of the principal streets upon the high bank of the Ingúl, on which is a *boulevard*, and where his flag is displayed and signals made. He has a good garden and nursery, which proves a great source of amusement, as he has a taste for, and a considerable knowledge of, botany. He has an excellent library, and has fitted up a complete private observatory behind the house, with which there is a communication. The Admiral's country-house, called *Spáskii*, is delightfully situated on the Boog, here a noble river, and in a charming spot. At a distance, it is nearly concealed by the foliage of lofty and wide-spreading trees; but on a nearer approach, it bursts

unexpectedly upon the view, The Admiral has formed new plantations of trees, gardens, and vineyards, and is making great improvements; the walks are shady, and in some places very picturesque. Indeed, such a place, in such a dreary country, seemed like enchantment, and notwithstanding a heavy shower of rain, we lingered to admire it. On Sunday evening there is a promenade at Spásskii; and a naval band of music, stationed in one of the ships in the Boog, cheers the visitors. Both the house in the town and this rural seat belong to the crown. Spásskii was once the favourite residence of Prince Potyémkin, who greatly embellished it. The angle between the Ingúl and the Boog, which it occupies, is formed of a horizontal stratum of carbonate of lime, which, like that at Odéssa, is filled with shells. With this kind of stone, the houses at Nikoláëf are chiefly constructed.

In returning towards the town, and not far from the barrier, we turned aside to view a fountain of excellent water, which is now conveyed to a reservoir in Nikoláëf. This fountain is invaluable, since here, as at Odéssa, no good water is to be found in wells. Should the population of Nikoláëf be doubled, or even tripled, the reservoir will be capable of supplying all its wants.

The fine healthy climate, the pure air, the moderate rents, the cheapness of provisions, and of all articles of necessity, except fire-wood, added to

the attractions of excellent society, have induced a number of families to take up their residence at Nikoläëf.

By one account, Nikoläëf contains 1147 houses, and from 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitants; and by Mr. Vsévolojskii's, from 9000 to 10,000, almost all sailors, with a few Jews. By the report of the police-master, with whom we dined at Admiral Greig's, in Nikoläëf, in 1822, were 1100, and in the suburbs 500, and in the environs 300 houses, and the population amounted to 6000 inhabitants, and from 4000 to 6000 sailors, their number varying continually, according to circumstances. The whole population includes but a few foreigners, besides those who are in the naval or military service.

On the 7th of May, having dined at an early hour at Admiral Greig's, and received some letters from him to assist us on our journey, we took leave of Nikoläëf. The country between it and Khersón, extending to about forty miles, presents much *step* country with every now and then greater or smaller elevations, and numerous tumuli, said to be Tartar tombs. The environs of Nikoläëf abound in good pasture land, and are well cultivated. The same remarks are applicable to the vicinity of Khersón. We had intended to see the monument of the distinguished Howard, which stands at the distance of four or five versts from the barrier of Khersón, and not far from the great road, on which

the verst-posts are placed. Our coachman, however, deceived us, and took a shorter road, so that when we passed the monument, we were five versts distant from it. I mention this circumstance for the advantage of future travellers. It being nearly dark, the road bad, and the horses fatigued, we proceeded straight to Khersón. We had been led to believe by our host, the Greek at Nikolaëf, that we should find lodgings at a merchant's house, with whose name he furnished us. After much enquiry, we found the house, but no lodging; so we were glad to pass the night in some small uncomfortable rooms in the tavern of a Jew; for such is now the best accommodation to be found at Khersón.

I got into a *droshki* at break of day, and proceeded toward the monument of Howard. I soon arrived at the spot, but was somewhat at a loss where to bestow my tribute of veneration to the shade of this great man; for two similar pyramidal monuments, formed of the limestone of the country, rise from the plain, at the distance of a few feet from each other. I walked round them with excited curiosity, and then asked the coachman, in Russ, which was Howard's monument? He replied, "These are the monuments of two Englishmen, I know nothing more of them." On one side of the pedestal of the best built pyramid, some kind hand had scratched on the plaster, the words "John Howard." They were sufficient to

fix my attention, and to recall every feeling of veneration with which Englishmen must approach this sacred tomb. On the opposite side of the pedestal were obscurely traced *MXIT PROPTER ALIOS*: meant, I suppose, to be *mortuus propter alios*, which is true.

Howard's monument is situated between the country-seat of Count Potótskii and the villa of a rich peasant. A representation of it is given in a vignette at the head of the twenty-third chapter of Clarke's Travels. It stands in a hollow, surrounded by gentle and bleak hills, which on the south and east are scattered with tumuli. The ground on which it is placed, formerly belonged to a French gentleman, Mr. François Dauphiné*, but it is now the property of a Greek, whose name is Mr. Gonospulof, at least so we were informed; but Dr. Clarke relates, that Admiral Priestman purchased the spot by Howard's dying request; and that when the intelligence of the conclusion of the bargain was made known to him, he showed great satisfaction.

The reader may be impatient to know the meaning of the other pyramid by the side of Howard's. As I learned, upon enquiry, it was erected as a memorial of Capt. Newman, who arrived at Khersón with the late Mr. Aitón, and

* In the Life of Catherine II. it is said that Howard was interred on the estate at Dauphiné, and the author likewise speaks of the "village of Dauphiny." But Dauphiné was the name of a merchant.

passed many years of his life in and near Khersón. He was a person of great commercial spirit, and was an acquaintance of Howard's. After his death a few years ago, his son-in-law (or brother-in-law), Mr. Steiglitz, who had then a lease of the salt-lakes in the Krimea, at his own expence erected the pyramid in question; but upon what plausible grounds it was built so near and so similar to Howard's monument, I could not learn. All I could obtain was, that Capt. Newman was likewise an Englishman, and was worthy of such a distinction.

We met with different individuals who knew Howard intimately and who venerated his name. Mr. A——, after praising him highly, added, *c'étoit un homme extrêmement actif, mais vif comme la poudre*. The same gentleman also spoke of Dr. Clarke, with great respect.

The new monument erected to the memory of Howard, which is near the church of the Assumption, and without the barrier of Khersón, is a simple pyramid, with poplars around it, and is enclosed by a high circular wall, with an iron gate in front, which was locked. I copied the inscription on the pedestal, of which the following is a translation: —

HOWARD

DIED ON THE 20TH JANUARY,

IN THE YEAR 1790,

IN THE 65TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

We were told that his Imperial Majesty Alexander had granted the sum of 50,000 roubles for the erection of a monument worthy of Howard, and that this monument only cost 11,000. We were also informed by Mr. Komstadius, the civil governor of Khersón, that it was to be demolished, and that a more worthy monument was to take its place. That gentleman showed us a large bronze medallion with Howard's portrait, with sharp features, prominent nose, and large wig, which is to be placed in one side of the base of the future monument. Around the medallion are these words in Slavonic: "I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

Dr. Clarke has furnished some interesting details respecting Howard's illness, death, and funeral. The following information was derived from Mr. Komstadius. In the month of November 1789, Howard was requested to visit Mademoiselle During, that gentleman's aunt, who lived on the banks of the Dnéper, at the distance of ten miles from Khersón. In a light old-fashioned dress, in silk stockings, and without a great coat, he set off on horseback. The day was windy and cold, and he had a fall by the way. He caught a cold, which was followed by a fever, and which terminated in death.



CHAP. V.

KHERSÓN. — THE FORTRESS. — THE TOMB OF PRINCE POTYÉM-
 KIN. — THE ADMIRALTY. — THE GREEK SUBURB. — THE
 MILITARY SUBURB. — POPULATION. — DISADVANTAGES OF
 KHERSÓN. — ITS PRESENT STATE. — KABÁKS. — DEPARTURE.
 — THE INGULÉTS. — PLANTS. — TARTARS WITH BURCHAS. —
 BERISLÁF. — FERRIES OF THE DNÉPER. — AMUSING SCENE.
 — PASSAGE OF THE DNÉPER. — KACHÓVKA. — PÉREKOP. —
 ITS FORTRESS. — THE ARMENIAN BAZÁR. — SALT LAKES. —
 FOOLISH PRACTICE. — ANECDOTES OF A TARTAR. — GÚSLA,
 A TARTAR VILLAGE. — DYÚRMEN. — DEGENERACY OF THE
 TARTARS. — THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER. — SARABÚZE. — SUL-
 TAN KATTI-GHERRI RI M-GHERRI. — SYMPHEROPOLE. — ITS
 FINE CATHEDRAL. — ITS PRESENT STATE. — ITS CLIMATE.
 — A TARTAR COFFEE-HOUSE. — MAHOMEDAN WORSHIP. — MR.
 STEVEN. — MADAME PALLAS. — LOCUSTS. — TARTAR FIRMAN.
 — SÁBLA. — CLOTH-MANUFACTORY OF MR. BOROSDÍN. — AR-
 RIVAL IN THE PALACE OF BAKTCHISERAI.

KHERSÓN is one of the principal towns in the south of Russia, and has given its name to a government. Castelnau has remarked, that he is ignorant of the cause which obtained its appellation from Prince Potyémkin ; for, if it was intended to confuse history, the success has been perfect. Many, on hearing its name, imagine that it occupies the site of the formerly flourishing republican town, Chersonesus, whose foundations are still evident in the Krimea, near Sevástopole. *

The geographical position of Khersón is under $31^{\circ} 26'$ E. long. and $44^{\circ} 37'$ N. lat. 913 miles from Petersburg, 1400 from Moscow, and 57 from the Euxine. It lies upon the right bank of the *limán*, or immense embouchure, of the Dnéper, which is here six versts broad, when its numerous shoals, as is frequently the case, are covered with water ; when the shoals are exposed, the real breadth of the river is not more than a verst. In the passage to Aléshki by the Dnéper, however, as the boats wind through different channels, among numerous banks, the distance is increased to fifteen versts. Admiral Greig, on his way to Sevástopole, generally makes the passage here in two hours, while others employ four, six, and even twelve hours, on

* As the Russians wished to obliterate all names of places in use among the Krim Tartars, no doubt the new town was named Khersón, that the ancient town might no longer be remembered. What miserable finesse !

account of the badness of the ferry-boats, and the unskilfulness of those who manage them.

Khersón was founded in the year 1778, was augmented and fortified in 1780, and soon afterwards became a flourishing town, and a port for vessels from all countries of Europe, as is mentioned already in the account of Odéssa. It occupies a large space ; and, though the greatest part of it is regularly planned and built, it has nothing grand or imposing in its aspect. It is divided into four quarters, the Fortress, the Admiralty, the Greek Suburb, and the Suburb for Sailors.

The *Fortress* is surrounded by fosses and ramparts, and is an immense enclosure. It contains the arsenal, a large and fine building; the tribunals; the houses of the military governor, the civil governor, and the commandant; the prison, the barracks; and other structures; all of which belong to the crown. An elegant, though small, new church, in the midst of an enclosed church-yard, also occupies a place in this division. As we were informed by a Slavonic inscription in its pediment, this temple was dedicated to the Saviour of the human race by Catherine II., and was, perhaps, intended to serve as a monument to the memory of her potent favourite, whose ashes repose within its walls.

Clarke, and some other authors, have alluded to the life and death of Prince Potyémkin, in the severest terms of reprobation and abhorrence. After

his death, which happened on the way from Yassi, his body, according to Clarke, was interred within this church ; but, by the Emperor Paul's command, it was taken up and thrown into a hole, which was purposely dug in the fosse, " with as little ceremony as a dead dog ;" but, as this proceeding took place in the night, very few were informed of the fate of the corps.* Another author informs us, in a pathetic strain, that the remains of Prince Potyémkin " were exposed to the birds of the air."† But, I have been assured, that, although Paul sent an imperial mandate to take up and cast the body of Potyémkin into the first hole which might be found, it was never obeyed ; that the pretence only was made ; and that it still reposes within the walls of the church, though nobody can or will tell in what place. The coffin was removed, and all inscriptions in memorial of Potyémkin, were obliterated ; but a new grave was dug, and covered over with flags which had been purposely taken up ; and there the mortal remains of this once great prince were consigned to eternal oblivion. As it is no uncommon circumstance that even the active and vigilant Alexander is deceived by his nobles and his officers, we can easily believe this account of disregard to Paul's orders.

From unlooked-for events, countries and dis-

* Clarke's Travels, p. 602.

† Northern Summer, by John Carr, p. 339.

tricts, scarcely known or spoken of, acquire a celebrity to which otherwise they are not entitled; and, among these, must be reckoned Khersón. Fifty years ago, what traveller, of the few who traversed the desert shores of the Black Sea, would have paused to regard the site of modern Khersón? At present the existence of this town; the fact that it was the meeting-place of Catharine II. and the Emperor Joseph; the death of Howard within its walls, and the adjoining monuments erected to his memory; and the sepulchre of Potyémkin, all recal so many associations with the events of times gone by, that a strong interest is likely to be excited in the breast of all travellers.

In the second quarter of the town, the *Admiralty*, which serves as a citadel to the fortress, are the different docks for constructing vessels of war, and merchant vessels, now scarcely worth notice. It is only during the spring-flood of the Dnéper that vessels can be transported from hence upon camels, and that only when there is a large flood. This had not been the case in 1822, so that some vessels would remain till 1823, or the first of the succeeding years that admits of their departure. A fine basin, cut out of the limestone-rock, exposes an extensive surface for the examination of the mineralogist. The stratum is the same as at Odéssa and Nikolaëf, and of the same texture. Numerous magazines and store-houses are the chief edifices of this division.

The *Greek Suburb* is inhabited by the burgesses, and contains a Greek, a Roman Catholic, and a Russo-Greek church, a great market, and some establishments called inns, which deserve not even the name of taverns. They are low tippling houses, and have billiard-tables, which are chiefly employed by the Jews, of whom there are many here; and most of them, at least apparently, were in a miserable state.

The *Military Suburb*, which would have been better named the Naval Suburb, only contains three streets and a single church; the houses within it are mean, and are mostly inhabited by sailors and artisans.

After the foundation of Odéssa, Khersón fell gradually into a state of decline; but, of late, its spirit seems somewhat renovated. With respect to its population; in 1813, Vsévolojskii stated it nearly at 10,000 souls; and, by Castelnau, in 1820, it is made to amount to 30,000, which must be a great exaggeration, though countenanced by the report of one gentleman with whom we had a conversation. No diminution of population had taken place since 1820, till the period of our visit, when the civil governor informed us, that Khersón contained 3600 houses, and that the general population, including the sailors, carpenters, &c. at the different works of the crown, amounted to about 14,000 souls.

Before entering the barrier of Khersón, the Naval

Hospital was seen on the right, at a distance from all other edifices, and in an open healthy situation. It is only one story in height, but is of immense extent. I regretted extremely that the arrangements of our party prevented me from examining it in detail. A rope-work, nearly half a mile in length, and about fifty windmills, all near the barrier, presented a curious appearance.

In the account of Odéssa, I have spoken of the objections to Khersón, as a commercial and naval port, and for dock-yards; all of which ought to have been foreseen, and to have prevented the foundation of a town in so improper a situation. By the Dnéper all the timber for ship-building arrives at Khersón, both for its own supply, and that of Nikolaéf and Odéssa. Much of the produce of the interior is also brought hither, and is taken to the last-mentioned town by lighters. Hence, though Khersón is never likely to be a naval or a commercial port, from its situation on the Dnéper, it may long remain an emporium for the equipment and armament of the fleet of the Black Sea, and a dépôt for the produce of the neighbouring governments of the empire; and even this secondary place, it may maintain, must be extremely desirable to those who have embarked their capital in property in this town.

Those who are anxious to know the particulars respecting the former flourishing commerce of Kher-

són, may consult Castelnau's work on New Russia.* Like that author, we were struck by "*l'air morne et triste des habitans, et le manque d'activité, qu'on trouve partout, excepté sur le port et les chantiers.*" Few carriages are to be seen here ; but the drivers, as elsewhere in Russia, make merry in the kabáks or taverns, pour forth their unharmious songs, and engage in merry disquisitions. The interior of a kabák is well represented in the vignette to this chapter.

Admiral Greig had given us a letter to Vice-Admiral Bitchénskii, who is stationed permanently at Khersón, and who, in consequence, would have afforded every facility for the passage of the Dnéper to Aléshki, but as the day was very windy, we preferred crossing that river at Berisláf. We had a rapid drive to the post-station Inguléts, so named from the river near whose banks it stands. Having changed horses, we soon entered that river, and made our way over a very rough, stony road, and through deep water, to a kind of mole, where we embarked in a very bad ferry-boat, and reached the opposite bank without accident. The *Inguléts*, though its name is the diminutive of the *Ingul* of which we have already spoken, is a fine river at this season of the year, and is above half a mile in breadth. On both its sides, the horizontal stratum of lime-stone, of a

* Vol. ii. p. 236., and vol. iii. p. 133.

yellow colour, is completely exposed, and of course is favourable for the examination of the geologist. The specimens which were detached, and the rock *in situ*, exhibited beautiful aggregates of shells. This spot also affords much pleasure to the botanist; for the banks of the Inguléts are covered by a profusion of wild plants, which bloom and fade unnoticed by the inhabitants of the surrounding dreary regions.* We pushed on to Berisláf, through extensive plains, which produced but poor herbage, though the soil appeared to be rich, and was covered with such quantities of elegant thistles (*Carduus elegans*), and other plants, that one was ready to suspect that they had been sown. On the *steps* around us, the abundance of feather-grass † astonished us. It explained a custom, common among the Russian peasants and carriers, of decorating loaded waggons, carts, and horses, with numerous bunches of this grass, as it is the custom to do, on the king's birth-day, with branches of trees and flowers in Britain. Feather-grass seems to delight in the plains; for, after our departure from Moscow, throughout New Russia, the Kubán, and even Georgia, we saw it copiously scattered

* On the *steps* before reaching Odéssa, in its neighbourhood, and on the road leading from thence to the Inguléts, among many other plants I picked up *Scutellaria orientalis*, *Polygonum major*, *Campanula betonicifolia*, *Saxifraga cotyledon*, *Vicia polyphilla*, *Asclepias nigra*, *Dracocephalum ruyschiana*, *Hedysarum petræum*, and *Minuartia montana*.

† *Stipa pennata* and *Stipa capellata*.

over the *steps*, whether they were fertile or barren. The dreary wilds of Khersón were enlivened by some pleasant views of the banks of the Inguléts, and afterwards of those of the Dnéper or Borysthenes, which are infinitely more picturesque. We had chiefly met Kozáks on this day's journey ; but two Tartars, on horseback, the one wearing a white, the other a black, *búrcha*, excited our surprise by their novel and grotesque appearance. The word *búrcha* admits of no other translation than that of felt-mantle. It is nearly half an inch thick, and is often covered with long hair, for the most part of a black or brown colour. It forms an inseparable part of the Tartar's and the mountaineer's travelling *appareil*, every where in the Krimea, the Caucasus, and in Georgia ; and, I believe, it is likewise used in Persia. It is a most convenient article for travelling on horseback, as we afterwards fully learnt by experience ; and though heavy, it is useful in all kinds of weather. The rays of a strong meridian sun can scarcely penetrate it, it being a bad conductor of caloric, so that it supplies a cool shade for the body ; heavy rain runs off it and rarely reaches the skin ; in cold weather it keeps the person warm ; and, lastly, it frequently supplies the place of a bed, it being either laid on the bare floor, or over a quantity of straw or hay. No traveller should be without a *búrcha*, even in the Krimea, but especially in the marshes of the Kubán,

and under the variable climate of Georgia ; in all of which territories intermittent fevers are excessively common, and sometimes attack strangers. *

Berisláf, or Berislavl, was formerly named Mil-létopole. The ancient Russians changed this into Bélaya-Véja, and the Tartars into Kizi-Kérmen. Its foundation is attributed to the Milesians. It is built on the elevated and sloping bank of the Dnéper, and formerly belonged to the Zaporogian Kozáks. It is surrounded by a good deal of cultivated land, thickly studded with windmills. It is a shabby and miserable town, the population of which was said to be 2400 souls. It was undergoing a thorough repair when we passed through it, and as it is in the Government of Khersón, is most likely converted into a military colony. The view of the Dnéper and its islands, on the approach to Berisláf, is extensive and noble. This town is chiefly remarkable on account of its being one of the passages of the Dnéper, by which corn is transported into the Krimea, and salt brought back in *telégas* or carts drawn by oxen, immense caravans of which are continually showing themselves in this part of the country. There is also another ferry or passage across the Dnéper at Nikopole, 160 versts higher up. Both here and at Berisláf, when the spring-flood has subsided, floating

* In one of Clarke's plates a Nogai-Tartar is covered with a *búrcha*.

bridges are established, which are drawn to the sides before the freezing of that river.

By a steep descent, we reached the majestic Dnéper, and had the mortification to see all the large ferry-boats covered with *telégas* loaded with corn, which had been detained there three days, on account of the danger of attempting a passage during high winds, which luckily for us, had just been succeeded by a calm. While awaiting the return of a small ferry-boat, we amused ourselves by persuading a few soldiers, whom we found stationed here as a guard, to run races for prizes on the steep brow of the hill. Their assistance was afterwards readily given for the embarkation of the carriages, which we found no easy task. We here witnessed a very amusing occurrence between the ferry-man, an under-officer, and some soldiers who had arrived before us on the banks of the Dnéper. We were desirous of crossing immediately, and the boatmen would readily have complied with our wish, but the under-officer pleaded his right to precedence, with the high tone which is characteristic of all the ranks of the Russian army; and neither entreaties nor contempt affected him. He “served his Imperial Majesty—the horses were the Emperor’s,” and brandishing his cane in the face of the boatmen, he gave his commands, and forced compliance. We enjoyed ourselves also in regarding one of these

scenes of uproar and confusion, which are common in Russia. For the embarkation of the horses things were badly arranged: planks were laid between the shore and the high sides of the barges by which they were to ascend; some were blindfolded and led; some were pulled by ropes, by the bridle, or by the tail, and pushed on board; while not a few, after having advanced halfway, began to prance, and fell into the river.

Though the post-station was at Berisláf, by giving a *gratification*, the drivers had been induced to carry us to the Dnéper. When fairly embarked, we betook ourselves to the carriages, as it was cold and dark. We made the first half of the passage by the laborious efforts of four men at the oars, but a favourable breeze springing up, the sails were spread, and we soon reached the opposite bank of the river. As the ferry winds among shoals and reeds, its breadth is reckoned five versts, though, very probably, at this season of the year it is not more than three in a direct line. We were exactly two hours upon the water. We found that the post-house was at Kachóvka, half a verst from the place where we landed; on reaching which, after ascending a long hill, we were most agreeably surprised to find a good inn, where least of all we expected it. By giving a trifle to the *smotritel*, we persuaded him to send horses to fetch the carriages to the inn; and by the time we had dined, he had arranged every thing for our departure.

On the 9th May, by three o'clock in the morning, we were in motion, and had a fine and rapid drive, changing horses at the stations indicated in the itinerary, through dreary plains all the way to Pérekop, without remarking a single object deserving of notice.

The isthmus and fortress of Pérekop once attracted the attention of the world; but, since the seizure of the Krimea by Russia, and the consequent cessation of war in the adjoining regions, they are sunk into insignificance. They will, however, always excite a lively interest in the mind of the passing traveller, who reasons or speculates upon the fate of nations. In the event of a revolution, which sooner or later is likely to overthrow the extensive and despotic government of the Russian empire, and to dismember it into a number of smaller states, the Krimea, no doubt, will be early secured by one party, whether they be Tartars, Turks, Greeks, or even Russians; and in case the powers of Europe should ever find it necessary to check, or to subdue, the haughty, ambitious, and dictatorial policy of the Russian cabinet, that peninsula may become of infinite importance, by the facilities which it affords for the landing of troops, or of military stores, ammunition, and arms. Hence we may reasonably conjecture, that the Krimea, at some future epoch, will regain its ancient glory, and Pérekop and its line of fortification become the seat of murderous warfare. In such a case, the tri-

umphant fleet of Great Britain, or perhaps that of the Greeks, may ride along the coasts of the Euxine and of the Palus Mæotis, after that of Russia has been captured or burned.

For a particular description of the isthmus and fortifications of Pérekop, I refer the reader to Strabo, Pallas, Clarke, and Castelnau, who will find its different appellations, Taphros, Tafré, of the Greeks, and Or-Kapi of the Tartars, completely elucidated in their works. I shall confine my remarks to its present condition.

Pérekop is situated upon a plain, and upon the principal road of ingress and egress between Russia and the Krimea; for the passage in summer from Yenítché, by the strait of the Sivásh and a sandy tongue of land seventy-three miles in length, to Arabát, is only used by the carts of the peasants. It lies 1280 versts distant from Moscow, and though the *chief town* of a district, it has more the appearance of a village. It consists of two rows of houses, which line the sides of the great road, which is here of enormous breadth. With the exception of a few white-washed houses, the rest are in gloomy harmony with the sterile naked regions. According to the latest statistical account, this *district town only contains thirty-eight houses*, and, of course, its population is trifling. It derives its chief present importance from being the residence of the *Commission* charged with the ad-

ministration of the Salt-Lakes of the Krimea. It is an immense thoroughfare during summer, as may be easily conceived from the fact, that 20,000 cart-loads of salt annually leave its gates, for the supply of the south of Russia.

The inhabitants of Pérekop are composed of Russians, Greeks, Armenians, and Tartars; to which was added, at the time of our visit, an encampment of Bohemians, or Tsigánii, as they are called throughout Russia, or Gipsies, as we name them; the males of whom were mending pots and pans in the open air, while their wives and children were sheltered under tents. They are greatly encouraged by the Tartars.

The immense ditches, ramparts, and walls of the Fortress of Pérekop, have been lately repaired. Having entered its grand gates, a sentinel cried out, "*Back, back.*" I replied, "Is there no officer here?" Pointing his bayonet at us, at a short distance, he answered, "*No! back, back.*" At this moment some officers, who were walking in the interior, came into view; and, under such circumstances, we did not hesitate to hail them. The officer on duty immediately approached, was very polite, scolded the soldier, accompanied us round the ramparts, and answered all our enquiries. A ruined mosque, with a Tartar inscription, now made a powder magazine; a barrack, which likewise served as a jail, in a state of great filth; and the fortifica-

tions, were the objects which claimed our chief attention.*

At the distance of four versts from Pérekop we entered the *Armianskoi Bazár*, or the Bazár of the Armenians, which has been described by some as formed of a single street: but the fact is, that it is a very large village, and consists of numerous narrow lanes, amidst which arise mosques with wooden minarets, a Greek temple, and a Russo-Greek church; for the worship of the Tartars, Armenians, and Russians who compose its population. The houses are built of stone or of turf plastered over, have a very mean appearance, and are enclosed by walls which form the boundaries of the streets. The village had every where the appearance of extreme dirt. The conduct of its inhabitants, warned us that we had got among a new people in a new country. As we walked through the lanes, the moment we were espied, men, women, and children withdrew into their courts, and shut their gates. At length, some of the males ventured to speak with us, but the females could only be seen by suddenly entering some path where the inhabitants were not aware of our approach; but as their general features, manners, and tattered, slovenly, and even indecorous dress, disgusted us, we were not tempted to improve our acquaintance with them.

* The reader will find a view of the fortress and gates of Pérekop, Pallas's Travels.

Besides the *bazárs*, or shops, along the road, there is likewise an Eastern bazár, or square planted with trees and surrounded by small shops, in which are disposed for sale, carts, wheels, axle-trees, ropes, tar, whips, and every thing necessary for carters, as well as all kinds of provisions, tea, sugar, coffee, wines, jellies, confections, &c., which proves that the various inhabitants of this village and neighbourhood are acquainted with the luxuries of life ; though, I should suppose, the greatest share of some of these articles is disposed of to travellers.

On the post-road we remarked handsome stone columns indicating the versts, which were placed there when Catharine II. made her memorable visit to the Krimea, in 1787. They formed part of the means which were invented by the then favourite, Prince Potyémkin, to induce the empress to believe, that even while treading dreary wilds and wastes, she saw a fertile, populous, flourishing, and happy country. *

We purposely made a *détour* to the Salt-Lakes, which are distant about twelve miles from Pérekop, and have different names, as, *Krásnoyé Ozero*, Red Lake ; *Stároýé Ozero*, Old Lake, &c. As the water of these lakes was not sufficiently evaporated, we had not the opportunity of seeing them covered with their abundant harvest of salt. They are

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. xciii.

described at length by Pallas, and noticed by Castelnau. The last-named writer has given a representation of them, and of the loading of the carts with their saline products. The water of *Stároyé Ozero*, saturated with salt, was extremely strong and pungent to the tongue. Its banks and neighbourhood were absolutely covered with *Péganum Harmala* and *Salsóla ericoides*, like a regular crop. The *pristaf*, or superintending officer of this lake, was extremely affable and communicative, asked us to enter his house, and had coffee served up immediately. He is a Malo-Russian, and was quite delighted at the sight of strangers in so dull a spot, surrounded, as he was, by Tartars. Though a poor man, he was affronted when I privately put a ten-rouble note into his hand; he rejected it with disdain, and would not even allow his child to accept of it; a circumstance whose parallel had not before occurred during our journey. At inns, post-houses, police-offices, lodgings, whether among Russians, Greeks, or Jews, rapacity, extortion, and roguery, were generally the order of the day.

The Salt-Lakes of the Krimea have been known from time immemorial, and this peninsula “was the emporium” of salt “in the earliest periods of history.” Hence the value of these lakes to the possessors of the Krimea, as a source of revenue, and for the supply of one of the most necessary commodities of human life. Hence also, no doubt, one of

the causes which rendered the Taurida an object of ambition to Russia; since, notwithstanding the immense annual supplies which are now furnished from the peninsula, a considerable importation of foreign salt takes place every season at the sea-ports of the Baltic.

Since the seizure of the Krimea, its Salt-Lakes have sometimes been kept by the crown, and sometimes farmed out. In the year 1799, Pérets and Steiglets farmed them for four years, during which seventy poods of salt were sold on the spot, for ten roubles; but it must be remembered that it was, and still is, sold in an impure state.

Castelnau says, that, in former years, by selling the salt upon the spot at twelve kopeeks per pood, —not much more than a penny at present,—the Salt-Lakes produced a revenue of 650,000 roubles; consequently $5,416,666\frac{2}{3}$ poods must have been disposed of: and in a note he adds, “*en 1815, la ferme a rendu 1,200,000 roubles.*” The price of salt was afterwards raised to forty kopeeks; and in 1821 it was sold at ninety kopeeks per pood; of which the people, employed to take it from the lakes, received from seven to ten kopeeks, as the reward of their labour. The demand for salt in 1821 was small, so that a less quantity than usual was made. We were informed, that from the *Staroyé Ozero* alone could be taken annually 6,000,000, 8,000,000, or 10,000,000 poods of salt; and that there was no doubt, if the crown ordered it, even 20,000,000 poods might be obtained.

Well may the united supply of all the lakes of the Krimea be regarded as inexhaustible, if it be true, that the more their solid contents are removed, the greater is the increase.

Some strange things are done, and some extraordinary measures are adopted, by the Russians, with all the progress they have made in civilisation, and the regularity and order which they have established in many departments of the public service, where each person of rank, by regular gradation, becomes a tyrant or a despot, when it pleases him, over his inferiors. I shall give an instance in illustration of this observation. From the commissioner at Pérekop a printed order must be received, so as to procure any given quantity of salt at the lakes. The salt being obtained, the purchaser must return to Pérekop with his order and his purchase, when he pays the money. This arrangement suits those well enough who enter the Krimea from the north, and whose road, on their return, leads through Pérekop; but it is excessively inconvenient for the inhabitants of the Krimea, south of the lakes. Ozman, a Tartar whom we met, resides six versts from *Stároýé Ozero*, and to the south-east; and when he wants to purchase salt, instead of coming here, taking his load and departing, he is obliged to go to Pérekop for the printed order, and, having loaded his oxen to drive them to that town; then, and not till then, he is at liberty to return home by the nearest way he can

find. So that instead of the short distance of twelve versts, he has to make a long journey.

We were not sorry that Ozman, the only Tartar whom we had met since leaving the Armianskoi Bazar, had been detained here; especially as he spoke a little Russ. He was a good specimen of his countrymen: tall, well-built, with an open, pleasing, and interesting countenance, and full of good-humour. We begged the officer to ask him to his house. In a long conversation he spoke of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jesus Christ*, as well as of *Mahomed* (whom he called Mam-béd), as great prophets, and with great reverence; and he seemed to have some just ideas of the Divine Being and his attributes. When we alluded to rewards and punishments, he said, "My body may be thrown to the dogs, provided my soul goes to the *houris*." He was a married man, and informed us that, though a Tartar was permitted to have four wives, it was not lawful to sleep with more than one of them the same night. He also stated that he was allowed to shave his beard till he had attained forty years of age; but that after that, such a practice was absolutely condemned. He concluded emphatically in these words, "For my part, rather would I allow my throat to be cut than my beard to be shaved." We remarked that the heads of the Tartars were generally shaved, even of the youths; that some had them but partially shaved; and that many were quite bald, except a tuft of hair upon the crown. A

Russian who was present said, he supposed this tuft was left by the Tartars that Mahomed might seize them, and pull them to Paradise, after death. To which Ozman, with great vehemence, replied, “ You Russians let your hair grow thick and long, that your prophet may have a good hold in dragging you to heaven.”

Adjoining to Stároyé Ozero is the village of Guzla, which contains seventy houses or huts, and whose inmates are employed at the lakes in summer. This was the first real Tartar village we had seen, and we found that the same system was pursued as at Armianskoi Bazár men, women, and children fled from our sight, as if we had been a pestilence. The *pristaf*'s influence, however, soon prevailed, and one of the males allowed us to enter his dwelling. A liberal *douceur* on leaving its precincts produced a marvellous effect; the Tartars surrounded us, and every one more anxious than his neighbour made signs for us to accompany him to his house. We embraced so favourable an opportunity; went into many of their dwellings; and saw the females, married and unmarried, young and old. In one of the best of their houses, a small, low, round table was covered with a table-cloth, and bread and sour cream were placed upon it, while a range of cushions upon the floor surrounded it. Like the Tartars, we sat down cross-legged upon these cushions, and partook of the repast, but very sparingly, as neither the bread nor the cream was

much to our taste. When we left this house the whole male population of the village, including a number of boys, was at our heels. I proposed to make them run races, and the young Tartars showed much eagerness whilst running, and much agility in their motions. Having rewarded them with prizes, given a five-rouble note to our pleasant companion Ozman, and distributed a few roubles to the other Tartars, we got into the carriages, and, throwing a quantity of small silver coins into the air, for which there was an amusing scramble, with the benedictions of our new acquaintances, we left Staroyé Ozero.

Our route lay through arid *steps*, with few deviations from a right line; and we arrived at Dyúrmen late in the evening, dined, and reposed till four o'clock in the morning of the following day, and reached Sarabúze for breakfast. The road, dreary as possible, is continued over a surface nearly level. After we left Aibar, the Tchatir-Dagh, the highest mountain in the Krimea, burst upon the view; and soon afterwards, the whole chain of the mountains of this peninsula* enlivened the prospect, and had an animating effect upon our spirits. We met a troop of gipsies, travelling in basket-carts, each drawn by two small horses. We examined some enormously deep wells in the plains; and we remarked immense tracts covered with

* Dr Clarke has given a view of this scene.

Péganum Harmala, *Carduus ciliatus*, and *Salvia Austriaca*. Besides the villages at the post-stations, enumerated in the itinerary in the Appendix, we remarked but a few others on the whole line of road from Pérekop to Sympheropole, which certainly gave us the idea, that the level part of the Krimea was in a state of great desolation ; but, according to Castelnau, and an excellent statistical map of the Krimea, we judged by a very fallacious criterion. For, “ at the short distance of five or six versts, on all sides, there are rich villages inhabited by men more happy than their apathy and carelessness merit.” — “ The Tartar loves retirement ; he wishes to be isolated, and regards the visit of the stranger as an intrusion on his repose, on his property, and on his happiness.” But it must ever be kept in remembrance, that the Tartars of the present generation differ considerably from their ancestors, and that forty years of subjection, dependence, and oppression, have operated in diminishing, if not in eradicating, all the highest feelings and principles of savage life, without having supplanted them by the benign influence of knowledge, civilisation, or religion. Since the reign of Alexander, it must, at the same time, be candidly admitted, that many measures have been concerted so as to make the burden of despotism less and less sensible to his Krimean subjects ; and, as we shall see by and by, to educate and illuminate their minds. Indeed, Alexander is not

to be blamed, but to be praised for his administration of Russia, generally speaking ; for, although he wisely delays giving freedom to his subjects, leaves that measure to his successors, or looks forward to the time when the Russians themselves shall declare their independence ; he steadily pursues the system of encouraging and extending the means of education, of literature, and of religion, in the remotest corners of his vast territories. If he has been negligent in any great concern of the empire, it has assuredly been that of the administration of justice in the tribunals ; but, at the present moment, we have reason to believe, that this subject engages his most earnest attention. Should he undertake its reformation and purification, he will find it a Herculean undertaking, but one worthy of a monarch's labours, of a tsar's ambition, and of an emperor's fame. Truly the Russians have no just cause to be discontented with their Sovereign, who has ever shown the utmost wish to raise their character, and to elevate them in the rank of nations. It is the foreign policy of Alexander that has turned thousands of voices against him, which, but a few years ago, hailed him with esteem and reverence.

As we reached Sarabúze, by a gentle descent, we were charmed with the change of scenery. Behind us was a monotonous plain of hundreds of miles in extent ; before us rose, in majestic grandeur, an extensive range of mountains, while the

intervening country was varied by hills, and woods, and villages, and intersected by streams.

We stopped at a small but excellent inn at Sarabúze, in which every thing bore the aspect of order and cleanliness. To a Tartar, who came to the door, with a miserable horse, we gave a *grivnik*, a small silver coin, which he put into his bosom. I told him, in Russ, that he would lose it. He replied, in his own language, as was interpreted by his signs, while he touched one of his fore-teeth, "I shall sooner lose this;" an answer which recalled to mind the Oriental descent of the Tartars.

After we left Sarabúze, we descended a gentle declivity at the gallop; remarked numerous villas surrounded by trees and gardens and tracts of cultivated land; passed a burying-ground filled with the sepulchral monuments of the Tartars; and reached Sympheropole. We drove to one inn, which was under repair; then to another, which was filled by billiard-rooms, and various parties; and, while we were about to proceed to a third, an old acquaintance of mine, Sultan Katti-Ghérri Krim-Ghérri, unexpectedly came into view, most kindly invited us to take up our quarters at his house, and would not admit any excuse for non-compliance. The Sultan, a well-known character in Great Britain, is a descendant of the Tartar khans, and was born among the mountains of the Caucasus. Having become acquainted with the Scotch

missionaries at Karáss, and shown a disposition to embrace the Christian religion and to become useful in the conversion of his Mahomedan brethren, he was removed to Petersburg, and resided with Dr. Paterson, where I was introduced to him. He then proceeded to the university of Edinburgh, and there resided for some years for the purpose of studying. He accompanied Mr. Lewis Way in his journey through Russia and the Krimea, in 1817-1818; and, when at Moscow, he was frequently at my house.

The Sultána left father and mother, five brothers, and as many sisters, in Edinburgh, her native town, for the sake of the Sultan, and consented to reside in the Krimea; but, by so doing, she incurred her father's invincible displeasure, which he carried so far as to disinherit her; and he even died without pardoning this strong proof of unequivocal love.

Many of the Sultána's friends considered her attachment as very romantic — but, perhaps, with less room than they imagined. For, it must not be forgotten, that previous to his marriage, the Sultan had not only become a Christian, but was almost transformed into a Briton, and spoke English with as much fluency as his native tongue. At Sympheropole his house was arranged in the English style; almost every portable article within it was of British manufacture, and British customs and manners alone prevailed. Indeed, the Sultan's education, religion, principles, conduct, and

general mode of thinking, were so truly British, that I often forgot myself, and criticised, and even abused, the Tartars, as if I had been conversing with a countryman. He has long been in connection with the societies of Great Britain for the dissemination of religious knowledge, and he received the education of a missionary. He wishes to be useful in the conversion of the Krim Tartars to the Christian religion; and, if encouraged by the British societies, he will establish an extensive school for the education of the Tartar youths. At the time of our visit, he was arranging a small school so as to commence his plan. He also intended, by his exhortations, to enlighten his brethren; and, in order to encourage them to come to him, he distributed small sums of money to the poor, which, no doubt, were as much valued as his kind lessons. Being now a Russian subject, and having necessarily relinquished the property in the Caucasus to which he was heir, the Emperor Alexander has lately bestowed upon him a pension of six thousand roubles, which, with the addition of the small income of the Sultána, enables him to live comfortably. His wife seemed a very modest amiable person, and was highly prized by her husband, by whom she had one daughter at the time of our visit, and I believe now has two or three more children.

Symphoropole received its appellation from the Greeks. The Tartars called, and still call it,

Ak-Metchét, which signifies *white mosque*, because Ibrahim Bey, who had made a successful expedition against the Russians, received estates in this neighbourhood, and caused such an édifice to be built : no difficult matter, as the town is surrounded by mountains of white calcareous stone. After the conquest of the Krimea, the Greek name was restored, so as to obliterate any associations between Ak-Metchét and the natives ; an attempt which has hitherto failed, and may never succeed. Though all the records of the Tartars were destroyed, their language will hand down their former history by tradition to their immediate successors, and they, perhaps, to the remotest ages.

Sympheropole was the former residence of the Kálga-Sultán, after the Khan, the most distinguished individual in the peninsula. It is now the capital of the Krimea, and the residence of the civil governor. It lies in a fine valley, at the base of the Tauridan mountains, and upon the Salghír, a small river, except in the spring or after heavy rains, which is strongly impregnated with lime. It is 963 miles distant from Moscow, and 1458 from Petersburg. It consists of two parts ; the European part built by the Russians since the seizure of the Krimea in 1783 ; and the Tartar or Asiatic part, which, till lately, consisted of structures entirely in the manner of the natives. Numerous gardens, clumps of trees, and extensive fields, give a lively appearance to Sympheropole in

summer; but, I understand, that it is rather a gloomy residence in winter. The new town presents wide streets; and, besides the crown-buildings, as the governor's house, the vice-governor's house, the police-office, the civil hospital, a barrack, and the elegant cathedral, it contains a considerable number of private houses. On every hand, however, we remarked the ruins of former structures, and many buildings in an unfinished state.

There is not a single edifice in Sympheropole worthy of particular notice except the *Cathedral*. Many years ago the Russian government liberally granted 60,000 roubles, according to an estimate, for its erection but this sum only raised the walls to half their intended height. A second estimate was made, and 40,000 roubles were ordered for its completion; but this second sum merely finished the walls, and the building remains unroofed. A third estimate was lately presented to the crown, which has granted 60,000 roubles additional, and ordered the edifice to be finished. This is an excellent illustration of the general manner of procedure in all the affairs of the crown, as well as of the nobles; they almost always begin upon a gigantic plan, and seldom complete it till many years after the fixed period; and often not at all. I should not be surprised if a fourth sum should yet be demanded before divine worship can be performed within the walls of the cathedral. Architects have been blamed in many countries for inac-

curate estimates, but in Russia the extent of their inaccuracy is incredible. It is in unison with the corrupt state of civil government in all its departments; and it seems to be frequently a scheme to give low estimates, in order to induce the crown, or individuals, to commence great works; the architects, knowing that after considerable progress has been made, they generally succeed in obtaining further grants of money.

The Cathedral is founded upon the spot where Suvárof gained a victory, is a large edifice of an oblong form, and is of an agreeable height. Its north and south façades, and west end, are each adorned with a portico, and ranges of columns, while the east end is of a semicircular form for the altar, and presents a peristyle with numerous pillars. The whole edifice is built of stone, and the columns are of polished stone; no usual sight in this part of the world. Taken as a whole, it is by far the most handsome ecclesiastic structure I have seen in the Russian empire.

Like all the Tartar towns and villages in the Krimea, the Tartar part of Ak-Metchét has an exceedingly mean and disgusting appearance, and the streets are for the most part narrow and irregular. A few years ago, Castelnau said that a traveller who had never seen a Tartar or a Turkish town, would believe that he was wandering among stone-cages, in which fools were confined; and that most of the houses were so low, that they

could scarcely be perceived, except where the surrounding walls were in ruins. These characteristics still predominate, yet the gloomy uniformity and monotony of a Tartar town are everywhere broken in upon by European buildings. Indeed, at Sympheropole, the stranger can no longer form an accurate idea of either a Tartar town or a Tartar village.

In the Tartar quarter, is the *Gostinnoi Dvore*, or bargaining-shops, which are kept by the natives, as well as by Greeks, Armenians, and Russians, and which we found supplied with the necessities and luxuries of life, European and Asiatic. A visit to the Tartar shops yielded us much amusement; and we bought some of their embroidered boots, of all the colours of the rainbow, and for all ages and sexes, and also leather straps, balls, and toys, as presents for the natives on our journey. With regret we found that the same despicable system of bargaining, which almost universally prevails among the Russian merchants throughout the whole empire, had also infected the Tartars, who are become adepts in deception.

In 1794, Pallas cautiously remarked that since the Krimea became part of the Russian territory, Sympheropole had lost much of its prosperity; and in 1800, according to Dr. Clarke, although the place had once been beautiful, the Russians had laid all waste. In 1808 and 1813, if we take Stchekatof and Vsévolojskii for our guides, there

were in Sympheropole 339 houses, 30 bake-houses, 197 shops, 12 coffee-houses, 13 *khans* or magazines, 2 inns, 5 taverns; and the population amounted to 2000 souls, of whom nearly one half were Tartars, while the other half was made up of Greeks, Moldavians, Armenians, Turks, and Jews. There can be no doubt that this town has recovered much of its prosperity and trade within the last few years; and we were assured, upon good authority, that the number of its houses and inhabitants is daily increasing. Indeed, this is proved by the facts, that the value of land in the town is enormously augmented; and that, by a late statistical map, there are now 468 houses in Sympheropole. By the same authority, we were told that the Tartars now begin to assimilate with the Russians, and that the highest ranks among them sit upon chairs, and use knives and forks at their meals, instead of being cross-legged upon low *divans*, and serving themselves with their fingers.

Besides four mosques, with their towering minarets, there are also a Greek church, an Armenian church, a Roman Catholic church, and a Synagogue in Ak-Metchét.

Dr. Clarke adopted an opinion, that this town was extremely unhealthy. Speaking of Pallas, he says, “ Splendid as his residence appeared, the air of the place was so bad, that the most rigid abstinence from all sorts of animal food was insufficient

to preserve the inhabitants from fevers." On this point, we suspect great inaccuracy, as the resident physician seemed to consider its situation very salubrious, and as far as my enquiries will allow me to pronounce, I should be of his opinion. One fact, indeed, seems to render this conclusive, for a distinguished medical man, who practised for many years in Petersburg, has lately withdrawn from the labours of his profession, and built a house at Sympheropole, with the intention of spending there the remainder of his days.

While strolling about the streets, one evening, in the Tartar division of Ak-Metchét, the sonorous, but harsh sound of music in a Tartar coffee-house, induced us to ascend a narrow stair-case, and enter it; when quite a novel scene presented itself. A single large room was divided by low wooden partitions, surmounted by rails as ornaments, into four small compartments, the floors of which were elevated a few inches above the level of the passage. In each of these apartments was a low table, on which stood an immense salver with live charcoal, surrounded by groups of Tartars and Greeks, in their native costumes, who were sitting cross-legged upon the floor, drinking coffee and smoking pipes, with their usual gravity and taciturnity, apparently as little affected by the thundering of the musicians, as if they had been in a remote desert.

They all wore loose red and yellow boots, in the

Eastern style, and had left their slippers at the entrance, which they use for the same purpose as ladies wear pattens in Great Britain. All of them wore small caps, except the *hadgis*, or those who had made a pilgrimage to Mecca or Medina, whose heads were surmounted by high white turbans, as a badge of honour. After looking about us, and being somewhat stared at, we got possession of one of the small apartments, took our places in Tartar style, drank coffee, and smoked our pipes. We all tried the *kalioun*, which we found excessively difficult to use, no doubt from want of practice as the Tartars and Greeks sent forth volumes of smoke from it, with as much apparent ease, as from a common tobacco-pipe. Partly by speaking Russ, and partly through Sultan Katti-Gherri Krim-Gherri, we had a good deal of conversation with the inmates of the coffee-house, all of whom, though formal, we found civil and polite. Two violins, held like the violoncello, and a tambarine, regaled us during our stay with most inharmonious music. Although the Tartars and the Greeks showed great apathy to the amusement, yet they must have some taste for it, since the master of the house finds it advantageous to employ the musicians very frequently. Our host, who seemed a sensible man, when asked how long he had been at Sympheropole, replied, “*seven or fourteen years !*” We found that his greatest wish was to make a journey, without the least deviation from a straight line, and to

proceed to whatever countries he might be led, by land or sea. When he had acquired a little money, he seriously intended to make the experiment ; at least he pretended so.

The Krim Tartars, as is well known, and as has been mentioned by Dr. Clarke, are much in the habit of going to Mecca. We saw one upon the road, mounted on horseback, as he crossed the Salghir. Upon enquiry, we found that after he had made a certain progress on his journey he intended to dispose of his horse, in order to procure the means of existence for himself. At this time he had only a few roubles, and was happy at receiving our charity, as well as that of others, to enable him to accomplish his devout purpose.

Having heard the *Mohla's* call from the minaret of one of the mosques, at mid-day, we proceeded to witness the practice of the Mahomedan worship. The slow and majestic pace of the Tartars, after their ablutions, their grave countenances, and their serious conduct produced a solemnity in our minds which we little expected.

Though Pallas be gone, his loss has been supplied by one of the first naturalists of the age, Mr. Christian Steven, who, after having travelled in the Caucasus, Georgia, and the Krimea, under the auspices of the Russian government, was, some years ago, appointed director of the botanic garden at Nikita, on the south coast of the peninsula, where he resides for some months

of the year. He has lately purchased a house adjoining to Sympheropole, at which we were introduced to his acquaintance. He has particularly distinguished himself as a botanist and entomologist. He was an extensive contributor to the celebrated *Flora Tauro-Caucasica*, by Marschall à Bieberstein; and lately he made a present of a collection of insects, many of them rare and non-descripts, valued at nearly five hundred pounds sterling, to the university of Moscow, upon condition of being allowed *perpetually* to nominate two pupils to be educated as naturalists at its expense. These rare insects will be all included in the splendid "*Entomographia*," of Professor Fischer, of Moscow, one volume of which was published sometime ago, and another has, most likely, ere this issued from the press.

From Mr. Steven we got a great deal of information; and, among other objects of natural history, he showed us a congeries of shells which he had found in one of the *steps* of the Krimea. As Pallas has minutely described the rocks of calcareous tuf, by the course of the Salghir, the mineralogist should be furnished with a copy of his travels.

While walking with Mr. Steven, in his garden, he pointed out to me the dwelling of Madame Pallas, at a short distance; and roused my curiosity to see this lady, of whose romantic adventures I had heard so much. The high character of her late

husband reflects a lustre upon his family, and renders every information, with respect to him or them, interesting,

Mr. Steven conducted me to a small house, whose exterior and interior appearance bore no indication of riches nor even of ease. Madame Pallas is tall, and appears to have been handsome; but whatever charms she possessed time has withered. She is now an old emaciated lady, but lively, affable, and sociable. She spoke of Dr. Clarke, and Mr. Cripps, and seemed a good deal affected at the news of the death of the former, whom her husband had treated and saved, above twenty years ago, when attacked by a violent fever in the Krimea. The political differences between England and Russia put it out of Dr. Clarke's power to correspond afterwards with his benefactor, but he has given him the strongest memorial of gratitude in his *Travels*; and adds, in a note,—"if either he, or his family, should ever cast their eyes upon these pages, they will here find the only acknowledgment we have been able to render for such unexampled benevolence." * Though neither Pallas nor his lady had ever had an opportunity of seeing Clarke's *Travels*, they had often heard of them. Some malignant spirit had conveyed the intelligence, that this celebrated author had spoken of Pallas with disrespect and ridicule, and had carica-

* Clarke's *Travels*, p. 459.

tured him in a woman's dress, acting theatrical characters far beneath his rank and dignity. When informed by me, on the contrary, that Dr. Clarke had spoken of her husband with gratitude and admiration, she was highly pleased; but, when I added, that he had given a representation of her husband and of herself, in the costumes of the wife of a Russian merchant with her duenna, as engraved after the drawing of Pallas's own artist, Mr. Geisler, (and presented to Clarke by her husband), she appeared offended, and was silent.

Madame Pallas has played a very different part in life from her sensible partner. Seldom have two more opposite characters been united. She was an actress at Petersburg; and, if general report be true, was by no means distinguished for the correctness of her conduct, when Pallas, almost double her age, paid his addresses to her, and afterwards made her his companion in life. Had she then reformed her conduct, perhaps the declining years of Pallas might have been rendered happy, and probably the world would not have heard of "the disquietude and hardships which oppress him in his present residence, and embitter his declining days," and which Dr. Clarke, by mistake, attributed to the conduct and neglect of the Russian government. His only daughter was married to a German officer, Baron Wimpfen. They had no children, and lived unhappily toge-

ther : a number of years ago the Baron shot himself.

At the time we were at Sympheropole, the whole town and country were in an uproar, in consequence of myriads of locusts, which were destroying all the products of the earth, and crowds of Tartars were occupied, in the manner hereafter described, for their destruction.

We gladly accepted the obliging offer of Sultan Katti-Ghérri Krim-Ghérri, to accompany us during our proposed tour round the south coast of the Krimea. As we had determined to travel in a carriage as far as Sevástopole, we procured an order, or *firman*, for riding and baggage horses from that town, through the vice-governor; who, at our request, also furnished us with a Greek, who spoke both Tartar and Russian, as interpreter and assistant.

According to Clarke, and others, if travellers are provided with an order from the governor of the district, the Tartars must furnish horses, lodgings, and even provisions, *gratis* * : an order of which no honourable stranger would avail himself, were it still in existence. But no such *firman* is now granted, unless it be by special favour; and the giving accommodations to travellers, frees the individuals from some burthens. A translation of our *firman* will show its nature : —

* Clarke's Travels, p. 520.

“ *Open Order of the Town and District Police.* It is ordered to provide the Italians, —, —, and —, —, and the Englishmen, —, —, and Dr. Lyall, in their journey by the south coast of the Krimean peninsula, the necessary number of saddle-horses, with conductors, for the fixed *progón* (fare), and without detention.

“ *May 11th, 1822.*

“ Vice-Governor,

“ J. KRUT.”

Scarcely had we quitted Sympheropole, when, again to our vexation, we found ourselves in a *step* country, covered by Tauric Asphodel (*Asphodelus Tauricus*) rising like the tufts of soldiers' caps, from amidst but indifferent and short grass, and producing a singular appearance. This dreary scenery, however, did not long continue: meadows, trees, rills, and rivulets, especially the Bulgának, soon enlivened the prospect. The road was pretty good, but scattered with large stones, and soon became varied by gentle ascents and descents. Having letters of introduction to Senator Borozdín, who was formerly governor of the Krimea, we made a *détour* to the left; and, pursuing our journey through a smiling country, reached his estate, called Sábla, about two o'clock, just as the family had risen from dinner. We were well received; and, to the Senator's question, “have you dined, gentlemen?” we replied in the affirmative. The Sultan, more honestly, said, “we

breakfasted well, and had a beef-steak, in case we should meet with no dinner by the way ;” an answer which procured us a dinner. Sábla, or Sábli, as it is oftener called, is in a charming situation, surrounded by a mountainous and picturesque country, near the river of the same name, which, at a short distance, empties itself into the Alma. While rambling through the gardens, we could not but remark the sudden transition, in the course of a few versts, from bleakness and barrenness, to wooded hills, and lovely vales, and verdant lawns.

The habitation of Mr. Borozdín has a mean exterior, which well corresponds, however, with its interior. The Senator’s taste leads him to attend more to the beauties of nature, and the arrangement of his gardens, than to the order or the comfort of his house. His library is a curious *mélange*. It contains many good works, and is pretty extensive. It rather surprised us to see so good a one in the possession of a Russian nobleman, in the Krimean peninsula. It also serves as laboratory, apothecary’s shop, and cabinet of mathematical and physical apparatus, as a museum of curiosities, especially of the bows and arrows of the Asiatic tribes, and, as a repository of children’s toys. The gardens are fine ; they contain many tender exotics, and an abundance of more hardy plants. They have also a delightful shady grove.

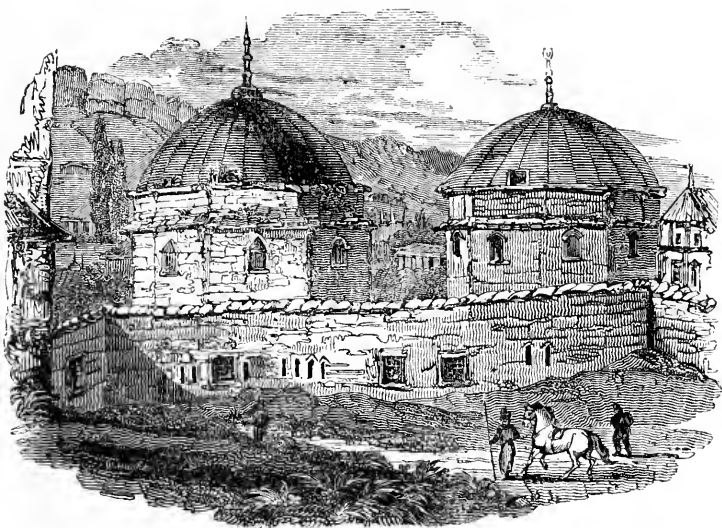
After dinner we were conducted to the distance of about three versts, to see a cloth manufactory,

which Mr. Borozdín has established. The road lay through fields, meadows, and woods of the most luxuriant foliage, by the banks of the Sábla. We were purposely conducted over some hills, in order to enjoy the interesting views, many parts of which reminded me of the *Trosachs*, immortalised by Scott, Mountains and rocks, dells, ravines, and plains, beautifully adorned by shrubbery and woods, among which the Alma and the Sábla wind, give the whole scene an air of fairy land. We examined the sheepfolds, and saw all the operations of picking, carding, and spinning the wool, as well as weaving and dyeing the cloth, performed by Tartars, who have been trained under the tuition of a German director. Most of the cloth shown us was of an inferior quality, and fitted for the demands of the Russian market; but some pieces surprised us by their fineness, and led us to the conclusion that, with the improvements which were making in the machinery, Mr. Borozdín's manufactory will have the desired success. In the year 1821, 15,000 *arshins* (above 11,000 yards) of cloth were made here, which averaged twelve roubles *per arshin*, and were sold for 180,000 roubles. The fabric yielded a very extraordinary profit to the proprietor; and on that account he must be reckoned very fortunate, especially as the possessors of estates in the peninsula generally derive but small revenues from them.

Having sent forward our interpreter to get a

lodging prepared for us, and drank tea in the grove already alluded to, surrounded by the charms of nature, we bade Senator Borozdín adieu, got into the great road, crossed the Alma, and, ascending gently among the hills, reached the border of the narrow valley in which lies Baktchiserāi. We had remarked whole districts covered with red poppies (*Papaver Rhæas* and *Papaver dubium*) before reaching Sympheropole; and in to-day's drive, the same appearance frequently presented itself, and, indeed, as we afterwards saw, is frequent all the way to Sevástopole. We proceeded slowly, and the darkness, which had overtaken us, contributed greatly to the effect of the illuminated minarets of Baktchiserāi. The Tartars at service in the *metchéts* or mosques; a succession of blazing hearths where swarthy blacksmiths were at work in open shops; and crowds of the natives lounging at the market-places, engaged our eager attention: nor did a triumphal arch, which lay in our course, and which, as I afterwards found by an inscription, was erected for Catherine II.'s splendid entrance into this town, in 1787, escape our observation. We soon reached the palace of the ancient khans of the Krimea, the gloomy solitude of which is seldom interrupted, except by the casual abode of strangers, to whose convenience its best apartments are devoted; there being no inns or lodgings, in which they could be comfortably accommodated, in the town. The superintendant of the palace,

warned by a messenger of our approach, had given orders that all should be in readiness for our reception. Having crossed a small bridge, we entered a large portal, passed through a spacious court, and arrived at the part of the palace destined for us. So many candles were lighted, that it appeared as if an illumination had been made on purpose to display the Asiatic and princely grandeur of departed sovereignty. The Oriental scenes which delighted our imagination in the days of our youth, in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, seemed to be realised, as we ascended spacious stairs, wandered through lofty halls, or couched on the green *divans* and scarlet pillows which surround the grand saloon of the ancient khans of the Krimea.



CHAP. VI.

PALACE OF BAKTCHISERĂI.—KHANS OF THE KRIMEA.—RENOVATION OF THE PALACE.—DESCRIPTION OF BAKTCHISERĂI.—TCHÚFUT-KÁLÉ AND THE KARAITE JEWS.—THEIR COSTUME.—THEIR SYNAGOGUES.—MAUSOLEUM, AND ROMANTIC HISTORY, OF THE DAUGHTER OF TAKTAMÍSH.—THE JEWISH CEMETERY.—THE GREEK MONASTERY.—INFLUENCE OF IMAGINATION.—DRESS OF THE KARAITE JEWS.—DIVINE SERVICE.—THE SCOTCH MISSIONARY.—THE MERCHANTS OF BAKTCHISERĂI.—JOURNEY FROM BAKTCHISERĂI TO SEVÁSTOPOLE.—THE CAVERNS OF INKERMÁN.—INSALUBRITY OF THE AIR.—SALTPETRE MANUFACTORIES.—LOCUSTS.—ARRIVAL AT SEVÁSTOPOLE.—ANECDOTE.—ADMIRAL BAILLIE.—ROGUERY.—COLLECTION OF CATS.—BAY OF SEVÁSTOPOLE.—FLEET OF THE BLACK SEA.—DESCRIPTION OF SEVÁSTOPOLE.—ITS POPULATION.

THE morning after our arrival at Baktchiserăi was well occupied in the examination of the palace.

The flower-garden, the fruit-garden, numerous fountains and marble basins, the *kiosk* in which the Khan kept his falcons, the apartments which had been fitted up for the accommodation of Catherine II., the *kharém* or seraglio, the large and gaudily decorated justice-hall, and more especially the magnificent apartment in which we had reposed, all claimed attention. As to the general arrangement of this palace in the times of its ancient splendour, Castelnau remarks, that “Mahomed, the dead, and the horses, were on one side, the Sovereign, the wives, and the falcons, on the other.” It has been described by Pallas and Clarke, and, at great length, by Castelnau; and the two first-named authors, as well as Mrs. Holderness, have thought it worthy of a plate; therefore my remarks may be very short.*

The cemetery, and the mausoleums of the departed Khans, which form the subject of the vignette to this chapter, adjoin to the palace, and if the hearts of their successors were susceptible of the higher feelings of our nature, these monuments must have served as faithful and continual mementos of the uncertainty of human greatness. The cemetery was in great confusion, and the principal cause of this is said to be the horror with

* If the traveller can carry the works of all these authors with him, he will find each to have its advantages. On quitting the Crimea or the Kubán, he can send them by post to Moscow or Petersburg, and from thence they can be conveyed to any place he likes.

which the Tartars regard every violation of the soil, as of the monuments of their sovereigns. The history of the Khans of the Krimea is very interesting. The intrigues, deception, and treachery, the elevation, dethronement, and rapid succession, of princes in the Tauridan peninsula, powerfully remind us of the maddest, most fluctuating, and most sanguinary period of the Roman empire, when sovereigns presented themselves and disappeared like actors upon a stage. The reader who is desirous of becoming intimately acquainted with the dynasties of the Khans and their history, is referred to the works of Pallas, Sestrenevich de Bohujz, Castelnau, Guthrie, Clarke, &c.

I was happy to find that the palace of Baktchiserăi, — the most perfect and the most remarkable monument of Oriental magnificence now in the Krimea, — is about to be restored to its former state. By particular orders of Catherine II., while destruction and desolation followed the progress of the Russians, this palace was preserved entire; and as a proof of the universal respect with which it was treated, it was not converted into barracks during the transforming reign of Paul. But it has been left to the liberality of Alexander to arrest the all-destroying hand of time, which was fast obliterating all traces of its former magnificence. The Eastern splendour of this establishment may soon be the theme of other pens, when travellers shall no longer

be admitted to sleep within its walls. The estimate for the repairs of the whole structure amounts to 300,000 roubles; and I was assured that 165,000 of that sum had already been received for their execution.

Baktchiserăi literally signifies garden-palace, and was formerly the capital of the Krimea. It does not appear, however, that it ever was a town of great magnitude, or had a great population. Since the Russians, by intrigue, treachery, and force of arms, became masters of the peninsula, Symphero-pole has been the chief town of the government of Taurida, and the residence of its governor.

Baktchiserăi is a singular town, which occupies a narrow valley; or, as Dr. Clarke says, “the craggy sides of a prodigious natural fosse, between two high mountains, somewhat like that of Matlock, in Derbyshire.” The stream, *Tchúruk-Sú* (stinking water), traverses the town, the houses of which are elevated in terraces, one above the other, along the sides of the hills, and are intermixed with gardens, vineyards, clumps of trees, and especially Lombardy poplars, watered by numerous fountains and canals, which have their sources among the surrounding mountains. The numerous minarets of the mosques, the ancient palace with the adjoining mausoleums, and a profusion of white chimneys rising amidst the richest foliage, produce a peculiarly beautiful and picturesque effect, which is indescribable, but may be

conceived from a plate in Pallas's Travels, to which the reader is referred. Though the town does not contain one magnificent object, yet there is a singularity and beauty in the *tout-ensemble*, which cannot fail to yield much pleasure to the spectator. Like many other scenes, it pleases more by its apparent than its real beauty; for, when examined in detail, Baktchiseräi is a shabby town. The streets are narrow, winding, and dirty. The houses are generally small, and their exuberance of neat white-washed chimneys the Tartars seem to think a great ornament, for one half of them are of no utility. The rows of shops along both sides of the principal street are excessively mean in their appearance. The shops for all kinds of provisions are worthy of a visit; but the traveller will find more amusement in those of the saddlers, armourers, cutlers, and boot-makers. The Tartars of Baktchiseräi were once celebrated for the excellency of their saddlery; and much of their workmanship was sent to Constantinople. Their cutlery we had heard highly boasted; but, whatever may have been the claim of their ancestors to this distinction, the present race can have none. Many of their articles may have been well tempered, but they were very roughly finished — or, rather, were not finished at all — and especially their knives and penknives.

In his perambulations among the shops, the visitor will not fail to remark an abundance of the

darkish-yellow powder called *kna* (*Lawsonia alcan-na*), with an infusion of which the natives dye their nails, everywhere exposed for sale.

Dr. Clarke has given a lively description of the destruction of Baktchiserāi, after the conquest of the Krimea, through “the savage and wanton barbarity of the Russians.” In the year 1793, according to Pallas, this town contained thirty-one mosques, mostly built of hewn stone, and ornamented with minarets; a Greek church; an Armenian church; two synagogues; three Mahomedan schools; two baths, constructed in the Turkish manner, and covered with fine cupolas; sixteen *khans*, or large houses, which serve as inns or magazines; twenty-one taverns; nineteen Tartar coffee-houses; five mills; and 519 shops. Of these shops, 121 were occupied by mercers; forty-one by saddlers and curriers; 125 by the sellers of *eatables*; twenty-four by shoemakers; twenty-three by Tartar cutlers; five by braziers; ten by barbers; nineteen by taylorers; six by goldsmiths; five by armourers; eight by boot-makers; and twenty by bakers. Besides, there were thirteen stalls, where was sold a kind of drink prepared from millet, called *busa* by the Tartars; nine wood magazines; eight barrel magazines; five rope-works; seven manufactories of felt-caps and felt-mantles; four of pottery-ware; thirteen of candles; five of tobacco-pipes; thirteen tanneries and Morocco-leather establishments; six smithies; and seven shops

of wood-engravers. The total number of houses was reckoned at 1561. As we are informed by a statistical map of the Krimea, that the present number is 1622; it follows, that the increase of structures in this town, in the course of the last thirty years, only amounts to thirty-one; a sure indication of no great prosperity.

In 1793, Pallas stated that the population of Baktchiserāi amounted to 5,776 souls, of whom 3166 were males, and 2610 females. This number included 204 Greeks of both sexes; fourteen nobles; and forty-two merchants; fifty-one Armenians; 1162 Jews, of whom 420 were inscribed as merchants; and nearly 3000 Tartars, among whom were twenty nobles, 287 merchants, 163 priests, and seventy church clerks.

Catherine II. gave up Baktchiserāi entirely to the Tartars, so that it contains no Russian burghesses. Its Russian population consists of persons of rank, who either hold some appointment, or who have retired from active service to this town as an agreeable residence. The Tartars, and the Jews, have their own magistrates. According to Castelnau, the commerce of Baktchiserāi was declining in the year 1812; but it is now more active than it has been for some years past. Its population has considerably augmented, and it bears an immense ratio to the small increase of houses for their accommodation. But the probability is,

that in 1793, many of the Tartar houses were empty, which are now fully occupied.

For the following recent and very accurate information, I am indebted to a gentleman who resided in the Krimea, and whose name it would, at this moment, be imprudent to mention, even though he be beyond the frontiers of Russia. I shall use his own words : — *

“ In regard to the population of this place (Baktchiseräi) previous to the occupation of the peninsula by the Russians, I have no certain means of information. But without hazarding any conjecture on the subject, I cannot think that it far exceeded what it is at present. As to its present population I am happy to give you the following table extracted from an official document : —

			Males.	Females.	Total.
Gentlemen and Officers with their families	Christian		40	26	66
	Mahomedan		22	20	42
Ecclesiastics (with their families) who in virtue of their office are ex- empted from all taxes	Christian		6	7	13
	Mahomedan		230	204	434
Merchants of the <i>third</i> <i>guild</i> , with their families	Mahomedan		32	25	57
Burghers, with their fa- milies	Christian		89	75	164
	Mahomedan		4116	3553	7669
	Jewish Karaite		645	575	1120
Settlers from other towns and nations			370	117	547
Total			5550	4662	10,212

* The adoption of severe measures towards foreigners, in Russia, since I published *The Character of the Russians*, &c. makes me cautious in mentioning names.

“ You will observe that in the above enumeration, the Karaite Jews of Tchúfut-Kálé are set down as freemen of the town. In the table are not included, eight families of Armenians. There are not above five or six families of Russians ; the remainder of them designated as Christians in the table are all Greeks. The following enumeration may also gratify you : —

Churches	{	Greek - - -	1
		Greek monastery - -	1
		Armenian - - -	1
Mahomedan mosques		- - -	32
Synagogues	{	Karaite Tchúfut-Kálé	2
		Rabbinical - - -	1
Christian parish school		- - -	1
Mahomedan public schools		- - -	3
Public fountains		- - -	74”

Although the distance of Tchúfut-Kálé from Baktchiseräi is only about four versts, to save time we hired Tartar horses, and set off to visit this remarkable village, or town, as it is called. Having just left the precincts of Baktchiseräi, we paused to regard the wild scenery with which we were surrounded, composed of broken and impending precipices, masses of detached rock, and deep ravines. The road, at first gently acclivitous, became more and more steep as we approached the entrance of Tchúfut-Kálé. Though we passed over bare rocks, yet the ascent was by no means so difficult as is represented by some travellers.

Tchúfut-Kálé has a singular and picturesque,

but mean, appearance — little in unison with the grandeur of the natural scenery by which it is environed. It occupies a bold triangular rock between two deep ravines, and is fortified, if we may so speak, by natural walls on two sides, while the base joins to a neighbouring hill on the north. The streets are narrow and irregular, but clean, and the naked rock forms their pavement. A few of them have *trottoirs* for the convenience of the inhabitants, a refinement which we did not expect to find in such a spot. As among the Tartars, the houses of the natives, amounting to about 200, are surrounded by high walls, and are built of rude masses of limestone, cemented together with clay, and present but a very mean exterior.

Pallas, long ago, reckoned the population of Tchúfut-Kálé at 1200 souls; at present it only amounts to 1120.

Dr. Lange, of Sympheropole, had given us a letter for the Jewish Rabbi, who, we found, had just concluded divine service. It being the Jewish sabbath he himself could not receive the letter, but it was given to his secretary. He entertained us well, however, and ordered us a dram of *vodtka*; while bread, and conserve of roses, were placed before us. The Rabbi's wife and daughters had all disappeared, and we only saw them when, prompted by curiosity, they stole a look at us through latticed windows. We were placed upon a *divan*, in a small room, into which the wind had free access

in summer, through the bars of the windows ; in winter it is excluded by oiled paper. The Rabbi is a reverend-looking man ; he is distinguished for his talents, and is highly respected by his flock. He has published a work upon astronomy, in Hebrew, and he also showed us a calendar of his composition in the same language.

The Karaite Jews of Tchúfut-Kálé having lived, from time immemorial, under the domination of the Tartars, have almost entirely adopted their costume, their language, their customs, and their manners.

Adjoining to the Rabbi's house we visited two nearly similar synagogues, both oblong, plain edifices, one story high, built of stone, covered with tiles, and lighted by small latticed windows. The chief synagogue is distinguished by piazzas in its front. The part of it appropriated to females has a separate entry, forms a kind of elevated gallery, and is completely shut up by lattices, so that the inmates are invisible. The interior of the edifice is surrounded by shelves loaded with books, which are used by the congregation during service, and is adorned by numerous chandeliers, which have been received as presents. We were shown different copies of the Pentateuch, which were kept in round ornamented cases, in a niche in the wall, concealed by a screen, and corresponding to the place of the altar, over which was inscribed in Hebrew, "Jehovah."

In the court of the other synagogue we found an inscription upon a stone set upon the top of the wall, in compliment to his Imperial Majesty Alexander, in consequence of his visit to this spot, on the 18th May, 1818, which seemed to have given great pleasure and satisfaction.

The Jews next conducted us to view the mausoleum of a Tartar princess, and daughter of Taktamísh; a small handsome edifice, with an elegant portico, and consisting of two vaults, the one above the other. Pallas alludes to the history of this princess; and Castelnau received the following account, which is taken from a Turkish history of the Khans: —

Tamerlane had conquered the Kiptchák* from the Khan, Taktamísh, in the year 1392. His reign was eighty-five or eighty-six years anterior to the dynasty of Gherri. A young prince, whose valour had often been remarked by Tamerlane, merited the esteem of this warrior, and he ceded the new province to him. The daughter of the Khan, young, pretty, and happy, inspired a strong passion in the possessor of her father's estates. The lover solicited his benefactor to restore the Kiptchák to Taktamísh, on condition that the hand of his

* The empire of Kiptchák included the north of Asia, Russia, a part of Poland, and even extended into Germany and Hungary. After the conquest by Tamerlane it was divided into the four khanáts of Kazán, Astrachán, Kiptchák, and the Crimea.

daughter should become the price of this restitution. Tamerlane consented to this; and the old Khan accepted the offer without difficulty. Taktamísh forgot the noble actions of Tamerlane, and, hoping to find a defender in the person of his son-in-law, he caused a revolt of the principal persons of his country against the conqueror, and put himself at the head of a coalition composed of weak and discouraged states. Preferring honour to love, the young husband did not quit the standard of Tamerlane. The Khan was defeated, and repulsed even to the environs of Baktchiseräi; the coalition was dissolved, and, the vengeance of Tamerlane being satisfied, he directed his steps towards other enemies. As a recompence for his fidelity, the young Prince of Kiptcháak obtained permission to rejoin the princess. Tchúfut-Kálé had then another denomination, and was reckoned an impregnable fortress. The Khan and his daughter had taken refuge within its walls. The news having been brought to the Khan, that Tamerlane had penetrated into Russia, he immediately departed, assembled all the troops he could muster, left a commandant in the place, and prepared to cut off the retreat of the enemy, and deliver the Taurida and its environs from so formidable a conqueror. Two days after the Khan had quitted Tchúfut-Kálé, the Prince of Kiptcháak arrived there. After the first transports of disappointed love, the Princess demanded that her lover should command the for-

tress ; but the officer appointed by the Khan refused to obey her. The garrison was divided into two parties, and ready to take arms. Another person wished to play his part in this disagreeable affair, which did not concern him. Not sufficiently eloquent to unite irritated spirits, he persuaded each of the parties that the other had yielded, and proposed to terminate all remaining animosity by a feast. In the mean time, out of regard to the Princess, he appointed some individuals to await a certain signal, in order to transfer the command to the Prince of KiptcháK. Scarcely were the chiefs assembled when the feast commenced, and the signal was given. The commandant, surprised by tumults, beheld the part played, and cried out, "*treason, treason !*" The counsellor of the parties expired under his strokes, and the hall resounded with the clashing of arms and the groans of the wounded. The tumult increased as the spirit of the parties waxed warm. The Prince was wounded ; at the sight of his blood, his lover threw herself into his arms,—they were stabbed to the heart and fell down dead, locked in each other's embrace. This spectacle petrified the assembly with horror. Fear, repentance, and remorse were depicted on every visage ; silence succeeded, and the commandant sought security by a rapid flight.

The Khan had not advanced more than 200 versts, when he saw himself abandoned by all those who had shown the most implacability against

Tamerlane. Alarm seized his whole army, and even caused the most hardy to retrograde. The old Prince returned to Tchúfut-Kálé, accompanied only by a few horsemen. Unhappily for his ambition, it was only now that his eyes were opened, and that he experienced remorse, which was carried to its height by the death of his daughter. It was on this occasion that he raised the mausoleum already mentioned, in which the princess and her husband were interred.

The generosity and noble conduct of the Asiatic conqueror, Tamerlane ; the heroism, honour, and fidelity of the Prince of KiptcháK ; the ingratitude, perfidy, disasters, and remorse of Taktamísh ; the reciprocal and steady love of the Princess ; the firmness and faithfulness of the Commandant ; and the tragic death of the Lovers, might furnish a fine subject for the drama.

But to return to our own subject : we were next invited by one of the richest merchants of the place to visit his house. Having seated ourselves around a low table, *vodtka*, conserve of roses, bread, abundance of wines, balls of minced mutton rolled up in vine leaves, mutton pies, &c. were presented to us.

We bade the Jews adieu, and speedily arrived at their charming cemetery, called the "*Valley of Jehoshaphat*," which is well described both by Pallas and Clarke. Having ascended a hill to the north, we had an excellent view of the mountain scenery

of the Krimea. We then entered a deep glen, covered with trees and brush-wood, among which are a great many interesting plants. A shrill squeaking noise had attracted our notice, which we now discovered to proceed from Tartar carts, called *Arabas*, made entirely of wood. Each has two great wheels, set very wide asunder, which are never greased, because, apparently, the Tartars do not dislike their noise ; and they say that “ no honest man will grease the wheels of his cart !”

Soon after passing the ruins of an extensive palace, called *Ashlama*, we reached the Greek monastery ; which we had remarked in the morning. This establishment, formed by excavations in the front of a perpendicular rock, has been described by Pallas, Clarke, and Castelnau. I nearly agree with the latter author, who says, “ One must have a great deal of merit, much self-confidence, or more than human resignation, in choosing the most savage, isolated, and frightful place in nature for a residence. I only consider it as a dungeon perpendicularly situated.” It is now no longer the residence of monks, but is inhabited by a solitary couple, an old man and his wife, who are its keepers. As the calcareous rock is soft, there could be no great difficulty in cutting out subterranean chambers ; but it is the overhanging position of part of the rock, without any support, which renders it singular and frightful. A wooden balcony is erected in its front, from which we had a

view of the defile of Tchúfut-Kálé, and the surrounding mountains and rocks, a scene singularly wild and fantastic.

As we entered Baktchiseräi, on our return, we distributed a few small pieces of silver to a Jewish woman and some children, who immediately gave notice to their friends. They were soon joined by a crowd of other women and children, who exhibited many signs of poverty, who were loud in their entreaties for assistance, and who showed the meanness of their spirit in the slavish manner by which they demonstrated their gratitude.

On the following day I accompanied one of the party on a second visit to Tchúfut-Kálé, so as to be present at divine service, it being the commemoration of God's giving the commandments to Moses. Under pretence of seeking the Rabbi, whom we knew to be in the synagogue, we cautiously entered the house, and found his wife and four daughters in the room, in which we had been received the day before, and in their best dress. They all endeavoured to run away, except the old woman, but were prevented. The daughters gazed at us, and we at them. They were no longer the Rabbi's daughters of the preceding day, as seen when half-veiled through latticed windows. We had fancied them beautiful as *houris*, imagination having supplied that which nature had denied. A nearer view destroyed the illusion. To-day they were clumsy, pock-marked, and even ugly. They

were excessively shy ; and on our approach, they retreated to the corners of the room. On touching some ornaments of the oldest daughter, though with the mother's permission, she seemed surprised, and so alarmed that we feared she would have fallen into a hysteric fit.

The dress of the females was not calculated to set off the figure to advantage. Their heads were covered with low red caps, and their long plaited hair hung down their backs. Ducats, sequins, and various other gold coins, formed the ornaments of their necks. Their exterior garments were beautiful silk pelisses, which nearly concealed a kind of short petticoat, worn above their trowsers. Under their pelisses, they wore broad leather girdles, the ends of which were joined in front by means of brass plates, in form of a lock. This girdle passed, not round the waist, but immediately above the hips, and destroyed all the symmetry of the female form.

The old lady was quite at her ease with us, and obliged her daughters to remain in the room. Perhaps a small present had its effect in procuring this condescension ; and the intelligence having been conveyed among the neighbours, explained, as I suppose, the cause of the females of Tchúfut-Kálé, who had fled from our presence on the preceding day, having assembled in the streets, and having eagerly gazed at us through their veils.

We entered the synagogue, and remained during

part of the service. The Rabbi, robed in white, and with his face to the altar, sometimes remained mute, and sometimes spoke with considerable gesticulation. The congregation was numerous. All who could make use of it held the Hebrew Psalter in their hands ; and, at times, accompanied each other in reading. As a mark of distinction, they had a white linen scarf thrown over their shoulders, and small silk bags depending from their left arms. Those who could not read, had neither books nor these ornaments ; and, among them, were remarked some youths, but very few adults. The merchant at whose house we had been entertained, as soon as he had observed us, ordered chairs, and made signs for us to remain seated, even when the congregation stood up, or knelt, which we received as a mark of attention, and at the same time of great liberality.

The morning after our arrival at Baktchiseräi the Rev. Mr. Carruthers, the Scotch Missionary, called upon us, and invited us to dinner ; an invitation which we readily accepted. This gentleman, with his wife and family, have been stationed there for some years ; and, at the period of our visit, he was employed in the study of the Tartar and the Turkish languages, and in great hopes of being useful in instructing and converting some of the Mahomedan inhabitants of the Krimea. According to the following extract from a letter, dated St. Petersburg, March the 2d, 1824, it appears

that he did not deceive himself. "Private accounts from the Krimea state, that the Scotch Missionary, Carruthers, now settled there, proceeds with the greatest zeal and success in converting the Tartars to Christianity. A great number of them have been baptised by him. Colonies are to be established for these converts, and divine service will be performed in the Tartar language. A Turkish *sheik* and learned man is now receiving an education to qualify him for the office of a Christian priest."

We determined to profit by the lesson which the visit to Stároýé Ozero afforded us, in order to get admittance to the houses, to see the females, and to have an opportunity of observing the character and manners of the Krim Tartars. I therefore purchased a quantity of small leathern purses, tobacco-bags, pocket-books, and knives, as well as a number of small silver coins, which were to be distributed where we stopped to dine, or to pass the night. We provided ourselves likewise with hair-bags for our portmanteaus and luggage, which we found to be a great convenience; and also with Tartar whips, for which we had little occasion.

As at Sympheropole the native merchants of Baktchiserāi were cunning and imposing, and asked double, treble, and quadruple the real value of any article, as its fixed price.

The superintendant having refused with disdain

a twenty-five-rouble note, we made a present of it to the people and soldiers about the palace, and took leave of Baktchiserāi, on the 15th of May.

The ride from Baktchiserāi to Sevástopole, in fine weather, is really delightful. Six versts from the first town we crossed the Kátcha, which flows through a delicious valley ; and, soon afterwards, we entered a fine and extensive vale, through which the road winds along the course of the Belbék or Kabárta, till within three or four versts of the bay of Sevástopole. A singular contrast here presented itself : on the right we beheld white and brown calcareous hills, sterile as imagination can conceive, whose base was diversified by broken rocks, and patches of naked clayey soil peeping through parched grass, and enlivened only by a few stunted shrubs and blooming wild flowers. On the left, stretched a plain of most luxuriant pasture, bounded by gentle hills and lofty mountains, covered by woods and plantations, gardens, nurseries, and vineyards. The road, cut through the base of the hills, forms, as it were, a line of demarcation between the most luxuriant vegetation and almost total sterility. We quitted this delightful valley, and soon came in sight of a fine bay of the Black Sea ; and, having ascended a hill, Sevástopole, with its celebrated port, greeted our view. Finding a good inn by the bank of the bay, kept by a Greek, we here took up our lodging, instead of crossing immediately to that town, as we had

intended. After we had made some arrangements, we set off in a four-oared boat, to examine the well-known caverns of Inkerman. As we glided along the bay of Achtiár, we remarked various inlets, or ports, upon which were situated numerous small edifices, as the bakehouse, the biscuit storehouse, and other establishments connected with the navy of Sevástopole. One of them was especially pointed out to us, with gardens around it, where a promenade of the inhabitants of that town takes place every Sunday during summer. The Russians, not content with the annihilation of ancient Khersón, have also destroyed many of the caverns in this neighbourhood, *for the sake of the stones*. We saw the remains of a fine grotto at a distance ; but perhaps, ere this time, they have totally disappeared ; and, if Sevástopole continues to increase, notwithstanding the orders of the Emperor to the contrary, it is probable that Inkerman will soon become a mass of ruins. Some of its caverns are converted into powder-magazines, some into stables and cow-houses, and others are filled with carts and harness for oxen, while a number are fitted up as habitations by the Tartars. Indeed, many are already in ruins, and others in a state of decay ; and not a few threaten to fall in, their pillars having been broken down also, *for the sake of the stones*. Almost all of them have been used, at some period, as dwellings, as was shown by their roofs, blackened by the smoke of former

blazing hearths. Taken as a whole, the caverns on the Sevástopole side of the bay, now exhibit a labyrinth of irregularity and disorder. The small chapel represented by Pallas, however, remains nearly in the state in which he described it; no impious hand having, as yet, dared to violate its sanctity. While walking about, we remarked that the perpendicular rock, in many places, was, as it were, daubed over with Greek and Hebrew characters. A very distinct and nearly square specimen, of great size, I compared with the tables of the decalogue.

We crossed to the opposite mountain, by a small bridge upon the Bijuk-Uzen, which is believed to have been constructed in remote times. This mountain is overtopped by an old castle, and is so filled with open grottos, arranged, as it were, in stories one above the other, that it has been compared to an immense bee-hive. The rock, whose base is mined by great caverns, rises perpendicularly, and appears suspended and ready to fall. Two grottos, which have corresponding stairs, form the entrance to a small chapel, of which Pallas has also given a vignette. Through a series of caverns and narrow passages we ascended to the top of the hill, enjoyed a beautiful view of the Krimea, and examined the ancient castle of Inkerman, the thick walls and towers of which are held together by a kind of marly cement.

Inkerman means the town of caverns, and few

appellations are so appropriate. Pallas expressed his uncertainty whether this place served as a strong hold at the epoch of the Khersónite Greeks, and ought to be regarded with Formaleoni, as the Ctenos of the ancients, or whether the Genoese were its founders, which he thought more probable. He believed that the caverns belonged to a more remote period, and were the work of monks, under the emperors of the middle age, or of modern times. As it is related by the Byzantine historians, that the Khersónites were of the sect of Arians, and that this sect, so numerous in the East, at length endured many persecutions in the “bas empire,” he thought it very probable, that a great number of monks, and of their proselytes, retired to ancient Khersón; where, not having been able to find an asylum, they dug these caverns, and built chapels in the calcareous rock in many parts of the Taurida; and that they there continued the exercises of their religious life, perhaps with the hope of converting the savage inhabitants of the country. The fact that similar caverns are found in various parts of the Krimea,—as, near the village of Karani; near Balakláva; in the district of Karakoba; near Mankoop; at the village of Schulii; at Tipé-Kermen and Kis-Kerman; at the village of Schurii; near Tchúfut Kálé, &c.—seems to give strength to this account. Dr. Clarke adopted the opinion of Pallas. The Russian historian, Mr. Stchékatof*, who is fol-

* Slovár Geographitcheskii Rossiiskaho Gosudárstva.

lowed by Mr. Vsévolojkii *, says decidedly, that Inkerman was the ancient Doros built by Deophantus, one of the generals of Mithridates †, and the Ctenos of the Greeks, according to Strabo and Formaleoni. It is also said, that the Khosárs took it in 679, from the Goths, who re-took it towards the end of the eighth century, but again lost it; that, from the year 1204, it had its own princes, among whom may be reckoned Constantine, the last emperor of the East, before his elevation to the throne; and that the Turks captured it in 1495, and placed a garrison there, but, as it had lost infinitely in its importance, they abandoned it to the Tartars.

Castelnau says, that history has given him no information about Inkerman, whose name, as well as that of all the other towns in the Crimea, has been often changed. He conjectures that it has suffered the fate of ancient Khersón, spoken of hereafter; and says that its fortifications bear marks of the same kind of construction as was employed by the Genoese for their fortresses. With respect to the caverns, he questions whether they served as a retreat to the persecuted; whether they were excavated by the Khersónites, for the use of their troops; or whether pious persons who had renounced the world had retired to them, in order,

* Dictionnaire Géographique-Historique, de l'Empire de Russie; also Histoire de la Tauride, Introduction, p. 20.

† Dr. Clarke likewise adopted the same opinion with respect to the fortress of Inkerman. — *Travels*, p. 492.

by privation, to lead better lives. He adds, that it must not be concluded that they were inhabited by Christians alone, because chapels are found among the grottos; and he does not believe that “*un principe de religion*” ever excavated these subterranean chambers, and still less, that it was able to have peopled them; and he well remarks, that they are so numerous about Inkerman, that an army could be lodged in them. One of his own friends, however, a “*savant respectable*,” with whose name we are not made acquainted, says decidedly, that these caverns appeared to him to have served as a retreat to a great number of Christians, during different persecutions; that St. Clement, the third Pope, was there exiled, and afterwards St. Martin, a relation of Domitian’s, and other persons of his court; that it was, after Corsica, the Siberia of the Romans; and that those who died were interred in the cells which they had formed at their arrival.*

I think it probable that the ancient inhabitants of the Krimea found subterranean abodes agreeable, during the heat of the summer, and also found it easier to enlarge natural caverns, or even to excavate

* It is said that human bones have been found in the caverns of the Krimean mountains; hence some have been inclined to think that they were excavated as places for interring the dead. This seems so very vague a conjecture as not to require refutation.—Vide *Description Physique de la Tauride, à Paris*, 1802.

chambers in the soft calcareous rock, than to cut the stones, and thence to build houses. Hence, colonies, or towns of caverns, if I may so speak, may have been gradually formed. Or, perhaps, in wars which were waged between the subjects of the King of the Bosphorus, properly so called, and the Tauridans or Khersônites, the soldiers, having been encamped in the vicinity of cavernous mountains, betook themselves to their protection when the weather was very warm or inclement; and, having thus found their utility, excavated numerous cells on purpose.

The insalubrity of the air of the valley of Inkerman is proverbial in the Krimea; hence it is difficult to conceive how a great number of monks should have resided here. According to Pallas, those who are sent hither for the purpose of making hay, or to herd cattle, cannot avoid the contagion of an intermittent fever; and he asks, if persons who come to this place are taken ill in consequence of having breathed the morning or the evening air, what must those have experienced who were continually exposed to the malignity of its influence, when the wind which blew from the bay occasioned diseases even at Achtiár? But it might be replied, that the natives may have lost their susceptibility to contagion. Pallas thinks that the only evident natural cause of these fevers is to be attributed to the exhalations of considerable marshes, which are often inundated by the sea, and which surround the embouchure of

the stream, Bijuk-Uzen, at the end of the gulph. These marshes have been called the cemetery of the Russian army, since the conquest of the Krimea ; but the government now takes care to canton the troops at some distance from them.

Pallas, long ago, spoke of the “ charming valley of Inkerman, covered with verdure,” and with great truth ; but when Dr. Clarke calls it “ perhaps the most beautiful valley in Europe,” I must think that he greatly over-rated it.

It was remarked by Pallas, that the earth in the neighbourhood of Inkerman was full of saltpetre ; and, indeed, in fine weather, when it is dried by the sun, this salt is very visible by its efflorescence, and very sensible to the taste. A few years ago, the crown took advantage of this production, and established here a manufactory of saltpetre. The earth is transported to it from a very short distance, and thrown into immense wooden tubs ; water is then poured upon it until a strong brine, or saturated solution, is obtained, which is evaporated, purified, and crystallised. A considerable quantity of this salt is annually made at this manufactory.

About a quarter of a verst from the nitre-fabric, we remarked an enormous insulated mass of limestone, of a laminated structure, which, being something like a house, has a singular appearance in the plain.

From the fortifications of Inkerman, we beheld

a crowd of Tartars, probably 200, armed with branches of trees tied together and with clubs, who were occupied in the destruction of the locusts, by beating them against the ground. Although we often met with locusts, in the Krimea, and during our journey in the Caucasus and Georgia, we never saw them in swarms, like clouds passing before the sun, and darkening the air, as they have frequently been described. On the contrary, they seldom rose above two or three feet from the ground; but when we rode among them, they sprung around us in myriads. At different periods they have desolated the Krimea like a plague; "fields, vineyards, gardens, pastures, every thing" has been laid waste, and almost every green leaf has been consumed. For three years before our arrival these insects had ravaged different parts of the peninsula, and had baffled all the measures of the government for their destruction. Different acrid compositions, especially quicklime, had been spread over the soil in those places where they chiefly seemed to be generated, but in the following summers they appeared in as great numbers as before. This has given rise to the idea, that they deposit their eggs deep in the earth, and that they are thus preserved from the effects of cold, and the efforts made to destroy them, as they appear again with the genial heat of summer. The governor of the Krimea had given orders for the Tartars to assemble in bodies, and to attack them while

young, in the manner above described, on those spots which seemed most prolific; but this measure had no better success. The winter of 1822-3 proved extremely severe in the Krimea, and it was hoped that the cold would reach and destroy their eggs, but I have not heard of the result. From what Pallas says on this subject, however, the hopes of the inhabitants were not founded upon experience; for the rigorous winters of 1799 and 1800 in place of diminishing this destructive scourge, appeared, on the contrary, to have been favourable to its extension.

We crossed a magnificent bay to Sevástopole, which was founded in the year 1786. This town is often called Achtiár, after the name of a Tartar village which stood on the north side of the bay, at the distance of three versts from Inkerman. We delivered several letters of introduction to the admirals, generals, &c. who were stationed there. In reply to our enquiry with respect to the objects deserving attention, besides the port and the docks, a Russian of high rank emphatically said, “That almost every thing worthy of observation was now annihilated; the devastation having been nearly completed within the last few years.” He likewise informed us that the Emperor, on his visit here in the year 1818, expressed deep regret at the destruction which had been made, and gave strict orders for the preservation of all the remnants of antiquity then visible; but this imperial mandate

came like a reprieve to a man who had already suffered the sentence of the law. It shows an amiable disposition however ; but the antiquarian and the historian will equally regret that His Majesty should have reigned eighteen years, before he thought of the fate of ancient Khersón and its neighbourhood, which is so feelingly and so justly depicted by Clarke.

Admiral —— received us politely, and appointed an officer to accompany us to the port, docks, &c. He said he was sorry he could not invite us to dinner, because he was engaged at General ——'s, rather an unfortunate communication, but which led to another illustration of the Russian character. We next went to the house of the general to whom the Admiral had alluded ; and, while speaking to the servant, the doors being open, we remarked a table set out in a handsome hall for a large party. The servant conducted us to the General, who was walking in an adjoining garden. He was very polite, said he should be very happy to serve us, and was extremely sorry that he *was going to dine at a friend's, or he would have invited us to dinner.*

We next called upon Admiral Baillie, a native of Liverpool, who had been nearly forty years in the Russian service. We found him a plain, open man, who had many of the characteristics of the "seafaring profession." He was in a very bad state of health, but our presence seemed to ani-

mate him. He remarked that there was a great difference between the state of the Krimea when he first knew it and its present state; and an officer said that it was a "*devastated pays*,"—a mixture of English and French which was very pardonable, as we spoke both of those languages at the time. It was also observed, that though nature had given such a fine port as that of Sevástopole to the Krimea, yet it was purely a naval port; and when we enquired why there was no commerce at this town, we were answered, by a gentleman, in these few but significant words, "*Because the Russians never do any thing right.*" Mr. Heber, however, mentions in 'Clarke's Travels, that the reason assigned for this circumstance was the embezzlement of the public stores, which were sold to the merchants by the government officers, almost without shame.

That the sale of the public stores should have been excessive, and shamefully undisguised, in the days of Catherine II. and of Paul, is not surprising, and especially at such a distance as Sevástopole, where, nearly secure from the cognisance of the crown, the officers had it in their power to deceive the government by false reports, and to defraud it to a great extent. As the mass of the officers, with scarcely any exceptions, were equally concerned in these detestable transactions, so all came in for a share of the spoil, which assisted them to live; their revenues being inadequate to enable

them to support their rank in life. No one could inform against another; and when a discovery of embezzlement was made, it was of no utility. To punish a few individuals would have been partial and unjust, and might have caused a general revolt; to punish the whole was impossible. Nor could even the common sailors be justly chastised, when detection was made of their transactions, since they were sometimes the agents of their superiors; and, when not so, they only pursued a lower branch of the same system of iniquity which prevailed among their commanders. The embezzlement and sale of the public stores is still continued in all the ports of Russia. I myself have seen sail-cloth called *old*, because it had been made into the form of sails—although the sewing was only performed to be cut out again—blocks, pullies, ropes, and other articles of ship's tackle which had never been used, on board merchant ships, whose captains confessed that they “had bought them from the Russian sailors,” at a very low price; and it is notorious that few ships leave Cronstadt without a portion of the stores of his Imperial Majesty's fleet. The men cheat in retail, but the officers pursue the same system wholesale. Nor will this pilfering practice—by long usage and necessity an established custom—be removed, till a new organisation of the Russian government takes place, which will provide for the actual subsistence of its officers in an honourable manner. When their

pay fails they must either starve or cheat, and, as may easily be believed, they generally choose the latter alternative. It appears, then, that Paul was justifiable in putting an end to all commercial intercourse with Sevástopole. No doubt he thought he had no other resource for the eradication of a villanous system ; and Alexander may suppose he has no other guarantee to prevent its renewal. But it may be questioned how far the plan has succeeded, or whether new methods have not been discovered by the officers to replace the former advantages.

We dined with a party at Admiral Baillie's; and were much amused by a collection of European, Asiatic, and African cats, which this eccentric individual had assembled around him, and which seemed to have usurped the places and appellations of children. The real Moscow, and the Neapolitan varieties, were the most numerous ; and of both he had some choice specimens.

The bay of Sevástopole, with its various ports, is one of the finest harbours in Europe, or indeed in the world. It has been described with such minuteness by Pallas, Clarke, and Castelnau, as to render all detail a work of supererogation. The chart of it, contained in Clarke's Travels, as well as the paper which he deposited in our admiralty, must prove of the greatest utility, in the event of it ever becoming necessary for the British to make an attack in this quarter of the globe.

According to the author of the “Life of Catherine II.,” in the year 1793, the fleet of the Black Sea consisted of eight ships of the line, of from sixty-six to seventy-four guns, and twelve frigates, of from thirty-six to forty guns, which were stationed at Sevástopole and Hadjibey, now Odéssa; and of 200 chebeks, gun-boats, and other small vessels with oars, at Nikoläef and Adji-der, now Ovidiopole, upon the *liman* of the Dnéster. By Castelnau’s account, in the year 1817, it consisted of

12 Ships of the line, carrying	918 guns.
4 Frigates - - -	162
7 Brigantines - - -	54
18 Small vessels - - -	91
	<hr/>
	1225 guns.
	<hr/>

Besides a flotilla composed of forty gun-boats, carrying fifty-two cannons, and eighty falcons. In the year 1822, this fleet, according to the best authority, was composed of fourteen ships of the line and ten frigates, besides numerous small craft, as gun-boats, &c.

From our inn, Sevástopole appeared quite in amphitheatre on the south side of the port, and had a very lively appearance, in consequence of its white walls and gaudy domes rising amid green trees, and the noble sheet of water, covered by numerous vessels, in the fore ground. *

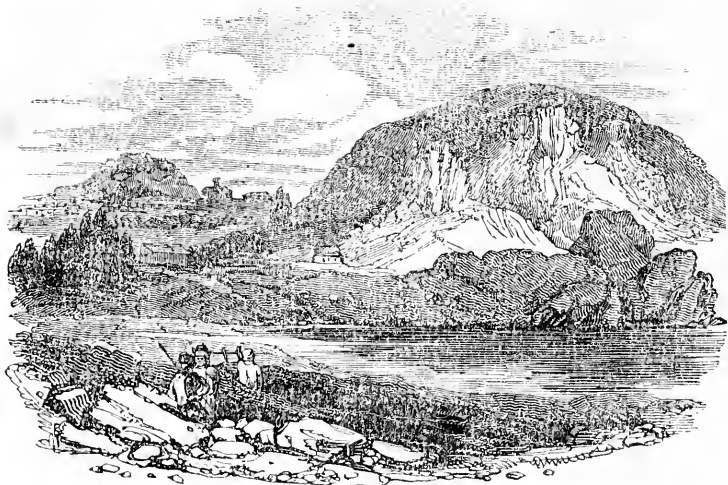
* Pallas has given a view of Sevástopole, but it cannot be praised.

The streets of Sevástopole are all wide and regular, and intersect each other at right angles ; but none of them are paved. The houses have of late been increasing in number, and are extremely good, and all in the modern Italian style of architecture. A public garden, with different terraces, rising over each other, which has been lately formed upon an elevation in the middle of the town, has a most pleasing effect, and commands a general view of the neighbourhood. The edifices which are chiefly deserving of notice are two churches, besides a third in the docks ; the admiralty ; the arsenal ; the hospital ; the magazines ; the barracks of the garrison ; and the marine barracks. As is evident by the statement of the population, when we subtract the edifices of the crown, and the houses of the various naval, military, and civil officers, stationed here, little else remains to form Sevástopole ; and yet, agreeably to the lately published statistical map of the Krimea, this town contains 1750 houses.

I have found few accounts of the population of Sevástopole in the works of travellers or geographers. Pallas, Clarke, Stchékatof, Vsévolojskii, and Castelnau, are silent on this point. Stchékatof, indeed, informs us, that besides the native inhabitants, the Tartars, and some Greek Jews, had settled many years ago in this town. Mrs. Holderness, in 1821, stated its population at 14,000 or 15,000 souls ; but the fixed inhabitants did not exceed 3000 ; the rest consisted of those employed

in the fleet, &c. In the year 1822, its general population, including active and retired officers, soldiers and sailors, as well as the burgesses, was estimated at 22,000 souls : but I strongly suspect that this was extravagant. The civil part of the inhabitants did not exceed 2000 ; of course its population will be greatly diminished whenever the fleet puts to sea.

Sevástopole, as might be expected from its being the residence of so many naval and military officers, is well supplied with the necessaries and the luxuries of life, though at high prices ; but good water is not abundant, and fuel is dear.



CHAP. VII.

DEPARTURE FROM SEVÁSTOPOLE. — SERVICE OF THE TARTARS. — ANCIENT CHERSONESUS. — ST. GEORGE'S MONASTERY. — VALE OF BALAKLÁVA. — COLONEL REVOLIOTI. — BALAKLÁVA. — GREEK SOLDIERS. — CONQUEST OF THE KRIMEA. — RUSSIAN ARMY. — FORTRESS OF BALAKLÁVA. — ITS PORT. — MOUNTAIN ROADS. — THE VALLEY OF BAIDAR. — THE VILLAGE OF BAIDAR. — THE PASS OF MEERDVEN. — SOUTH COAST OF THE KRIMEA. — KÚTCHUK-KOI. — KIKENIS. — AMUSEMENTS. — SIMÆUS. — ALYÚPKA. — TARTAR VILLAGES. — TARTAR HOUSES. — SUBJECTION OF THE TARTARS. — YALTA. — GREEK MONASTERY. — NIKÍTA. — ITS BOTANIC GARDEN. — YURSUF. — AYU-DAGH. — KÚTCHUK-LAMPAT. — SCHISTUS. — ALÚSHTA. — KÚRU-UZEN. — KÚTCHUK-UZEN. — ARRIVAL AT USKÚT. — TARTAR WORSHIP. — TCHÚBAN-KÁLÉ. — KAPSOCHÓR. — KUTLÁK.

BEFORE leaving Sevástopole we laid in a stock of tea, coffee, sugar, &c. for our meditated trip round

the south coast of the peninsula, and also a few pounds of wax candles, which were of great use in different places, where no kind of candles were to be found. Though we could have gone in the carriages to Balakláva, yet, the weather being fine, we infinitely preferred riding, and our translator easily procured, from the Tartar peasants, the requisite number of horses for ourselves, servants, and luggage. If the traveller be very fastidious, he should bring a saddle with him. Two of our party, after much trouble, succeeded in purchasing old saddles made in the English style, but they paid a very extravagant price for them. The rest of us were content with the saddles used by the Tartars, which consist of wooden frames and leathern cushions, each quite distinct. The frame being placed over a cloth on the horse's back, is then covered with the cushion, and the whole is secured by a broad girth.

The greatest service our translator rendered us, was by preceding us to the stations, and preparing a change of horses. After we had made two or three stages, the Tartars not only served us with pleasure, but with solicitude. The cause of this was easily explained. We paid them regularly at the rate of eight kopeeks *per* verst for each horse, agreeably to our *firman*, besides making them small presents. The reports of those Tartars who had served us, being to our advantage, had a great effect upon those with whom we were total

strangers, and made them perform their duty with willingness and alacrity, as far as we could judge by their countenances, and by the unusual quickness of their movements. It is not to be wondered at, that not only the Russians, but the Tartars of the Krimea, the Kozáks in Mount Caucasus, and the Georgians, should show no great willingness to serve the officers of the army, or even many of the nobles, of the autocratic dominions. Their haughty, overbearing conduct is intolerable ; and, what is worse, they neither reward them for their own, nor their horses' labour ; or they give them any sum, which they themselves judge to be enough. During our journey, the distance was always reckoned by the hour's ride ; allowing five versts *per* hour for mountain roads ; stoppages not included. The Tartars and the translator generally arranged the distances between them ; and though, I believe, the latter favoured the former, and, most probably, received a premium for so doing, yet we liked the Tartars so much, that we winked at any little deception, but I always paid the money into their own hands, so as to be sure that it all reached them.

The traveller who wishes to examine the coast of the Krimea with minuteness, should provide himself with the works of Strabo, Pallas, Clarke, and Holderness ; and the great and magnificent map of this peninsula which was lately published at the *Dépôt de Cartes* at Petersburg. The

botanist will add to these, the Flora Tauro-Caucasica, by Marschall à Bieberstein.

Soon after leaving Sevástopole, we arrived at the quarantine, well situated on a small bay ; and then made a *détour* from the road to the site of the ancient Chersonesus, whose former grandeur, public edifices, temples, aqueducts, walls, and towers, had been the admiration of remote ages ; and whose majestic ruins had filled even the ignorant and superstitious Krimean Tartars with surprise and reverence. Among them was found no sacrilegious hand, which dared to violate these remains of antiquity. The Russians had no such feelings ; and Dr. Clarke, with his usual enthusiasm, very excusable on such an occasion, has drawn a frightful picture of the general havoc and devastation which followed their track. Pallas has well said, that the construction of Achtiâr finished the ruin of this ancient capital ; but Castelnau overstepped the truth, when he asserted, a few years ago, “ *On ne reconnoit ni la trace des rues, ni les vestiges d’un seul édifice : on a remué les murs jusque dans les entrailles de la terre ;*” for even at the epoch of our visit in May 1822, the ruins of a very large edifice remained. Immense thick walls, at one place penetrated by a low arch, rose to the height of six or eight feet above the level of the ground, and were held together by the same kind of marly cement which we had remarked at the castle of Inkerman ; and, besides, great quantities

of stones lay scattered upon the plain. Perhaps, ere this, not a stone indicates where stood the ancient Khersón; for although the Emperor has ordered all antiquities to be preserved, what we saw were really not worth preserving, and only tended to fill the mind with more gloom and indignation, than a *tabula rasa*. The memory of Khersón now exists only in books. Sevástopole has usurped its place; and, in its turn, may be supplanted by some other city. Our posterity, a few hundred years hence, may be occupied in collecting and describing the columns, the capitals, and the arches, and in deciphering the inscriptions on the stones and marble slabs of Khersón, among the ruins of Sevástopole.

Khersón has long been famed in Russia, on account of the baptism of Vladimir having taken place within its walls. I am, therefore, the more surprised that the Russian government, or the Russians themselves, did not feel a religious veneration for the ruins of a city where their great duke was made a member of that faith which he afterwards introduced into his territories, and which they themselves still profess.

The coins of ancient Khersón are represented by Pallas, Castelnau, &c., to whose works the antiquarian is referred.

Quitting the site of Khersón, our road lay through a barren district, varied only by a few scattered stones. It formed part of the Heracleotic

Chersonesus, which was bounded by a line running from Sevástopole, or, more probably, from Inkerman, to Balakláva. Upon it historians and antiquarians have exhausted all research. Having passed a farm-house, which rose cheerfully in the plain, we soon reached the sea-coast, and St. George's monastery. Pallas has given a view of this convent, which he justly esteemed interesting, both on account of its situation, among the surrounding bold scenery, and the mineralogy of the rocks : it is also an excellent spot for the researches of the botanist. Yet Castelnau, though he avows that the situation of the monastery is picturesque, remarks that the view of the sea-coast is the same as in a hundred places of the mountainous part of the Krimea. A small chapel with columns, erected about eight years ago, and some other new edifices, have a good deal altered the appearance of St. George's monastery since Pallas's plate and vignette were published ; but Nature is still the same,—still equally grand and majestic. Here is another small chapel, besides the houses of the monks, who have a most enviable residence.

St. George's is a Greek monastery, and can admit thirteen monks ; but, at our visit, it was inhabited by five solitary individuals. Its superior, Platon, was born in Little Russia, but is necessarily descended from Greek parents. He treated us with *votdki*, bread, butter, cheese, wine,

&c., luxuries which we little expected to have found in this hermitage,

Above the convent, and on the lofty brow of the hill, is placed a very small chapel, with George and the Dragon cut in stone upon its lintel, and which is said by Pallas to have been erected by a Greek, who died near this spot.

It has been supposed that somewhere near the monastery of St. George, there was a fane of the *dæmon virgin*, *fanum dæmonis virginis*, where perished the bloody sacrifices of Diana; but the exact spot has not been yet determined, and it seems madness to attempt it, as there is not now the smallest vestige of a temple in the vicinity of this convent. Besides, it seems uncertain to which of the heathen goddesses the *dæmon* of Strabo may be referred. Pallas was inclined to believe that the promontory called Aja-Burún, was the Parthenium of this author, and that some ruins which he found there were those of the said temple. Others suppose that it stood upon the Cape of St. George, which they reckon the Parthenium of Strabo. Of this promontory Dr. Clarke has given an excellent view.

From St. George's monastery our road turned to the north-east, over a plain, with a ridge of mountains on our right, and then through the vale of Balakláva. This vale, for the most part, is surrounded by barren hills and bleak scenery. Dr. Clarke's description is assuredly only applica-

ble to a part of it, and not to the whole: "So much," says he, "has been said by travellers of the famous valley of Baidar, that the vale of Balakláva, which is hardly surpassed by any prospect in the Krimea, has hitherto escaped notice. Yet the wild, gigantic landscape which, towards its southern extremity surrounds the town; its mountains, its ruins, and its harbour—the houses covered by vines and flowers, and overshadowed by the thick foliage of mulberry and walnut trees, make it altogether enchanting." *

Our luggage, which had been despatched by a shorter road, under the care of our interpreter and the Tartars, had arrived before us, and our approach had been announced. At the barrier of Balakláva, an under-officer met us, and, with Colonel Revolioti's compliments, invited us to dinner. Three Greek soldiers armed with sabres and fusils, who mounted guard at this place, presented to us quite a novel appearance by their singular uniform. It consisted of black helmets, dark green embroidered jackets, and red trowsers, extremely wide, and confined below the knees by high boots. †

Colonel Revolioti gave us an excellent dinner, and plenty of wine. Among other dishes, minced

* Clarke's Travels, p. 503.

† See Pallas's tenth plate. Their trowsers seem to have been then differently arranged. The same plate also contains a female figure. Mrs. Holderness's frontispiece does not correspond with my observations.

meat rolled up in vine leaves, as at Tchúfut-Kálé, was presented, which we found very good.

The town of Balakláva is formed of a principal narrow winding street, besides different lanes, and houses scattered among the sloping rocks, the most conspicuous of which is a new school upon an eminence near the barrier, in which the children are taught modern Greek, and, I believe, also Russian and Tartar. The town, the port, and the ruins of the castle of Balakláva, are well depicted in Pallas's ninth plate.

The population of Balakláva cannot be very great, since its houses are only sixty in number. According to the nearest estimate I could make, from the data afforded me, I suppose it contains about 1000 or 1200 souls, men, women, and children; all Arnaout Greeks, or their descendants.

Balakláva was formerly occupied by the Tartars; but, after their emigration, when the Krimea was seized by the Russians, it was given up to the Greek regiment which now garrisons the place. This regiment distinguished itself in the service of Russia against the Turks in the Archipelago. Its whole number amounts to 450 men, who are commanded by Colonel Revolioti, their countryman. Balakláva is their head-quarters; but part of the commando, forming a *cordon*, are scattered along the south coast of the Krimea. The soldiers have assuredly found a delicious retreat, and pass their lives in great ease. Their whole duty is to

maintain internal peace, and to guard a coast which is never approached by an enemy ; and, were an attack expected, no doubt the Greeks would be reinforced immediately, or perhaps removed from their station, and replaced by Russian troops. At the same time it must be allowed, that they have hitherto maintained their fidelity to Russia, and now have cause to show gratitude, and to fight for a charming country, which a long residence has rendered their own. Clarke was of opinion, however, that this band of Greeks would have been ready to have joined any European invader, or to have fled at his approach. But that author, in stating that “ any experienced general, from the armies of England, France, or Germany, might pledge his reputation for the capture of the Krimea with a thousand men,” no doubt spoke as hyperbolically, as when he gravely informed us that the force of the Russian empire was “ a mere puppet-show ;” or that it was “ Punch, with all his family ; or a herd of swine in armour, who endured hard blows, kicks, and canes, with perfect patience, but were incapable of activity or effect.” This author often delights us with the lively extravagancies both of his pencil and his pen. Few persons can regard the representation — or, as I would call it, the caricature — of a “ Russian sentinel at his Post,” which decorates the head of the twenty-first chapter of his work, without laughing. His account of the metamorphosis of a Russian peasant into a

“chop-fallen, stupid, brow-beaten, sullen clown,” the moment he enters the ranks of the army, is equally amusing, and forms a wonderful contrast to the statement of Sir R. Wilson, which I have already quoted. *

The wonders achieved by Suvárof, in Italy, with 40,000 men, as Clarke was conscious of, were not in accord with his own statements; and, although the qualifications of that general peculiarly fitted him for the command of Russian troops, the learned professor, beyond all question, attributed too much of his success to his *individuality*, if I may so speak. Two years after Clarke's Travels were published, the campaign of 1812, and especially the battle of Borodíno, gave a true illustration of the composition, of the *élite* at least, of the Russian army; and the general result of the war, might lead us to believe, that in proportion as the military character and effect of that army was underrated by Dr. Clarke, it had been previously unduly exalted by Sir R. Wilson.

When the Krimea is to be attacked, even though suddenly, the forces of the invading army ought, at least, to equal the whole troops in the peninsula, which generally amount to 10,000 or 15,000 men; so that a decisive blow might be struck, and the fortress and lines of Pérekop instantly seized. But, it is to be presumed, when this is to be done,

* Vide page 139—140.

that a powerful army will already have taken possession of the south of Russia, and that the conquest of the Krimea will only be an accessory part of some great plan. But it is time to return to our travels.

The fortress of Balakláva, with its numerous towers, stands upon an almost inaccessible rock, and is conjectured by Pallas to have been built by the Greeks, and repaired by the Genoese. Its present appearance, however, and general consent, favour the opinion that it was altogether erected by the Genoese, when they had the command of the coast of the Krimean peninsula. The view of it becomes more and more picturesque and sublime, by the frequent downfall of some of its battlements and walls. A light-house, which was erected among its ruins, is sharing the same fate, as well as another upon the opposite side of the entrance of the bay. Numerous rare plants have taken root and flourish here; and I was a good deal surprised to find the Tauric Asphodel, on the very top of the rock; a plant which I had previously remarked as decorating the plain near Sympheropole.

Dr. Clarke's work contains an excellent view of this ancient fortress.

The port of Balakláva is completely sheltered by high craggy hills; and, its mouth being narrow, even when the billows roll mountain-high at its entrance, its waters are smooth as those of an inland lake. Its length is not much above a mile, and its

breadth about 200 fathoms, while its depth, even near the shore, varies from fifteen to eighteen, and twenty fathoms. The entrance is so confined, that it would be difficult for two vessels to enter this port at a time.

Notwithstanding some dangerous rocks near the mouth of the port of Balakláva, it often served as a place of refuge to vessels which were driven upon the coast, and could not double Cape Fanari. But Pallas, with his usual caution, informs us that, as it was impossible to prevent smuggling, and the consequent dangers of the plague, merchant vessels were forbidden to enter it: a measure which caused many shipwrecks, and which reflects the disgrace of barbarous inhumanity upon those who ordered, or who permitted it. But this is not all, for, according to Clarke, "If any ill-fated mariner, driven by tempests, sought a shelter in the port of Balaklava, during the reign of Paul, he was speedily driven out again, or sunk, by an enemy as inhospitable as the wind or the waves. The inhabitants had small pieces of artillery stationed on the heights, with the most positive orders, from that insane tyrant, to fire at any vessel which should presume to take refuge there."* If, however, I am properly informed, the said pieces of artillery were placed on purpose to make signals; and, though I know enough of Paul's mad actions,

* Clarke's Travels, p. 504.

yet I can scarcely credit the above report. The light-houses on each side of the harbour were formerly in use ; and I cannot comprehend the cause of their being allowed to fall into ruins, as the heights around Balakláva often serve as a guide to vessels which sail from Constantinople. Though no commerce is carried on here, yet vessels are now allowed to take refuge in the harbour, when driven upon the shores by stress of weather.

Pallas has carefully indicated the different roads across the mountains, and through the valleys, from Balakláva to Fóros, to Muchalátka, to Simæus, to Alyúpka, to Gaspra, to Arnútka, and to Yalta, so as to be useful to the stranger. We took our course for Muchalátka, ascended through a pleasant dell, and rode through woods. Oaks, ashes, cherry-trees, mountain-ashes, and hazels, abounded on the sides and summits of the rifted rocks. The road was sometimes open, and sometimes led through immense avenues, overshadowed by the rich foliage of the trees, and every where so good as to admit of galloping, Having gained the highest hill in our way, the beautiful and smiling valley of Varnútka presented itself, and formed, as it were, the commencement of the celebrated valley of Baidar, from which it is separated by a ridge of rocks.

The valley of Baidar has been described under the titles of the *Tauric Arcadia* and the *Crimean*

Tempe by Lady Craven and Mrs. Guthrie. Pallas, however, thought it had been extravagantly praised by all travellers ; and says, it excites much interest in the individual who has not travelled in Siberia. He also avows, that it had not produced the like effect upon him, because he had already seen more charming landscapes, and more imposing prospects. He has likewise remarked, that the Caucasus contains a thousand more picturesque and more beautiful valleys. Dr. Clarke, who is anxious to dispel “the illusion” of others, joins in the professor’s opinion ; and says, that the valley of Baidar will not admit of a comparison with many of the beautiful scenes in Switzerland, nor even with those in Norway and Sweden. Castelnau, who enters into a long disquisition as to the resemblance and difference between this vale and the valleys of Switzerland, concludes, that the former “still remains superior to all that can be said of it.” For myself, though I have visited the Caucasus, and the fairy scenery of the well-known Trosachs, in Scotland, I still regard the valley of Baidar as uncommonly fine, and worthy of most of the eulogiums bestowed upon it.

This charming vale is about ten miles in length, and varies from five to six in breadth ; and its direction is from south-east to north-east. It is bounded, on the south, by the woody mountains which run along the sea-shore ; on the east, by the rapid declivity of the Jala of Usundshi ; on the

north, by a ridge of rocks, which separate it from the valley in which the stream called Usenbash takes its rise, and by the mountains of Kokulos and of Ai-Thodor, covered with forests; and, lastly, on the west, by the rocks of Varnútka. Over this valley are scattered woods, groves, gardens, vineyards, cultivated fields, and pastures, which are abundantly watered by numerous limpid rivulets and streams. So rich is the foliage, that ranges of the Tartars' houses, along the sides of the hills, and scattered throughout the plain, are nearly concealed from the view, or only show their rustic tops amidst masses of verdure. The fine oaks and enormous walnut-trees are peculiarly remarkable to the visitor, who, for the first time, travels in this part of the peninsula. Pallas alludes to a tree of the latter kind, which annually produced from eighty to a hundred thousand nuts.

We passed the night of the 16th of May in the village of Baidar, from which the vale received its appellation, distant about five versts from the sea-coast. Some of the houses are of two stories. We lodged in the upper room of one of these, which was surrounded by a wooden balcony, and, for the first time, slept on the *divans* of the Tartar peasants. Though the floor and the door, in a great degree, acted as ventilators, yet it was uncomfortably warm in the night, huddled together, as we were, on the floor; nearly in the manner I have elsewhere described the Russians to

be, when a crowd are assembled at the fête of a noble.*

Having drank some of the excellent milk of Tartar cows fed in the luxuriant valley, and having breakfasted at an early hour, on the morning of the 17th of May, we took our departure. We enjoyed a charming ride, and arrived at the pass of Meerdveen, on the brink of a precipice, which we at first thought it impossible to descend; and indeed, at one period, agreeably to the report of travellers, it was extremely difficult. Two high, bold, craggy mountains form, as it were, the walls of this alpine pass, with an immense detached mass of rock lying between them, and overhanging the precipice below. On this rock we reposed half an hour, enjoying one of the most impressive scenes of nature.†

The word *Meerdveen*, in Tartar, signifies stair; a term which was more applicable when it was nearly all formed out of the solid rock, than at present; for, though part of it still answers to this description, yet other parts are covered with earth. The whole was repaired in the year 1818, on account of the Emperor Alexander's visit. Notwithstanding that it seemed alarming at first, yet we de-

* Character of the Russians, p. lvi.

† Among other plants on this mass of rock, I found *Geranium lucidum*, and *Geranium robertianum*; and, in the neighbourhood, the beautiful *Juniperus oxyphillos* and the *Juniperus oxycedrus* first came under our view.

scended it with perfect ease on foot. Our horses followed us, and though, during the numerous windings from right to left, and *vice versá*, they had great difficulty in preserving their equilibrium, yet not one of them made a false step; and their cautious mode of proceeding was a great source of amusement to us.

We had now got fairly upon the sea-coast, which we meant to follow to Sudák; and to avoid repetition, I shall endeavour to give a general description of it. From Balakláva, all along to Káfía, or Theodosia, the Tauridan mountains form, as it were, an immense terrace, or line of bold and lofty promontory, broken into mountains, sometimes presenting their perpendicular or overhanging fronts, sometimes exhibiting their fantastic profiles separated into cliffs and peaks, and sometimes descending by gentle declivities to the valleys, or stretching to numerous beautiful bays of the sea. The distance between the mountains and the sea may vary from two and three to six and eight miles, and the intervening space is occupied by a succession of fine valleys from Laspi to near Sudák. The imposing boundary is here and there naked, but is generally covered by woods, or scattered trees; and many transparent streams issue from between the rocks, which, at times, swell into cascades, and roll towards the ocean, watering the low-lying lands in their progress.

The village of Muchalátka deserves no particu-

lar notice. From it, the road winds along the base of the mountains, at a considerable distance from, and height above, the level of the sea. We entered Kútchuk-Koi under the shade of walnut-trees and fig-trees, and surrounded by pomegranates. In the year 1786 this village was destroyed by the separation and fall of immense masses of the rock above it, which is described at great length by Pallas. A similar ride carried us to Kikenis about mid-day, and here we determined to dine and change horses. We were met by a patrol of three of the Greek soldiers of Balakláva, who were stationed at this village for a short time, and then were to exchange with others. Kikenis is a village of no great size, but pleasantly situated amid walnut-trees, plum-trees, cherry-trees, and vines, and commands an extensive view. At it passed some amusing scenes. Sultan Katti-Gherri Krim-Gherri harangued the Tartars and their *Mohla* on the doctrines of Christianity; I announced the celebration of what we called “Olympic Games,” and displayed the prizes, consisting of articles which we had purchased at Sympheropole and Baktchiseräi; and one of the party, assisted by a Greek soldier (I acting as Russian interpreter), prepared the dinner, our cook not having arrived with the luggage. Lamb, hens, eggs, and butter were soon procured; with which, and our own *bouillon*, excellent soup, boiled and roasted meat, and pancakes, were speedily prepared, to the no

small amusement of the Tartars. A low wooden table was set out for dinner under a shade in the open air, and we partook of our repast, surrounded by a crowd of the natives, to whom the Sultan had made a present of a New Testament, in their own language. They seemed more interested in regarding us than the book; but those who were curious turned over a leaf now and then, which excited some conversation among the assembly. By the time dinner was over the *Staróst*, or elder, had assembled old and young men, boys, and even children, indeed all the male population of the village. We instituted races of the boys, which were entered into with spirit. The wrestling of the Tartars was extremely amusing. In place of closing, they calmly seize each other's trowsers below the hips, and then begin the struggle. They overthrow their antagonists by sudden pulls from side to side, and sometimes by lifting them off the ground. They sang in accompaniment to the sounds of a kind of guitar, but without much grace or harmony; and their dancing was more like jumping and hopping. This was a memorable day for the natives, who were highly pleased with the rewards. During the amusements, crowds of the Tartar women, girls, and female children had collected on the flat roofs of their houses, to witness the sport; and we purposely feigned to take no notice of them, so as not to cause alarm, and thus have an opportunity of examining them at leisure, as a single marked look would have put them all to

flight. Our curiosity not being satisfied with this distant view, we made signs to them to come and contend for prizes also; this they not only refused to do, but began to run away. We unexpectedly dashed among them, and a scene of great confusion followed. They took to their heels, upset each other, and screamed violently. Indeed they did not think themselves secure till lodged within their houses, on the declivity of the mountain, and into which it would have been reckoned a violation of decorum, and of right, to have followed them. The Tartars, who, perhaps, did not much relish this scene, pretended to be highly amused. There was nothing inviting about the women in their persons, their faces, or their mode of dress; but, on the contrary, something very repulsive. We made presents to all around us, and, bidding adieu to our new acquaintances, who kindly invited us to return, we left Kikenis.

By a winding road we arrived at Simæus, about six miles from Kikenis. Though the road had been repaired in 1818, and still was in good order, yet we found it frequently interrupted by quantities of *schistus*, which had tumbled down. The sure-footed Tartar horses conducted us safely by the margins of precipices, and along the inclined base of the mountains, upon a very narrow path. Between Kikenis and Simæus we remarked, what is not unfrequent on the south coast of the Krimea, immense masses of rock, somewhat in the form of a ship, which, at some former period, had separated

from the bold promontory above, and rolled into the sea. Opposite them the naked, wild, and majestic mountains seem to overhang, and threatening to detach themselves, inspire the beholder with awe. At Simæus we were saluted by another guard of the Arnaout Greeks, as we proceeded under the sombre shade of olives, walnut-trees, and fig-trees, intermixed with vines and pomegranates. The formidable aspect of the craggy and peaked rocks on the north, the unbounded tranquil "dark blue sea" on the south, with the smiling valley of Simæus between them, covered with very luxuriant foliage, formed one of the most interesting scenes which it is possible to conceive. Pallas has given a view of this valley, which by no means does it justice, and Castelnau exclaims, "*Suisse, si fertile en charmans paysages, on vous oublie, en voyant le vallon de Séméus!*"

From Simæus to Alyúpka the road continued winding, as before, through the most charming scenery, — through fairy-land, if such there be in this world. Enjoying the rays of the setting sun, which darted through a shady narrow alley of walnut-trees, vines, and figs, we entered Alyúpka, one of the best and most delightful villages on the whole south coast. Here the wild vine creeps, like ivy, up the walls, and covers trees so entirely, as to leave only a part of the stem or of a branch uncovered, to proclaim the parasite.

Alyúpka is not a large village. It contains but thirty houses, as was shown by an inscription upon

a wooden post, as we entered it; the same custom being adopted here as in Russia Proper, though not so rigorously enforced, of making every hamlet display its ensign, with the name of its proprietor, (if it belong to an individual,) its own name, and its population. A small wooden mosque, with its low minaret, alone breaks the uniformity of the structures of this village.

The Tartar villages upon the coast are generally built on the declivity of the hills, and the houses are arranged sometimes like terraces, rising one above another, sometimes more like the steps of a single stair, and sometimes irregularly scattered. In some places they are almost entirely formed by natural hollows in the rock, and in others by making excavations; so that the natives have little more to do than to add a front and a roof to their huts. Few of them are of wood; they are almost all constructed of stone and clay, in the rudest manner; for architecture is little more known among the Tartars of this part of the Krimea, than among the most savage nations. Their roofs, made of strong planks, and flat, like a floor, are covered with argillaceous earth, which hardens in the sun, and becomes impenetrable to water. The natives walk, lounge, form smoking parties, and sleep upon them, in truly Oriental style; and it is not uncommon to see cows, sheep, and goats reposing in the same situation. The mountainous tribes of the

Caucasus, in many places, have similar structures. The interior of the Tartar huts generally assumes the square form, varying from eight to twelve or fifteen feet in length and breadth. They are lighted by one or two small windows, without glass or shutters. In winter, or during bad weather, boards, or lattices, fill up the openings, and few of the natives are at the pains to employ even oiled paper in place of glass. On one side of the apartment is a large fire-place, and the other is a kind of recess, or a platform, on which are piled up abundance of gaudy-coloured cushions, which serve for show, or for seats by day and beds by night. Most of the Tartars also cover the floor with a kind of coarse carpet. Many of their buildings have more than a single apartment. Where there are two rooms, one of them is occupied by the females; but when a Tartar has two wives, each of them has her separate chamber. As the women always withdraw on seeing strangers, should there be but a single room in the hut, they retreat to the house of a neighbour. The Tartar women, however, are not unwilling to receive females of other nations, as we learn from Mrs. Holderness, who made them many visits, and who has recorded the results of her observations during a residence in the Krimea, in an interesting little volume.* Many

* Notes relating to the Customs and Manners of the Krim Tartars. By Mary Holderness, 1821.

of the Tartar villages are quite buried in groves, and concealed by the luxuriant foliage of the climate, till one is close upon them. In the flat parts of the Krimea, as we shall see by and by, the houses are small, some entirely above the ground, others partly subterranean.

We passed the night at Alyúpka, by many esteemed the first among all the charming sites of the Krimea; and, assuredly no pen can describe its beauty, or the grandeur of the surrounding scenery. It is conjectured, that at some former, and, probably, remote period, the brow of the mountain had detached itself, and, in its fall, was crashed into a thousand forms; and that upon the *débris*, Alyúpka, with all its houses, gardens, and arable land, is situated. The morning after our arrival, we went to see the gardens, and were not disappointed by the flowery descriptions of travellers. Laurels, figs, date-plums (*Diospyros lotos*), mulberries, vines, cultivated and wild, &c. were seen on every side, as we wandered amid innumerable masses of detached rock, between which flowed a profusion of crystal rivulets.

Notwithstanding the rare beauty and magnificence of innumerable situations on the south coast of the Krimea, the inducements of a delightful climate during the greatest part of the year, and an abundance of fine fruits almost spontaneously produced — although the peninsula has been in the possession of the Russians above forty years —

not a noble has taken up his permanent residence, and scarcely any for the summer months, from Sevástopole to Alyúpka, and, indeed, even to Nikíta. What want of taste for fine scenery !

On the morning of the 18th, one of the Greek soldiers acted as our conductor while perambulating the vicinity of Alyúpka, and a number of the natives watched our motions with the penetrating eye of curiosity ; but, as usual, they were excessively obliging and communicative, and seemed to have a high degree of suavity and inoffensiveness in their nature, which did not altogether accord with the ideas we had formed of the proud, haughty, ferocious Tartars of the Krimea, who were once so potent, and so dreaded by their neighbours, and who made irruptions into Poland and Russia with fire and sword, and left ruin and desolation in their track. But the days of the Golden Horde are passed away, and the masters are now become the subjects of a power which they once despised. Probably, they would attempt again to become the masters, were there but the hope of success of their being able to shake off their dependence. The vigilant policy of Russia, the embarrassed state of the Porte, and the progress of the affairs of Europe, leave little room for their present consolation. But it may be hoped that, before a great many years revolve, the changes which the Greeks may operate in the East, or the revolutions which may be ex-

pected to happen in Russia, will ultimately lead to some important steps in favour of the natives of this charming, but oppressed peninsula. I do not mean, however, to assert, that the present government is oppressive by its *ukázes*, or by the kind of administration which it has destined for the regulation of the Tartars. On the contrary, mildness and forbearance are rather its characteristics ; and it permits the natives to enjoy various immunities and privileges which are denied to the Russians. But the mischief is, that, whatever may be the intentions of the sovereign, the same system of bribery and corruption which characterises the civil administration in Russia Proper, likewise prevails in as great, or even a greater degree, in the foreign provinces of this empire ; in all of which, a part, or the whole, of the judges and persons in power are real Russians, as in the Krimea and in Georgia. In consequence of the universal perversion of justice, the monarchs of Russia, however benevolent and sincere in their designs, are completely deceived as to their execution.

The route, villages, rivulets, mountains, plants, and minerals found between Alyúpka and Nikíta, are so minutely described by Pallas, that it would be superfluous to say a word of them here. Before reaching Yalta, a beautiful bay, with a smooth, sandy shore, invited us to bathe in the Black Sea, whose waters, even here, are but slightly brackish to the taste. As we were crossing the

rivulet Yalta, we were surprised by the approach of a Kozák on horseback, who demanded our names. He, and a few of his comrades, dwell in a small white house by the side of the bay of Yalta, to protect the commerce of this place; a commerce so trifling, that, perhaps, the expenses exceed the profits. We passed Dérekoi, and, at a short distance from Nikíta, we made a pause at the ruins of a small Greek monastery, which is described by Clarke, and was judged worthy of an engraving in his travels, executed from a drawing of Mr. Heber, on account of “the grandeur of the situation:” but it did not strike us in the same manner, amid so many more beautiful spots in its neighbourhood. Its broken-down and half-unroofed walls had a venerable aspect, and were overhung by Traveller’s Joy (*Clematis Vitalba*). “The tributary offering to the genius of the place, in some verses written with a pencil,” by Mr. Tweddell, the friend of Clarke, is now no longer visible. Indeed, the only remaining morsels of plaster are covered by the unprofaned images of some saints, and by the names of late visitors, who, I suppose, were obliged to erase the more classic names of Tweddell, and Clarke, and Pallas, to make room for their own.

Soon after leaving these ruins, the regularity of the gardens, with a small temple, besides a number of adjoining houses, indicated the situation of Nikíta, on the sea-coast. The descent to it is

very rapid. The weather was warm; and we disturbed two very large adders basking in the sun, in the middle of a narrow path. We had despatched a letter, with which Mr. Steven had furnished us at Sympheropole, for the gardener at Nikíta, the preceding evening; but the lazy Tartar messenger had only arrived at his destination an hour before us. He was flogged, as he deserved, for his negligence. During his punishment he remained immovable as a statue, and in his countenance was expressed the greatest *sang froid*: scarcely were his features deranged, and he repeatedly said his back was accustomed to such strokes. Nothing can be a surer indication of the loss of spirit and the subjection of the Tartars, than the tameness with which they submit to this and similar chastisements.

At Nikíta we found neither men nor horses, and, therefore, we retained those we had, after arranging with their conductors. All the males of this village had been ordered to Sympheropole, to assist in killing the locusts.

We took possession of Mr. Steven's snug and pleasant house; and, having enlisted some soldiers in our service, we had a dinner cooked in the kitchen, of which we partook under the shade of a mountain-ash (*Sorbus domestica*) of enormous size. We were furnished with red and white Krimean wine, some years old, from the cellar which belongs to the crown, and is given *gratis* to all travellers.

We found it delicious, and very different in quality from what we had partaken of in the course of our journey, especially at Sympheropole. There it is generally sold when quite new and unfit for use.

The Imperial Gardens of Nikíta were instituted by the crown, in the year 1811. Their object is twofold: 1st to serve as a nursery, and, 2d, as a botanic garden for rare plants. Though they are laid out with some taste, and though their objects are in some degree answered, yet we felt considerable disappointment in viewing this establishment, after having heard so many pompous encomiums bestowed upon it. At the period of our visit the gardens contained about a thousand species of fruit-trees, *i. e.* of different kinds, with their varieties, and above 3,000 plants. The soil is not the best; and, although water is abundant for nine months of the year, yet, during June, July, and August, there is a great scarcity of it. It is then necessary to fetch it from the distance of two versts, from the rivulet near the Greek monastery, already noticed; no easy task, when we consider the long and rapid ascent and descent to be traversed, and the quantity of water required daily for the gardens.

Nikíta lies open to the sea, and, at times, as the gardener informed us, is exposed to terrible winds from the south, but still more from the south-east and south-west; a statement which militates much against Clarke's flowery and elegant description

of the south coast of the Krimea, the "*terrestrial paradise*." * It is true, indeed, that during the fine season any individual is apt to be carried away by the seducing beauties of the coast, and to forget that there is a short, and sometimes a very severe, winter. Indeed, the winter after our journey proved very hard. The thermometer sunk to zero of Fahrenheit, and snow, to the depth of above two feet, covered the Krimea. The torrents which flow from the mountains, and which are seldom frozen, were converted into ice; and the ice on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, became so strong that people crossed on foot from Kertch to Tamán without any danger; a rare occurrence. In the level part of the country, innumerable horned cattle, sheep, and horses died for want of shelter and food. Indeed, Mrs. Holderness, who, it must not be forgotten, resided at Karagóss, in a northern exposure, describes the winter as generally more severe, though shorter, than that of England.

In a small temple, charmingly situated, and commanding a fine view of the sea, stands upon a pedestal a bronze statue of Linnæus, which was presented to Nikíta by one of the most liberal patrons of arts, sciences, and literature in the Russian empire, Count Rumántsof. This gentleman is better known to the world for having fitted out the Rurik at his own expense, which circumnavigated

* Clarke's Travels, p. 530.

the globe, under the command of Kotzebue. Such men do honour to the country which gave them birth, and to human nature.

Pallas, in commemoration of his travels and discoveries in the Krimea, as well as of his talents, also deserves a monument in this temple ; till the erection of which, *Pallasium Pterococcus*, which is here found in great abundance, serves its place.

We were informed that there are only twelve men employed in the gardens of Nikíta during summer, but that more are attached to them in winter, when less wanted. This confirms the doctrine of the gentleman at Sevástopole, *that the Russians do nothing right*. We found the gardener an intelligent man. He carried us to his house, and showed us his collection of silkworms, which succeeded here very well.

The village of Nikíta contains twenty-five houses, and is, in every respect, like most of the other Tartar villages we passed upon the level parts of the valleys. Its situation, to the east of the gardens, amidst numerous large trees, would be a delightful place for an English villa.

We again resumed our route ; and, soon after leaving Nikíta, we enjoyed a superb view. The noble bay, bounded by the promontory Nikíta Burún on one side, and by the mountain Ayu-Dagh on the other ; two insulated abrupt rocks rising out of the sea like the ruins of castles ; the romantic village,

Yursuf; the exquisitely beautiful rural scenery, including the summer-house of the late Duc de Richelieu; and “the dark-blue” Euxine, which waters the foot of the mountains,—all conjoin to form a fine panorama. Pallas has given a vignette of the bold rock and fortress of Yursuf, with a long description of it; Castelnau’s work contains a representation of the same, including the house of the Duc de Richelieu; and the vignette to this chapter gives a just idea of the promontory of Ayu-Dagh, and the objects in its vicinity. We ascended the hill, and passed through the village of Yursuf, which affords an excellent specimen of the manner of building employed by the Tartars. It is less surrounded by trees, and is therefore more distinctly seen than many others.

We passed Ayu-Dagh on the right, which lay between us and the sea. The name of this mountain is never written as Clarke writes it; nor has it any reference to *Holy Mountain*, as some have supposed. *Ayu-Dagh* is a compound Tartar word, and literally means Bear-Mountain, as Pallas had previously informed us, and as was confirmed by Sultan Katti-Gherri Krim-Gherri. An idea of the figure of this hill may be better obtained from the vignette than from any description. Its mineralogy is alluded to by Pallas; and both he and Clarke speak of the ruins of a Greek monastery upon its summit. Our road sometimes lay along the declivity of the hills, and sometimes by the

fine bay of the sea. Before we passed Parthenite night had overtaken us, but we were lighted on our way by a beautiful clear moon to Kútchuk-Lampát, the estate of Senator Borozdín, whose letter procured us a lodging for the night.

The village of Kútchuk-Lampát is unworthy of notice, but the house of the Senator is agreeably placed in a beautiful and tranquil spot. It is a plain edifice of two stories in height, with a semi-circular balcony fronting to the sea. Its site is near the middle of a semi-oval bay, with Parthenite and the Ayu-Dagh on the west, and another bold promontory on the east, and craggy mountain scenery, and lovely groves of fruit-trees on the north. It is, truly, one of nature's choicest spots.

On leaving our lodging, on the 19th of May, we received a few bottles of Krimean wine, which we found of good quality. After ascending a hill, and gaining the sea-shore on the opposite side, two nearly pyramidal rocks, of no great size, and not far distant from the land, which were quite white, as if covered with snow, and another flat rock, little above the level of the sea, exhibiting the same appearance, roused our curiosity. We soon reached the rivulet Lambát, or Bijuk-Lambát, where we found a few houses, and a small Tartar corn-mill. Traversing the sea-shore, the strata of schistus now deeply excites the attention of the geologist. They are horizontal, undulating, serpentine, and even intersect each other; they dip from east to

west at an immense angle, and, indeed, in some places, are almost perpendicular. They also form all kinds of semi-circles, semi-ovals, and zig-zags. Allowing that these strata had been detached at some former period from a high hill on the north, it is difficult to conceive how they assumed their present appearance. For, had it happened by any sudden and dreadful convulsion of the earth, we might have expected the whole of their soft materials to have been mingled in confusion: or, at least, not to have exhibited the regularity which they have really preserved.

About four versts from Alúshta, we had a beautiful view of the alpine scenery of the Taurida. Our road, which now for the most part lay near the sea-shore became much worse, because it was often interrupted by banks of fallen schistus.

Alúshta is situated upon an insulated hill between the rivulets Temerdshi and Meserlik. The remains of three towers, and a high wall, are accurately described by Pallas, who calls it a Greek citadel; and Clarke, on the authority of Procopius, says it was erected in the time of Justinian. The village is of considerable size, and is partly built within the walls of the fortress. From the almost total want of trees Alúshta is completely exposed, and it gives a correct, but mean, character of a Tartar village, unadorned by natural scenery. The houses rise in the same terrace-like manner as already described, and are partly formed on the

sides of the hill, and partly built of rude stones. It may be said that the Tartars, all along the coast of the Krimea, are seldom upon a level surface, except when on the tops of their houses.

We had here a view of the vale of Alúshta, through which a road conducts to Sympheropole, the only mountain-pass, easily practicable, we had yet reached since we left Balakláva. When we set out from Kútchuk-Lambát, we had made our dispositions to ascend the Tchadir-Dagh, as already said, the highest mountain in the Krimea, which rises about 1200 or 1300 feet above the level of the sea, and, owing to its form, is called *Mons Trapezus*. Representations of it are given both by Pallas and Clarke. It deserves a visit on account of its botanical productions, and of the remarkable view of the whole Krimea, from its summit. When we reached Alúshta, it was enveloped in clouds, and it now rained, so that our plan was destroyed for the present. We therefore determined to continue our route by the coast. Between Alúshta and Kúru-Uzen, we remarked the same kind of broken and irregular schistous strata, which have been already noticed; and at the place where a land-slip of the earth had taken place, as mentioned by Pallas, numerous rents and caverns are still visible, but they are not so remarkable as formerly. Kúru-Uzen is a trifling Tartar village, on a gentle and projecting hill on the sea-side, much enlivened by the small white-washed summer-house of Dr.

Lange, of Sympheropole, at which we were received. While a heavy shower fell, we galloped to Kútchuk-Uzen, and soon arrived at the house of Colonel Stèégé, who was acquainted with the Sultan. This gentleman, a German by birth, after having been in the Russian service thirty-five years, has retired to this place to end his days in tranquillity. Here we met with a welcome reception, dined well, quaffed a number of bottles of excellent Krimian wine, drank coffee, and passed some hours in conversation, and in obtaining information. Kútchuk-Uzen, with the Colonel's house in front, is situated in a valley, and contains thirty houses. The land belongs to the Colonel; and the Tartars, for eight days' work in the year, receive a sufficiency of pasture for feeding their cattle. Of all the produce of the land, which they cultivate, he receives the tenth part, and the hundredth part of their sheep and goats. These, we were informed, are the conditions allowed the Tartars, as fixed by a commission at Sympheropole, throughout the peninsula. In a mild climate, where the soil is good, they are such as enable the natives to live at their ease, and indulge in their habitual indolence.

The road from Kútchuk-Uzen to Uskút soon leaves the sea-shore, and conducts to the mountains. Busily occupied in botanising, I lost the party, and got completely bewildered amid the hills. Evening approached, and I knew not which way to turn.

I left my horse to his own will, when falling in with a narrow path, I determined to pursue it till I came to some village. I proceeded at full gallop, under heavy rain, soon entered a village, and stopped before one of the peasants' houses. The females who were in the yard, being seriously alarmed, fled into the house. I alighted, and took shelter under the lintel of the door, but I was entreated by cries and tears to depart. A Tartar *mohla*, who was near, immediately came up to me, and as I had determined to pass the night here, I endeavoured to make friends with him, and with a number of his countrymen, who had assembled. I distributed a few leathern bags among them, made signs of my wish to be on good terms, showed my purse, talked Russ, and found they all comprehended the words *dengi* and *na vodtkii* (money and drink-money). The women became tranquil; the Tartars were ready to serve me and to give me a lodging; and we managed to carry on a conversation by pantomime. After a little time, a Tartar came to me, took my horse, and made signs to me to go with him, repeating the word "general." I supposed some Russian general had also arrived in this village, and had sent for me, and was not a little surprised when the guide conducted me to a house, where all our party were assembled, and anxious about me. I now found that I was in Uskút. We had warm milk and tea here, and the whole

village seemed to assemble about our lodging. We made a musical and dancing party of as many Tartars as the apartment would admit. The instrument used, in shape, resembled a guitar, and had five metal cords, which were played upon by means of a piece of polished cherry-tree bark, of the form of a finger-nail, which was held between the thumb and finger. The natives called it a *zas*, and said it was brought from Constantinople. The instrumental music possessed neither regularity nor harmony; the vocal music seemed, as far as we could judge, to consist in strong nasal sounds, which were most distressing to our ears; and the dancing was similar to what we have already noticed at Kikenis. Having rewarded our merry entertainers, and announced "*Olympic Games*" for the following morning, we displayed the prizes, and bade them good night. In the evening, after our fellow-travellers were gone to bed, one of the party and I sallied forth to the Tartar mosque, in which we had remarked numerous lights. This edifice is of a square form, and a few feet from the door, a railway runs across it. The railed-off space serves as a porch, in which the worshippers leave their clogs or their slippers. I took off my boots and walked round the mosque, to examine particularly some Mahomedan paintings and inscriptions upon the walls. The women have a gallery separated by lattice-work. It was impossible not to observe

the similarity of this mosque to the Jewish synagogues at Tchúfut-Kálé. The silence, the rivetted attention, the bendings—at times even till the head touched the floor, the down-sittings and the up-risings of the Tartars, all surprised us. One of their motions was peculiarly striking; while resting upon their feet—not upon their knees—their heads touched, or nearly touched, the floor, and the effect was to throw their bodies into the most ludicrous position. The rapidity and precision of the Tartars' motions, and their constant action in concert, reminded us of the manœuvres of a company of infantry. The readings and pauses of the *mohla*, while complete stillness reigned, had a very solemn effect, and excited our admiration.

On the following morning, at an early hour, for want of a drum, a boy beat the tocsin upon an immense brass pan, and we were speedily surrounded by the villagers, when we repeated the amusements already spoken of at Kikenis. The Tartars were highly pleased with the rewards, and in token of their good will, they presented us with plates full of cherries.

Uskút is, comparatively speaking, a large village, for it contains seventy houses, and many of them are much larger than the "*rabbit warrens*," we had hitherto seen; indeed, here we had to ascend to our apartments by a stair, as there was a kind of basement story below. The village is situated in

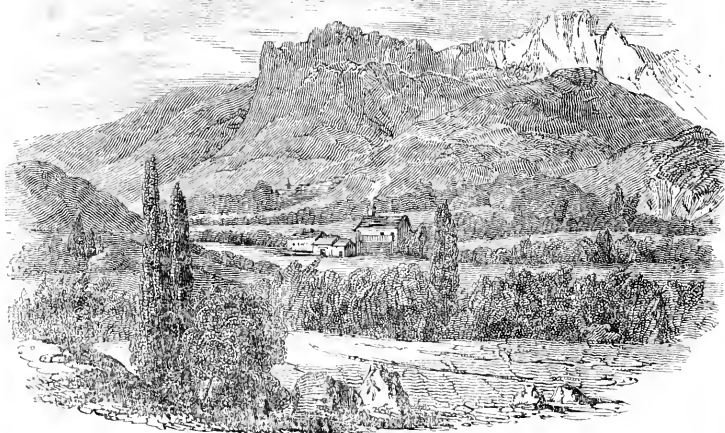
a dell, through which the rivulet Uskút runs, enclosed on all sides by lofty mountains.

After ascending from Uskút we were encircled with alpine and rock scenery, and with numerous peaks, of that kind which is said to be peculiar to the Krimea, and of which the vignette to the next chapter gives an excellent idea. Having descended into a valley, we approached the castle or tower of Tchúban-Kálé, which is very commanding, from the half-insulated rock on which it stands upon the coast. The view is bounded by the Ayu-Dagh, and by another promontory beyond Sudák. The tower is of a round form, and of considerable height. Its walls are thick, and its roof is arched somewhat in the form of a cupola. Pallas states all its measurements.

The barren hill, and the naked vicinity of Tchúban-Kálé, form a strong contrast to the delicious scenery we had, for some days, been accustomed to behold. Like the plains of the peninsula, the hill itself was covered with *Peganum Harmala*. A couple of species of *Artemisia* and the common Juniper, were its other chief vegetable productions; but the Sumach (*Rhus coriaria*) grows below in abundance.

On passing Tchúban-Kálé toward Kapsochór, it seemed as if we had got into another country. The soil is sterile; and roots of stunted junipers, oaks, horn-beams, &c. spread every where, in the most fantastic forms, from elevations, across the

road and toward the earth, in quest of water and food. The large rotten stems and branches of numerous trees, as also of junipers, attest that here was formerly abundant vegetation. Most probably some violent agitation of the earth has led to the present desolation. The irregular schistous strata, of various appearance, will not fail to excite notice. The first few versts from Tchúban-Kálé exhibits nature under some of her less inviting, but not less impressive forms,—bare, wild, majestic, and sublime. Soon after, turning from the sea-shore, we entered the village of Kapsochór, in the vale of the same name, which is covered with gardens and vineyards, and is surrounded by gently acclivitous mountains. We proceeded to Kutlák, a small village, in which is a diminutive mosque, destitute of a minaret. Here the Tartars good-naturedly erected a shade over us, while we partook of a refreshment, and had our horses changed.



CHAP. VIII.

THE VALE OF SUDÁK.—THE IMPERIAL VINEYARDS.—THE CASTLE.—DEPOPULATION OF THE KRIMEA.—INSECURITY OF PROPERTY.—CORRUPT CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.—CREED IN RUSSIAN LEGISLATION.—ALEXANDER.—POPULATION OF THE KRIMEA.—ITS CLASSES.—COLONIES.—CHARACTER OF THE TARTARS.—THEIR LITERATURE.—POETRY.—GEOGRAPHY.—MEDICINE.—PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—TARAKTÁSH.—SUÚKSU.—ELBUZLI.—TILLING.—KARASSUBAZÁR.—ITS COMMERCE.—ITS FORTRESS-LIKE KHAN.—ITS MANUFACTURES.—ITS POPULATION.—TRINITY SUNDAY.—DÉPÔT OF MEDICINES.—EXTRAORDINARY ANECDOTE.—CIVIL MEDICAL STAFF IN RUSSIA.—CEMETERIES OF THE TARTARS.—DESOLATION OF THE KRIMEA.—ANECDOTE.—DRIVE IN TELÉGAS.—THUNDER-STORM AT SYMPHEROPOLE.—ARRIVAL AT KÁFFA.—ANECDOTE.—ANCIENT MOSQUE.—APPEARANCE OF KÁFFA.—ITS BAY.—ITS DESCRIPTION.—POPULATION.—QUARANTINE.—COMMERCE.—MUSEUM.—COINS.

FROM the village of Kutlák, we took Pallas for our guide, and soon came into the celebrated Vale

of Sudák. While traversing it, we were highly pleased with many charming views, of the same nature as that represented in the vignette, in the preceding page. Here the soil is whitish and clayey. Vineyards and groves of trees, intermixed with fine poplars, abound on all sides. The cottages of the proprietors, one or two stories in height, white-washed and tiled, and in European taste, greatly enliven this delightful valley, which is described by Pallas with much minuteness. We rode directly to the imperial vineyards, and were kindly received by their director, Mr. Esell, a German, who has the rank of a lieutenant-colonel. We dined in his house, and were supplied with abundance of the Krimean wines, some of which were of superior quality. They belong to the crown, and, as at Nikíta, strangers are supplied with them, *at least in moderation*, without payment. Of course we made the Colonel a present.

The *Imperial Vineyards* are of considerable extent, and, besides the native vines of the climate, they contain many species which have been introduced at different times. The kinds of wine now made here, chiefly from foreign vines, are (as literally translated) red and white wine of Zante, — red and white wine of Korfu, — red French wine, — white Hungarian wine, — and red claret; besides different kinds of red and white Krimean wine. The whole quantity of wine produced by these vineyards in 1821, amounted to

60,000 védros (each of fifteen small-sized bottles). According to their quality they were sold at from two and a half to four roubles *per védro*; so that the whole revenue, perhaps, amounted to above 200,000 roubles.

The vineyards are four versts distant from the castle of Sudák, which, it is supposed, was built by the Genoese, about the middle of the fourteenth century. The ingenious author, Oderico, has bestowed a large portion of his work upon the history of Sudák and its antiquities*; and Pallas has given a minute description, as well as a view, of its fortress, in his travels. This author relates that at the epoch of his first visit to the castle, a number of edifices, of elegant architecture, in the Gothic style, remained, but that they had been destroyed in order to raise barracks within its walls;—thus giving another proof of the system of destruction which seems to have reigned throughout the Krimea, except at Baktchiseräi, ever since the Russians possessed it, till the visit of Alexander in 1818. The barracks are allowed to go to ruin, being no longer of any use. At one time a regiment, or a battalion, was stationed here. But now thirteen of the Arnaout Greeks, with an officer, form the only guardians of the place; and they exchange duty every month with an equal number

* Lettere Ligustiche dell' Abbate Gasparo Luigi Oderico. 8vo. Bassano, 1792.

from Balakláva. With an under-officer as guide we ascended the highest peak of the castle, but with considerable difficulty. The chief tower is of a square form; its walls are very thick and composed entirely of stone, and its roof is vaulted in the Gothic style. From hence the view is remarkably fine. On our return we saw some fountains, over one of which is a curious figure of a tutelary deity, somewhat like an expanded bat and a serpent conjoined. There is a Slavonic inscription on the stone below it, but it is nearly effaced. The Greek chapel, of which Pallas speaks, still remains, and in it service is daily performed.

In ancient times, the castle of Sudák must have been a place of great strength; and the construction of its walls and towers was, no doubt, reckoned an immense undertaking.

A few Tartar houses near the castle, with a few others scattered over the adjacent plain, form the present town, or rather village, of Sudák. Most of the former have a very miserable appearance, and the latter are but paltry. A number of them have not flat roofs.

The Tartars pretend that since the occupation of the Krimea by the Russians, their winters have been longer and more severe than formerly*; and

* Pallas's Second Journey, vol. iv. p. 114.

no doubt they have felt them so, owing to the change in their political state. Well, indeed, might it be said, that the Krimea is now a “*devastated pays* ;” and the truth of the remark was proved by the ruins which we every where beheld, and the almost universal diminution of the population. Russia (or rather her agents) first inflicts the mortal wounds in oppressing the people, and thereby causing them to emigrate ; and in annihilating ancient towns and venerable ruins, and thereby making those who remain discontented : and then, issuing some new *ukázés*, she endeavours to re-establish the prosperity of the Krimea, by instituting foreign as well as Russian colonies ; by building^o barracks and other crown edifices ; by organising tribunals and a *central seat of justice* ; by restoring ancient names ; by forming a fleet ; and by building and renovating towns, as Sevástopole, Sympheropole, Káffa, and Kértch. But the population is gone, and the most useful and industrious people, the Greeks and the Armenians, have nearly all left the peninsula. Industry and commerce are no more, though the Krimea is now surrounded by ports on the Black Sea, and on the Sea of Azoph. Sevástopole may continue the great naval station of the south of Russia ; Káffa and Kertch may become fine small towns of *crown edifices* ; and Sympheropole may boast of its tribunals, and its being the seat of a

government administration ; but the prospect of the Krimea ever regaining its importance, under the Russians, seems very small.

The insecurity of property has also contributed to the decline and fall of the Krimea. After its conquest, the estates of the Tartars, given away both to Russians and to natives, were afterwards reclaimed by their original proprietors, and many long protracted law-processes have been among the consequences.

In proof of my own observations, made long before I saw Mrs. Holderness's works, I shall not hesitate to make a few quotations as they are extremely interesting, and, I am sorry to add, they are but too correct for the poor Tartars.

“ The commission for examining the titles of disputed lands, called in Russ, ‘ *spórnaya kom-míssia*,’ seems to have been very unsuccessful in its labours ; the boundaries of estates in the Crimea are still very indistinctly known, and many, if not most of them, are involved in a perplexity, which appears to be hopeless, from its long continuance.” *

Tribunals are established in the Krimea of the same nature as those in the other parts of the Russian dominions, and which I have explained in my quarto volume.† Mrs. Holderness has al-

* New Russia, p. 130.

† Character of the Russians, &c. p. 267.

luded to some of these tribunals very particularly, and from her testimony may be derived another powerful confirmation of the horrible and universal corruption of civil administration in the dominions of Russia. * This lady, after quoting the Russian proverb, “*Sood lyúbit zolotó i Straptchei serebró*,” (the court loves gold and the notary silver,) remarks that the Krimea “is somewhat famous for verifying it.” To the enquiry made by a gentleman of a kind of under-agent in one of the tribunals, as to his opinion respecting who should gain a law process, he replied, “How much money will your friend give to have it settled?” To use a common phrase, the pocket is sounded for the same reason that a physician feels his patient’s pulse, and on its fulness or emptiness generally depends the issue of the cause.

“Whatever strictness or conscientious dealing,” says Mrs. Holderness, “marks the heads of government in the Crimea, the underlings, who live upon such small salaries, take a watchful advantage of every opportunity for increasing them, which their almost unlimited authority so frequently presents them with. †

“The salary affixed to the office of *isprávník* is 250 roubles *per annum*, which, it has been confidently said, that he is able to stretch to 10,000.” Mrs. Holderness does not vouch for the truth of this

* New Russia, p. 118.

† Ibid. p. 119.

statement, and I am persuaded that it is extravagant. But she is correct in asserting, “that it is an undoubted fact, that his (the *isprávník*’s) nominal income is very much below what he really receives; and that all above the sum allowed by government is extorted from the Tatars, or received by way of present, which the donors, in most cases, are compelled to make, to avoid worse consequences!” * She also relates an anecdote quite in point. The late Mr. Engell, — who had held the office of chief at Káffa, and was highly calculated for this appointment, — reformed many abuses which had crept into the quarantine and customs, and exercised a watchful care in behalf of the government, “which was felt by many who had before acknowledged, in the words of an officer, the Director-general of the quarantine, ‘*Il faut voler, Monsieur!*’” † This is excellent; but I would propose the following amendment, which may be considered as the *creed* of all the agents of the tribunals, high and low, with a very few exceptions; and which every court in the empire ought to have placed by the side of his Imperial Majesty’s portrait ‡ — alas! his dumb representative, — *Il faut vivre; et en Russie, pour vivre il faut voler.* For the benefit of the Russians, I shall give it them in their own tongue: *Nádobno*

* New Russia, p. 120.

† Ibid. p. 133.

‡ In every court is placed the portrait, or painting, of Alexander, to remind those who enter it, that the place is public, imperial, and sacred.

jit, i iv Rossii, nádobno ukrást. Oh that the Emperor's portrait could start into life, or could bear witness to the wicked transactions of the Russian courts! His Majesty's love of justice would then lead to many signal changes. *

“ In an empire so extensive as that of Russia, whatever be the efforts, whatever the wishes of him who governs, it is scarcely to be expected their influence, so powerfully felt at the centre, can extend with equal force to those distant provinces which his smile seldom visits, his presence rarely cheers. Yet here, though depravity marks so many individuals, and they mar the endeavours which the Emperor is continually making for the universal benefit of his subjects, even here, he is beloved and respected, revered and obeyed.

“ His visit to the Krimea was a subject of joyful expectation before it took place; and the mild and conciliating manners of this most powerful monarch won the hearts of the humblest of his subjects: few there are who do not boast of having seen the Emperor, and not a few who had the honour to converse with him. Divested of the parade of state, he travelled without any military escort, and won, or secured the confidence of his people, by that he evinced in them.” †

* I am glad to remark, by a letter dated St. Petersburg, May 21st, 1824, that “ great changes are spoken of in the organisation of the senate and of the council of the empire.”

† New Russia, p.121.

About half a century ago, the Krimea could boast of a population of half a million of souls, and could bring an army of 40,000 or 50,000 men into the field. It was then of no small importance, particularly on account of its peninsular and frontier situation between Russia and Turkey; an importance which it may again acquire in the event of war. In the year 1778, after the treaty of peace was concluded between the Turks and the Russians, more than 3000 Christians, Greeks, and Armenians, who had been naturalised in the Krimea, and among them many merchants and artisans, were transported beyond the Sea of Azoph, and formed the new colonies of Naktchiván and Rostóf, between the Don and the Berda; but the great emigration of the natives took place between the years 1785 and 1788, after the conquest of the Krimea by the Russians. Thousands, and tens of thousands, sold their property for a trifle, and departed to the provinces of Turkey, especially to Anatolia and Romelia. Owing to the losses sustained during the intrigues of Russia, the ravages of the plague, and the emigrations above mentioned; in the year 1793, there were in the Krimea only 83,493 males, and 122,124 females, or a total of 205,617 souls, including all foreigners, and even the Russian forces: so that, in about twenty years, the Taurida had lost 300,000 of its inhabitants. Indeed, the loss amounted to more; for Pallas has made an error in his table, in stating that in 1793 the number of male Tartars

was 48,484, whilst that of the females was no less than 99,280; an error of about 40,000; as the males and females were nearly equal.

Mr. Reuilly has given the following as a correct report of that census; *viz.* that the Krimea contained 157,133 souls, among whom were

				Males.	Females.
Noble Tartars	-	-	-	570	465
Priests of all classes	-	-	-	4519	4105
Tartar labourers	-	-	-	49520	50280
Slaves of different origin	-	-	-	345	405
Nogays taken at Anápa	-	-	-	4331	3593
Bohemians, Tsigánii, or Gipsies	-	-	-	1164	1561
Merchants in towns, of different classes	-	-	-	1780	1048
Burgesses and workmen	-	-	-	6220	5346
Persons in service	-	-	-	1185	247
Russian slaves, domestics	-	-	-	110	116
Russian colonists of the crown	-	-	-	4861	3397
Colonists transplanted by the nobility	-	-	-	1987	1672
Colonists of the Greek faith	-	-	-	1165	586
Corps of the Kozáks of the Black Sea	-	-	-	5803	
Priests of the Christian religion, or people at- tached to the service of the churches				89	33
Domestics of the crown and their families	-	-	-	382	270

By a more correct census of 1800, the number of male Tartars amounted to 120,000, which doubled for the females, makes a total of 240,000, and, probably, this was near the truth.

I cannot conceive upon what foundation Hassel in 1816, and Cromé in 1818, stated the population of the Krimea at 304,500 souls; since in the year 1821, the Russian geographer Yablóvskii does not make it higher than 254,931, of whom 73,000

were said to be male Tartars * : a statement which does not tally with an account received from “ a Tatar Secretary of the Land Tribunal,” by Mrs. Holderness. According to him the population in all amounted to 260,000 souls, of whom 186,000 were male Tartars. From these data, we may conclude that the total population of the Krimea does not exceed 280,000 souls, even if we allow 20,000 or 25,000 increase of population within the last few years.

Of the Tartar population, there are not above 600 nobles, and 5000 priests, with their families ; of course all the rest may be called peasants or labourers, who till the ground for their superiors, upon the conditions already mentioned.

I have been more particular with respect to the population of the Krimea, because this peninsula is likely to become the theatre of contest, should war take place between Turkey, joined by any of the great powers of Europe, and Russia ; and, especially, should Russia become a maritime power.

According to Pallas, the nobility and the clergy have always been held in high consideration by the Tartars of the Krimea ; and so great was their influence at one time, that they could often resist the orders of the Khan, and cause him to be deposed.†

* Noveishée Zemleöpisániyé Rossiiskoi Imperii, vol. ii. p. 174.

† Pallas's Second Travels. vol. i. p. 76.

Mrs. Holderness justly says, that “the Tatars of the Krimea may be divided into three classes: the *murzas*, or noblemen; the *mullas*, or priests; and the peasantry: the latter paying great deference to both the former. The *mulla* is considered the head of every parish; and nothing of consequence to the community is undertaken without his counsel. His land is ploughed for him; his corn sown, reaped, and carried home; and it is seldom that the proprietor of the soil takes tithe of the priest.”*

To the same modest and intelligent writer I am indebted for the following remarks respecting the natives of the peninsula.†

“The highest points of excellence in the Tatar character are their sobriety and chastity, for both of which they are universally remarkable and praiseworthy. The Tatar law, I have been told, in cases of infidelity, sentences the offender to be placed in a grave dug for the purpose, when, the whole neighbourhood being assembled from many versts round, each person present flings a stone, and the delinquent is thus sacrificed to the rage of offended feelings. The Crim Tatars, however, now living under the Russian government, and

* *New Russia*, p. 218.

† For an account of the colonies in New Russia, the reader may peruse Mrs. Holderness’s work, in which, in succession, she treats of the Russians (Great Russians), the Málo-Russians (Little Russians), the Nogay Tartars, the Greeks, the Germans, the Armenians, and the Bulgarians. Vide *New Russia*, p. 107.

subject to Russian laws, are no longer able to exercise their own customs, and this, among the rest, has fallen into disuse.” *

“ The act of digging in a sitting posture is, perhaps, as good a specimen as can be given of Tatar industry. It is very usual to see them (the Tartars) hewing wood with pipes in their mouths, and performing this double operation, even in moderate weather, with the additional incumbrance of a heavy pelisse.” †

The following observations relating to subjects little noticed by travellers, were kindly communicated to me by a gentleman who, during a long residence in the Krimea, maintained a constant intercourse with the Tartars, and who was familiar with their language, customs, and manners. The reader, I think, will agree with me, that they are very valuable. I shall use the form and the words of my correspondent.

“ *Literature.* — This subject may soon be discussed, for, in fact, there is scarcely any thing among the Tartars worthy the name of literature. There is not one living Mahomedan author in the Krimea, and when I have mentioned this circumstance to the *effendis*, they gave it as their excuse that every thing worthy of being written is contained in the books already in their hands. These

* New Russia, &c. p. 243.

† Ibid. p. 275.

books are mostly of a religious nature, if that epithet may be applied to the heterogeneous collections of fables, legendary tales, comments on the Koran, and instructions as to the various articles of the Mahomedan creed, and their numerous and ridiculous ceremonies. Of books of tales they are immoderately fond, in common with other Asiatic nations. In the library attached to the mosque of the khans, at Baktchiseräi, there are some splendid Asiatic manuscripts, but they are only used by the *effendis*, in order to ascertain or settle any doubtful point of Mahomedan law.

“*Poetry.* — There are a great many poems in circulation. I have met with a Tartar translation of the Gulistan of Hafiz. Their poetry is of a very low character. Though abounding with imagery, it is very dull and lifeless; and *the sense is uniformly sacrificed to the sound*, and the clashing of the rhyme. As to songs, they have many; but the use of them is confined to the common people. They are amorous, and often very licentious.

“*Geography* — Of this interesting science, the Tartars are woefully ignorant. The idea of this earth’s being an extended plain seems to be common to all rude nations. Hence the elephant of the Indian mythology, which is said to rest on the back of a tortoise, and to support the world on its own. Instead of an elephant, the Tartars believe this very serviceable animal to be an ox, on one horn of which rests the world; and, lest any part

of the story should want its wonder, we are told that when the ox is fatigued (as it must naturally be) by sustaining the huge burden on the one horn, it removes it to the other; and this motion, we are further told, is the real *primum mobile* of earthquakes! The *effendis*, in the height of their wisdom, ridicule the doctrine of the earth's revolution; and, indeed, their prophet, the main pillar of whose system is *ignorance*, seems also to have dreaded the very idea of such a revolution. 'He hath created the heavens without visible pillars to sustain them, and hath thrown on the earth *mountains firmly rooted, that it might not move with you.*' — Koran, ch. xxxi.

“ *Medicine.* — Of this the Tartars are also very ignorant, although there are no less than fifty shopkeepers in Baktchiseräi, who earn their subsistence, in part, by the sale of a few simples. The healing art is practised by some old women, commonly called *Kari Hakim*, or women doctors, who are in much repute, and whose sagacious advices are implicitly followed. But the sovereign cure of all diseases is the reading of the Koran, which is generally performed by the priest; though, as in other countries, he is seldom called for while a hope of life remains. The poor patient comforts himself with the reflection, that should this last remedy fail, by rewarding the priest well for his trouble, the merit of the ceremony will be counted to him in the other world.

“*Public Schools*.—In the above table (vide p. 265.) you will observe mention made of three public Mahomedan schools. These are attached to as many mosques, and are chiefly designed for such as have an eye to the priesthood. There are, at an average, one hundred scholars in each. They generally attend during the winter months, and are reckoned very clever if, in the course of ten or fifteen years, they be able to read the Koran with fluency and accuracy. As to the meaning of this sacred book, they hold it impossible for any mortal fully to understand it, and they ridicule the very idea of a verbal translation. The full exposition of one word, nay, of one letter, say they, would fill many volumes, and therefore the *effendis* think it criminal to translate their boasted Koran *verbatim*. They choose one sentence, or two, as the starting point of a long lecture, which is listened to with the greatest possible gravity and attention. On this account scarcely half a dozen individuals can be found who have any idea of the contents of the book. There are several smaller schools, called *mektub*, where children are initiated into the knowledge of the alphabet, and the mechanical pronunciation of the Koran. One or two of these schools are taught by females, and attended by children of the same sex.”

We were told that the ride by the sea-coast from Sudák to Káffa was not worth the trouble; but had we taken Pallas and Castelnau for our guides,

we should have had more correct notions. According to them, the valleys of Koos, Tokluk, Otuús, and Karadagh, are well worthy of a visit.

In consequence of an agreement with the Tartars, we retained the horses we took from Kutlák during our wanderings about Sudák, and even two versts on our way to Sympheropole, by the post-road. We changed horses at Taraktásh, of which Pallas has given a view, as well as of the Cock's-comb rock.* The valley of Taraktásh is a number of versts in length, and a rivulet of the same name flows through it. It is one of those charming spots of which description can only convey a faint idea. Gentle elevations, round and conical hills, and ridges of mountains covered to their summits with woods and brushwood, decorate the sides of the valley, while its ends are bounded by high hills, behind which rise lofty cliffs and peaked mountains. In the evening we came to Süük-Su, an estate which, for many years, has belonged to Admiral Mordvinof. We had expected to have found quarters in a small house there, belonging to the steward, but it was already occupied by a visitor, who showed no wish to share his accommodations with us. We were, therefore,

* Pallas derives Taraktásh from *Tarak*, a cock's-comb, and *Tash*, a rock; and the adjoining ridge of Breccia rock has some resemblance to a cock's-comb. Sultan Katti-Gherri Krim-Gherri informed us, however, that *Tarak* simply means a comb and *Tash* a stone.

obliged to take up our quarters in the small house of one of the Tartars, which consisted of a single oblong square apartment, in which we were all huddled together upon the cushions and pillows of its inmates, spread upon the cold clay floor. This was one of the most miserable villages we had seen, although its exterior appearance rather indicated superiority.

From Súúk-Su we continued our route through a fine vale, amid scenery rather beautiful, than grand or sublime. In one place, we remarked a ridge of rock running towards the road, with perpendicular sides, like an immense wall, and its summit so broken, irregular, and indented, that it much resembled a cock's-comb. Pallas describes this ridge which runs from west to east, under an inclination of 50° towards the south. We passed the village of Elbuzli, which is chiefly remarkable on account of its mosque and minaret. As in the villages near Sudák, the houses here have inclined roofs. Soon after leaving Elbuzli, we emerged from the vale, and from the woody and alpine scenery of the Krimea. An extensive plain lay before us; bold rocks were seen at some distance on the right, and on the left, to which we turned, the road, as it were, marked the line of demarcation between an open champaign country, and numerous woody dells, bounded by the mountains of the Krimea. We saw different villages mentioned by Pallas, and were struck by the

Tartar method of tilling the ground. One man held the plough, while two of his fellows guided six pair of oxen and buffaloes, each pair at a considerable distance from the other. This appeared a very unnecessary number ; but we afterwards found that the Tartars were surpassed by the Georgian mountaineers, who employ eight, nine, and even ten pair of oxen, and five men to guide a single plough. As we approached Karassubazár, situated on a plain, its fine appearance induced us to believe that it was a much more important town than in reality. In the suburbs, a number of very long white-washed low houses have been erected, which we found were barracks, and near them a regiment was encamped in the fields. Numerous mosques, with their graceful minarets, and especially one with a double balcony ; the Christian churches ; the houses with their white-washed pyramidal chimneys ; an immense castle-looking edifice called a *khan* ; and the whole intermixed with gardens and adorned with elegant poplars, raised expectations, if not of magnificence, at least of beauty and order, which were altogether fallacious. * No sooner had we forded the river Karassú (Black-water), than we entered narrow, winding, irregular, dirty, and mean streets, extremely disfigured by the low walls of the courts around the houses.

* Pallas gives a good view of Karassubazár.

Karassubazár occupies a central situation in the Krimea, and lies upon the post-road from Baktchiséraï to Káffa and to Kertch. It is the great mart, the emporium, of the Krimea, especially of fruit and wine. The Russian merchants come hither and make their purchases. The Krim apples are sold here by the gross, and are afterwards transported all over the south, and even the north of Russia; and they are sold at a high price both at Petersburg and Moscow. The wines are sent to the chief government towns, and, I suppose, are the principal ingredients employed for the adulteration of foreign wines, in which the Russian merchants are not exceeded, if equalled, by any set of men in the habitable globe. The Jews are extensively employed in making wine. The grapes, brought from the fertile valleys of the mountainous districts of the peninsula, as well as from the neighbouring vineyards, are sold to them, and they contrive to make a good and profitable trade. We entered a number of their wine-cellars; but if we could find no good wine, we had no reason to complain of its price, at three, four, five, and six roubles a *védro* of fifteen bottles. The great error of all the vintners is, that they sell the wines of the Krimea almost as soon as made; and thus it never gets time to show its real qualities. A weekly market takes place, and a great annual fair is held, at Karassubazár. Great abundance of horses and horned cattle are always to be found for sale at this place.

Among the shops in the centre of the town is a large building, exactly resembling an old fortress, called a *khan*. Its high walls, all of which are penetrated by gates, include an oblong square, of considerable size. Its interior is occupied by shops, magazines, and store-rooms, and was crowded with visitors and merchants, who had come from great distances to attend the fair, which was about to take place. Among others, some of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus gave us an idea of the people whose confines we were soon to reach. Karassubazár is ornamented by about twenty mosques, a Greek church, a fine Roman Catholic church lately erected, a Russian church, an Armenian church, and a Jewish synagogue. When Pallas wrote, it contained about a thousand private dwellings, intermixed with numerous small *khans* and baths. Coffee-houses abound in every street and lane, and in them the coffee is prepared in the Oriental manner; it is quite thick when used, and no cream is given with it. There are numerous shops here and there, in which we found lemons and oranges in plenty. Karassubazár also contains many tanneries, candle and soap manufactories, and tile-works; for the greatest part of the houses here are built of sun-dried bricks, have sloping roofs, and are covered with tiles. This town has long been famed for its manufacture of red and yellow morocco, and not without reason; as it is of a very superior quality, being soft and

pliant like silk, and at the same time thick and strong.

Pallas estimated the fixed male population of Karassubazár at about 1500, nearly 1000 of whom were Tartars; more than 300 Talmud Jews; as many Armenians, one third of them Catholics; 100 Greeks; and a few Russians. The number of females did not exceed 1000. His account is not very clear; but I suppose, from his data, that the total population did not exceed 3000; though Dr. Clarke, drawing from the same source, carried it to 3700, not including the troops of the garrison or barracks already spoken of. The general population was then, and still is, formed of Tartars, Armenians, Greeks, Italians, and Russians, who have their separate places of worship. In 1821, Mrs. Holderness said the population was 3000, which was too low. This town has now nearly 5000 inhabitants.

It was on Trinity Sunday that we made our first visit to Karassubazár, and, according to the custom of Russia, the streets and houses were decorated with trees and flowers; a sight, I should suppose, which could not be very agreeable to the Tartars, and which might remind them of their subjection. Had the Russians only ornamented their own houses, and the neighbourhood of their own church, they would have acted prudently; but thus to force a *religious custom* upon those of another faith, is at all times a very questionable policy. It was an act

of the police, and the police is not only efficient, but omnipotent, in Russia, and especially in small towns.

The Dépôt of medicines, for the general use of the Krimea, was transported from Yenikalé to Karassubazár, in the year 1796. It has been hastily asserted by some travellers, including Dr. Clarke, that there was not a single physician in the Krimea; but ever since the Russians took possession of this peninsula, medical men, attached to the army, have resided in different parts, and more were not wanted, as we well know that the Tartars require little assistance from the medical art. Castelnau relates a story so extraordinary, that the reader may possibly doubt his accuracy. The circumstance occurred at Karassubazár.

“ I shall never forget,” says he, “ that wishing for a grain of *emetic tartar*, I was obliged to wait six hours, when seven or eight persons, many of them with swords at their sides, came, without having been required, in order to administer it. Physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries filled my chamber. It was impossible to avoid laughing. These gentlemen, a little out of countenance, regained the door; but their image will not be so soon effaced, and still less so the discourses which they held respecting my disease, although I complained of no indisposition. The emetic tartar was for the coachman.”

Thus it would appear, from one traveller, that

we were in danger of dying in the Krimea, from the want of medical assistance, and, from the other, of being greatly inconvenienced by its excess.

At present, throughout the Russian empire, every government has an *upráva*, which may be called its civil medical staff, and consists of an inspector, an operator, and an accoucheur; and every district in every government has a surgeon. All the surgeons are subject to the *uprávas*, and they to the chief of the *Medical Civil Department*, at Petersburg; so that though, in many places, there still be a deficiency of medical men, this is not the fault of government, but is to be attributed to the widely-spread population. Besides, all the army practitioners regularly exercise their talents in the vicinity of their stations, and often make considerable sums of money from this incidental practice.

We had remarked the dilapidated state of the cemeteries of the Tartars in different places, as well as at Karassubazár; and the cautious Pallas, while he dared not show his indignation at the sacrilegious violation of these sanctuaries by the *conquerors of the Krimea*, explains the reason of their ruinous state. “The Russians,” says he, “since they have had possession of the Taurida, remove the hewn stones, accumulated in the vast cemeteries of the Tartars, in order to build public edifices, or houses, in all the towns, and especially

at Karassubázar.” Had he added, What profanation ! he would have lost his situation as professor ; but, had he said, that the Russians annihilated what all other nations respected with holy awe, and approached with reverence — the monuments of the dead,—he might have been sent to breathe “the free air of Siberia,” instead of ending his days, in the Krimea. Though his mind was fettered, it is evident that Pallas wished to speak truth, and often does so, in a train of sentences which develop his thoughts, though he leaves the reader to make the inference ; and this, at times, he accomplishes ingeniously. An example we have now before us. Immediately after the above quotation, he informs us that limestone fit for building, and out of which columns are cut, lies all round Karassubázár. The reader, of course, demands, Why did not the Russians go to the quarries for materials, and leave the tomb-stones of the Tartars untouched ?

We have heard much of the forbearance, kindness, and toleration of Russia towards her conquered provinces, and she often deserves that praise ; but, assuredly, for many years, the Tartars were treated with much severity, which led to great emigration. They have also suffered the most violent insults : their mosques, their minarets, their palaces, their baths, their water-conduits, their fountains, and even their tombs, have been thrown down, ruined, and rased. I heartily joined in the noble indig-

nation, and generous feeling, every where shown by Clarke, when these scenes of destruction, and almost total annihilation presented themselves.

There are no good inns at Karassubazár, and we got possession of some rooms in a private house ; but nobody would undertake to make a dinner for us,—a circumstance which greatly excited our surprise. At length an individual, to whom we had sent, returned an answer, that “ *If we were not Russians, he would make us a good dinner,*” and the business was easily arranged. On demanding an explanation of this curious answer, it was replied, that the Russians often take possession of rooms, dine, drink coffee and tea, and call for wine, &c. at pleasure ; and, instead of paying a bill, give any trifling sum they please, and depart. There is no doubt of this truth, and such a practice prevails throughout the Russian dominions. Many of the richer nobles, and of the higher classes of officers, would spurn at such conduct ; but most of the lower ranks of the aristocracy, and of the military, do not hesitate a moment about “ trifles of this kind.”

Instead of continuing our journey from Karassubazár on horseback, our party agreed to proceed in the lightest and most common vehicles in Russia, *telégas*, or small four-wheeled carts, so as to have an idea of Russian travelling. Leaving our servants to follow with our luggage, we set off in three *telégas* accordingly, and flew at the rate

of twenty versts (thirteen miles at least) *per* hour to Sympheropole, the time for changing the horses once not included. We had previously arranged some straw and pillows to break the jolts, as well as straps to hold by, for greater security. The road was, for the most part, level and excellent, so that we rarely ceased from a full gallop. The vignette to the first chapter gives an excellent idea of the manner in which we proceeded. The Russian drivers entered into the spirit of contest, and a regular *teléga* race was the consequence. They cared for no danger; but like most of their comrades, to use a vulgar phrase, they drove through "thick and thin." After descending a hill near Zuiskaya, as rapidly as possible, we dashed into a rivulet, and crossed it at full speed. The sight of the stream had inspired us with fear, as it was impossible to stop the horses, or even to check their progress. We seized hold of the straps, but notwithstanding all our efforts, we were tossed into the air by jolts on the banks of the river, and were nearly thrown over the sides of the *telégas*. Luckily, we escaped the danger without any other injury than some slight contusions and a good wetting.

The country through which we passed was variegated with plains, valleys, and gentle elevations; and a great part of it was pasture land. We met numerous basket-work carts, some on two, others on four wheels, proceeding to the approaching fair at Karassubazár.

We had now passed round the Tchatir-Dagh, and remarked, that, with a trifling variation, it maintained the same appearance on every side. “With what different eyes has this singularly shaped mountain been viewed by different nations; and how plainly have they betokened their several habits in the names which they have chosen to affix to it! The Greeks called it Table Mountain; the Tatars, Tent Mountain; the Cossacks, Saddle Mountain; but an Englishman at Sevastopol told a friend of mine, that he considered it as resembling nothing so much as a sirloin of beef.” *

We remained two days at Sympheropole, and wished to ascend the Tchatir-Dagh; but the weather proved extremely unfavourable, and again baffled our plans. While we were at dinner, on the 22d May, a violent thunder-storm, accompanied with a heavy shower, and followed by large hail, somewhat surprised us, at the season of the year, in such a warm climate.

Leaving Sympheropole late in the evening of the 23d May, we retraced our route to Karassu-bazár during the night, lodged in our carriages, the comfort of which we were more sensible of after the *teléga* drive. We continued our journey from thence to Káffa, by the post-road, which offers little variety. It is generally level, or has only very slight elevations, with ranges of hills on both sides.

* New Russia, p. 312.

The profusion of *Spirea filipendula*, and *Salvia Austriaca*, in these districts, was remarkable. These plants were the chief ornaments of the fields. Some ancient square towers in the distance warned us of our approach to Káffa. As we entered the town, a pyramid, surrounded by trees, and by a low balustrade, induced us to stop and ask what monument it was. We were answered that it was a “*fountain*,” and not a monument: — but it was a *fountain without water*. The truth is, that Mr. —, willing to assist the inhabitants in recovering the lost springs, had this pyramid erected, and they are now searching for the water. This is really putting the cart before the horse, no uncommon occurrence with the Russians.

As we rode along a beautiful bay, we passed a *boulevard*, and were informed that the two most remarkable edifices, nearly opposite it, were the Tribunals, and the Post-office. We were well accommodated at Káffa in an inn, kept by a Frenchman, who proved himself an excellent cook. In the same square with our lodgings, we examined an ancient mosque, covered by a large, but low, cupola, which we found was now converted into a Roman Catholic chapel, although the badge of Mahomedanism, the crescent, rising over three arches cut in the stone, still proclaimed its former appropriation. On the top of its chief ornament, the minaret, from which the *mohla* was wont, five times a-day, to summon the Mahomedans to their duty,

are now suspended some small bells, whose peals assemble the Catholic Christians to mass.

I had perused various accounts of Káffa, and remembered the ancient splendour, magnitude, and importance of Theodosia, while overlooking the place from the minaret just mentioned. This boasted town — *Little Constantinople* — now occupies a small level space between the bay and a semicircle of hills. It contains but few streets, and scarcely any of them are regular. On every side innumerable ruins of former edifices present themselves, and the public buildings erected by the crown, only seemed like a few rays of light bursting through a black cloud, to make us more sensible of the humiliating contrast of the present, with the Káffa of other days. Scarcely a garden, or a green leaf, or a tree, was to be seen within the walls. The grass, and wild flowers, and weeds, whose gay colours had enlivened the place in the spring, were already dried up and withered; and the mountains, sterile as imagination can figure, rising in amphitheatre, seemed to reflect a majestic gloom over the whole town, which was not a little increased by the extensive ruined walls and towers which formed its ancient fortification. The eye turned with pleasure from the contemplation of this dreary scene to the beautiful bay of Theodosia, whose now almost untroubled waters were once covered with fleets of vessels, when the town contained 36,000 inhabitants within its walls, and, with

the suburbs, about 44,000.* Káffa was anciently named Ardanda or the town of the seven gods, Tusba, Teudosie, and Theodosie.† During its period of greatest prosperity, under the Genoese, it was often designated Krim Stambul, or Constantinople of the Krimea; and, even at this day, the Tartars sometimes nominate it Kútchuk Stambul, or Little Constantinople.

For a particular description of ancient Káffa, I refer the reader to the works of Pallas, Sestrenevich de Bohujz, Clarke‡, and Castelnau, in which he will find the question amply discussed, whether this town is built upon the ruins of ancient Theodosia.

According to an account received by Mr. Heber, previous to the conquest of the Krimea, Káffa consisted of 16,000 houses, a number which bears the air of fiction. It is certain, however, that it was a place of considerable size, magnificence, and prosperity, and that the conquest proved its ruin. The work of destruction and desolation, so well depicted by Clarke, had not escaped the notice of Pallas. We are informed by this author that, under the Genoese, Káffa was a most agreeable

* See Clarke's Travels, p. 444.

† L'Histoire de la Tauride, Introduction, p. 19. L'Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie, vol. i. p. 204. Mrs. Holderness's New Russia, p. 136.

‡ Mr. Heber's observations on Clarke's work, in notes, p. 444, 445, 454, and 540. are highly interesting.

town, and the most favourable one in the Taurida for commerce; that it was enriched by trade under the domination of the Tartar princes; and that its native population was augmented by Armenians and Greeks. But he also tells us, that since the Russians became masters of the Krimea, the war with the Turks, and the subsequent emigration both of natives and foreigners, had so depopulated Káffa, that, with a few exceptions, it presented nothing but an enormous mass of ruins.* He ventured not to add, that the Tartars were no longer permitted to dwell in maritime towns, of which Káffa was the chief†, a measure which caused the said emigration; or that the town then became the residence of Greeks, Armenians, Catholics, Jews, and of the Russian authorities, as well as of a Russian garrison. In the year 1780, it is stated, by Clarke, that Káffa had a population of only fifty families.‡ To the plague, in 1812, three thousand persons fell a sacrifice; the houses, of course, were depopulated, and both the means and the spirit for commerce were nearly annihilated.§

According to the newest statistical map of the Krimea, the number of houses in Káffa amounts to 728, in which valuation, every sun-dried brick hut, and every clay-covered hovel, must be dignified with the name of house.

* See Pallas's View of Káffa.

† Vide Castelnau's Nouvelle Russie, vol. iii. p. 261. note.

‡ Travels, p. 445.

§ New Russia, p. 136.

Mrs. Holderness stated the population of Káffa at 3000 souls, which is, probably, correct.* Generally, there reside in it a few natives of Italy, France, Germany, and England. We had letters for a countryman; but, on enquiry, we found that he had lately died.

In 1823, Mrs. Holderness says, “that the traffic of Káffa is reviving, and its population rapidly increasing, is unquestionable”†; and her view of this town, at the end of her octavo volume, has an imposing appearance; but, I fear, it is a deceitful one. The buildings exist, but most of them are desert and forlorn. The same author informs us that in the year 1820, no less than fifty houses were built at Káffa, and that at this time it contained 5000 inhabitants; and she owns that she had formerly underrated it at 3000 souls. On this point I have strong reasons to be sceptical; but I do not wish to be ungallant, and, therefore, I shall be silent.

Mrs. Holderness admits, however, that the trade of Káffa is very inconsiderable, having two formidable rivals in Odéssa and Táganrog.‡

Mr. Gáévskii, the civil-governor, gave us every information, and accompanied us to examine the most remarkable institution now at Káffa, the quarantine. It was lately renewed, under the superin-

* Notes relating to the Crim Tartars, 1821.

† New Russia, p. 137. ‡ Ibid. p. 137. 214, 215.

tendence of its former director, Mr. von Dehn, and is one of the best establishments, of the kind, in the Russian dominions. The extensive magazines ; the houses for the accommodation of persons who arrive from foreign countries ; and the rooms for communications, at a distance, with their friends, are all, as they should be, in good repair. Different fountains, which pour down their clear water from the hills, have been lately repaired, and yield an abundant supply of this necessary article. On the largest and most magnificent fountain there is a Tartar inscription, announcing (as I was told) that it was erected at the expense of a lady. The few persons whom we found here in quarantine were mostly Tartars, who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and had embarked in Anatolia.

By the erection of the quarantine ; the projected new custom-house, and treasury ; the repair of the public fountains ; and the renewal of water-conduits, it appears that the government wishes to re-establish Káffa. But it might be said, as yet, that a well-arranged quarantine was scarcely of any use ; that the temporary custom-house had almost no custom to receive ; and that the treasury was nearly empty. The prosperity of Odéssa and of Táganrog, the disturbed state of political affairs between Turkey and Russia, and the impolitic measures of the crown, for many years after it had the command of the Krimea, have all contributed to the downfall of Káffa.

According to Tooke, the amount of exportation from Káffa in the year 1793 was 54,000 roubles*; but that of importation is not mentioned. The following table, received from the best authority, shows the state of commerce in 1817 and 1818; two of the most flourishing years Káffa has ever seen, and since which trade has infinitely diminished.

Balance of the Commerce of Theodosia, or Káffa, in the Years 1817 and 1818.

1817. Importation R. 3,592,782	Exportation, . R. 4,047,586.50
Balance, . 454,804.50	
R. 4,047,586.50	
1818. Importation, R. 1,887,259	Exportation, . R. 1,780,953.22
	Balance, . . 106,306.48
	R. 1,887,259
1817. Exportation of Corn.	
Wheat, . R. 3,345,225	Price of the Tchertvert, R. 25 to 32
Barley, . 58,870	Ditto, ditto, 10 to 15
Rye, . 207,330	Ditto, ditto, 13 to 17
Maize, . 1,190	Ditto, ditto, 12 to 14
R. 3,612,615	
1818. Wheat, . R. 794,530	Price of the Tchertvert, R. 17
Barley, . 93,670	Ditto, ditto, 8
Rye, . 31,400	Ditto, ditto, 9
Millet, . 600	Ditto of the Pood, 2 to 2.40
R. 920,200	

We were conducted to a small, low apartment, not far from our inn, on which the pompous name of Museum is bestowed. It was begun by Mr.

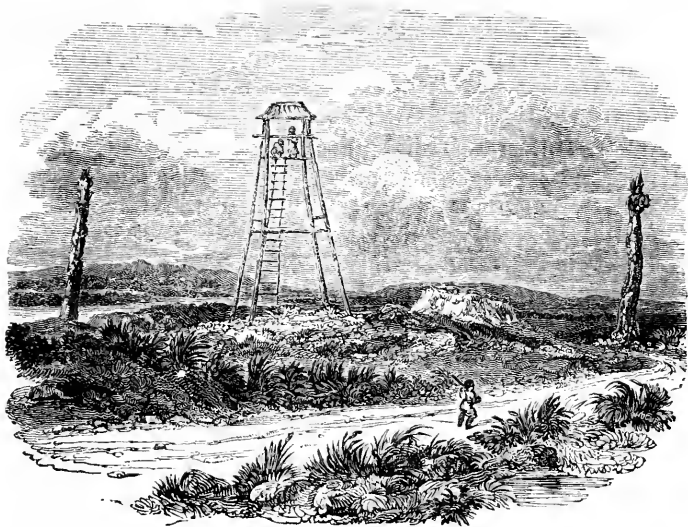
* Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol.iii. p.631.

Bronévskii, the former *natchalník*, or chief of Káffa. It contains a few medals, not worthy of notice; a few trifling minerals; and some remains of antiquity from among the ruins of the town, which deserve attention. In my journal are especially mentioned a number of broken urns and vases of a small size; two urns of immense size, being the height of an ordinary man; some marble slabs, with Greek and Latin inscriptions; and a few stones, with Tartar and Armenian inscriptions; all of which excited my curiosity. But I had to regret, that owing to the departure of our party, I had neither time to examine these several objects minutely, nor to copy any of the inscriptions. Some future traveller and antiquarian may find amusement and information within this so styled museum, and may not be sorry that I have pointed it out to his notice, unless the report be true, that it has been pillaged.*

Castelnau says, it is very remarkable that we do not meet with any coins at Theodosia, and that the only one known as peculiar to this town, is preserved in the imperial cabinet at Petersburg. This author gives a figure of it. On one side is seen the head of a divinity; and on the other, a club with the legend ΘΕΥΔ.†

* New Russia, p. 138.

† Nouvelle Russie, vol. ii. p. 210.



CHAP. IX.

DEPARTURE FROM KÁFFA.—KERTCH.—ITS POPULATION.—
 ADMIRALTY.—FORTRESS.—ANTIQUITIES.—RESEARCHES OF
 MR. DE BRÜCKS.—MEMENTOS OF MITHRIDATES.—NEW PORT
 AND QUARANTINE.—NEW PLAN OF KERTCH.—DEPARTURE.—
 —MILITARY ENCAMPMENT.—YENÍKALÉ.—ITS FORTRESS.—
 DISAPPOINTMENT.—RETURN TO KERTCH.—SECOND DEPAR-
 TURE.—PASSAGE OF THE BOSPHORUS.—THE ISLAND OF TA-
 MÁN.—PHANAGORII.—CHURCH.—ANTIQUITIES.—PASSION OF
 DESTRUCTION.—THE STONE OF TMÚTARAKÁN.—THE TOWN
 OF TAMÁN.—THE TCHÉRNOMÓRSKII KOZÁKS.—THE FORCES
 OF TAMÁN.—CLASSIC GROUND.—TUMULI.—BÚGHAS.—
 SÉNNAYA.—PEREPÍSKA.—DREARY DRIVE.—DECEPTION.—
 TEMRUK.—ARRIVAL AT KURTCHÁNSKAYA.—A VÍSHKA,
 OR OBSERVATORY.—ANDRÉÉVSKOI REDOUBT.—FORTRESS-
 ES.—PIQUETS.—DESCENT OF THE CIRCASSIANS.—KO-
 PÍL.—TCHÉRNOI-PROTÓK.—KOPÁNSKAYA.—ARRIVAL

AT YEKATERÍNODÁR.—THE QUARANTINE. — A CIRCASSIAN PRINCE.—HIS SUITE.—PRESENTS. —MANŒUVRES OF THE CIRCASSIANS.—PRISON AT YEKATERÍNODÁR.—ITS FORTRESS. — CATHEDRAL. — CIRCASSIAN PRISONERS. — DESCRIPTION OF YEKATERÍNODÁR. —ITS POPULATION.—THE ATAMÁN. — THE TCHÉRNOMÓRSKII KOZÁKS.—DEPARTURE.—VILLAGES. — TUMULI. — THE GRÉBENSKII KOZÁKS. — UST LABÍNSKAYA. — WILD PLANTS. — STÁVROPOLE.—ROGUERY OF POST-MASTERS. —NADÉJDA — BESH-PAGHÍR. — VIEWS.—ARRIVAL AT GĚÖRGÍÉVSK. — SAITH SATOON. —MORTALITY OF GOVERNORS. — COUNT GORSKII. — INTERMITTENT FEVERS.—DESCRIPTION OF GĚÖRGÍÉVSK.—ARRIVAL AT THE SCOTCH COLONY, KARÁSS.

HAVING been informed, that an order for post-horses to Yekaterínodár could not be obtained at Kertch, we procured one here; and, after having supped with the governor, we travelled over a dreary road, in a fine summer night, and arrived at the latter town in the morning, where we were kindly accommodated with excellent apartments in the house of Monsieur de Brücks. I was not a little surprised to find that this gentleman was a descendant of a Scotch family, and that his real name was one of the most illustrious in the annals of my country. His family, along with many others, emigrated to France on account of rebellious conduct, where its name was changed into de Bruce; and, in Russia, by a second transformation, it became de Brücks.

Kertch, the ancient Panticapæum, was founded by the Greeks above 2000 years ago, and was long a place of great importance under the kings of the Bosphorus. While the Krimea was under the in-

fluence of the Turks, they kept a strong garrison in it, and a Pascha also had his residence here. At the peace of 1774, between the Porte and Russia, Kertch and Yenikalé were the only places, in the whole peninsula, which remained in possession of the latter. The Tartars then left Kertch, and it fell into the hands of the Greeks. At the time of Pallas's and Clarke's visits it was reduced to "extreme wretchedness." Previous to the occupation of the Krimea by the Russians, it does not appear to have been a place of great size, or of great population; yet Clarke, in one place, speaks of having been informed, that the Russians destroyed 5000 houses; while, in another place, he alludes to only 500 having been levelled to the earth *; and, beyond question, the last estimate was correct. In 1804, the Russian geographer Stchékatof says this town consisted of only about a hundred miserable houses. In 1813, Vsévolojskii speaks of its population amounting to "*quelques centaines de males!*" By the new statistical map of the Krimea, it can now boast no more than 154 houses, and its population does not exceed 300 or 400 souls. It is still a miserable place, and contains a few paltry shops, among which, with difficulty, we procured tea and sugar, though it is well supplied with excellent bread, biscuit, and macaroni. A few lately erected private houses have a lively aspect amid

* Clarke's Travels, p. 423. and 433. The former number, most likely, is a typographical error.

the general gloom. A good idea of its public edifices may be formed, by the question I put to a gentleman, while we were looking down upon the town from Mithridates' hill. A long blackened line of building, by the sea-coast, attracted our notice, when I demanded if it was "*une fabrique de briques*?"* "No," said he, "that is the Admiralty."

The Genoese fortress and the ancient cathedral, so amply described by Pallas and Clarke, have been lately repaired. Around the latter lay many pieces of cornices, capitals, and columns, and here we found also the headless statue of a female of Herculean size, executed in marble, the drapery of which was extremely beautiful.

Mr. de Brücks conducted us to *Altyn Obo*, or the *Mont d'Or*, or the tomb of Mithridates, which is well represented in one of Clarke's plates, when in a much more perfect state than it is now. The same author has given a view of the tumuli near this town, and both he and Pallas have entered into important historical details respecting them, which I shall not repeat. Mr. de Brücks having obtained leave from the government, penetrated into the interior of one of these tumuli, and found in it an

* Brick-kiln is not the translation of these words, as applied in Russia. For at each brick-work are one, two, or more wooden sheds of great length, beneath which the bricks are dried before being formed into a kiln. The whole establishment is called *une fabrique de briques*.

arched entrance, and regular apartments, in which were some coins and medals. He sold the stones of the cavern, in order to defray the expenses of similar operations. In 1817, the crown granted him the paltry sum of 500 roubles, to assist his researches, and Count Rumántsof gave him as much for himself. He examined different tumuli, which were constructed in a manner similar to that above noticed, and their contents were also the same. In a few of them he likewise found some bones. He has made different reports to the government on the subject of his discoveries, and has communicated various papers and plans to the Society of Belles Lettres at Petersburg, in consequence of which he has been made one of its members. It is to be hoped that they will be published in the memoirs of that society. At present Mr. de Brücks is unemployed, and no one is allowed to make researches without permission.

At Kertch we felt ourselves on classic ground, where the name of Mithridates was associated with numerous objects. We were shown his tomb, his hill, his arm-chair, &c. &c. The hill of Mithridates overhangs the town, and on its top is cut out of the solid rock, an immense seat, called "*Mithridates' Arm-chair*." No man of just feelings can peruse an accurate account of the vicissitudes of the life, and of the death of the great Mithridates, without heaving a sigh!

In 1793 (according to Tooke) the whole exportation of Kertch amounted to only 9960 roubles.

It was a favourite idea of Pallas, that a general quarantine for the Sea of Azoph should be formed at this town, and he supposed that the empire would gain in different respects by such an establishment, particularly as a sure means of guaranteeing the interior provinces from the plague; of economising the expenses of the quarantine at Táganrog and elsewhere; and of facilitating exportation. But he says this plan had always failed, because the ruin of Táganrog would be one of the consequences of its adoption, and means had always been taken to prevent its execution. At length the government seem duly impressed with the importance of Kertch, both as a sea-port, and as a general quarantine. Mr. Scassi, who is a native of France, and who has resided in Circassia, in the Caucasus, and in Georgia, and in other parts of the empire, has been lately appointed “the Guardian of the Commerce of Kertch.” This is quite bombastic, and *à la Russe*; for it may be said that, at the time of our visit, there was no commerce to guard.

The town of Kertch is to be re-built upon a new and regular plan, which we saw, and is to be surrounded by one *boulevard*, while another stretches toward the hill of Mithridates, as an ornament and general promenade. The port is to be improved, and a new quarantine, upon an excellent plan, is to be erected. Mr. von Dehn, of whom I have spoken at Káffa, was at Kertch, with a view to superintend the erection of the quarantine.

It is proposed to establish commerce between Kertch and Circassia, and Georgia, as well as with the Don and the vicinity of the Sea of Azoph. Mr. Scassi hopes that this commerce will soon be facilitated by the aid of steam-boats, which are to cross the Bosphorus and proceed to the Don, to Georgia, to Circassia, and to other parts on the coast of the Black Sea.

We had heard such contradictory reports as to the difficulty or facility of the passage of the Bosphorus, that we were quite undecided whether we should attempt it, or proceed from Kertch to Táganrog, and from thence to the Caucasus. This point was at once determined here, and the master of the port ordered a gun-boat to be prepared. The carriages were embarked at the admiralty, and the servants being with them, the vessel set sail in the night, though the wind was contrary. On the following morning she lay at anchor at the distance of six or seven miles from the shore.

Accompanied by Mr. Scassi, we set out for Yeníkalé. We soon reached the site of the projected quarantine, by the side of a small bay, near which are two fountains. Here it was supposed was situated the ancient Panticapæum; and the ruins of an old tower, described by Pallas, are still visible.

We soon arrived at an encampment of a company of soldiers, under the command of a Major Lambert, who came out and conducted us to his tent. This gentleman was formerly an officer in

the guards of Napoleon, and lost his all for his fidelity. One could not think, without sympathy, of the fate of a man who had formerly moved in the great and gay world, now passing his days in this remote corner of the globe. We soon reached Yeníkalé, and, descending a hill, entered this miserable town, which consists chiefly of a row of shops by the sea-side, and is almost entirely peopled with Greeks. Its population does not exceed 300 or 400 souls, and the number of its houses is only ninety-eight. Some very fine-looking women, with dark eyes and black hair, came out to the doors and stared at us, as we rambled through the town. The males are good-looking healthy men. Each pays annually the sum of five roubles to the crown, and they are obliged to transport all travellers, soldiers, &c. to Tamán. For this service they are exempted from all other taxes. They are great fishers, and have about eighty passage and fishing boats.

As we entered the fortress, we examined the fountain of the sarcophagus described by Pallas and Clarke, the latter of whom has well represented it in a vignette.

To the ample description of the castle, given by Pallas, I have nothing to add. We dined with the commandant, General Búcholtz, who told us, that it was out of the question to think of passing the Bosphorus, as the wind was contrary and strong. He also stated, that it sometimes blew

three, six, and eight days in the same direction ; and that the passage was always uncertain. Count Langeron had once been detained many days here, by a contrary wind, before he sailed for Tamán ; and I have been informed that Captain Jones was obliged to remain ten days at Tamán, before he could cross to Yeníkalé, in the spring of 1823. Hence the necessity and the utility of a steam-boat. Under the circumstances mentioned, we returned to our quarters at Kertch, and passed the evening with Mr. Scassi.

Early on the following morning, we learned that the gun-boat had sailed, the wind having changed. The captain of the port could not give us a good boat, or we should have sailed from Kertch to Tamán. We, therefore, returned to Yeníkalé, and were received by the *gorodnitchii*, or mayor of the town, whom we had seen the preceding day, and who well remarked, that his title had “some sound, but that he had neither a great office nor a great revenue.” The gale was followed by a delightful calm, and a six-oared boat, with a pilot, conveyed us half across the Bosphorus ; then a breeze sprung up, and our sails were unfurled. After two hours and a half’s sailing, we landed at Tamán, and found the servants and carriages all safe, at a lodging provided by orders of Colonel Babayédof. Pallas’s account of the passage of the Bosphorus is likely to inspire travellers with fear ; but, except in a storm, with the Greeks and their excellent boats, I should

suppose there is not the least danger in the undertaking. But, as we have already seen, the traveller must run the chance of detention, whether he wish to pass from Kertch to Tamán, or from Tamán to Kertch.

According to former geographers we were now in the territories of Asia, but, by the new division of the moderns, who have fixed the Téreks as the northern boundary of this quarter of the globe, we had still some hundred miles to drive before leaving Europe. It may not be misplaced to give the reader an accurate idea of the region we had reached, before advancing southward.

The island of Tamán has successively borne the names of Mintanas, Ada, Tomi, Tamatárcha, Tmútarakán, and Matrega. Tamán, its capital, was the ancient Phanagoria.*

Tamán, though called a peninsula by some authors, is decidedly an island, as will appear by attention to the following remarks : — The Kubán, the Hypanis of the Greeks, one of the largest rivers of the Caucasus, has its origin in the highest mountain in this quarter of the globe, the *Shat*, or Elborus, and forms the boundary, or frontier, between the Russian empire and the Caucasian mountains. After a long course, it gives off a branch near Kópil, which is called the *Tchérhoi-Protók*, and

* Histoire de la Tauride. Introduction, p.26. Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie, vol. i. p. 205.

which falls into the Sea of Azoph, while the Kúban disembogues itself into the Black Sea. Between the Kúban, and its branch, the Tchérnoi-Protók *, Tamán is completely insulated, as may be proved by consulting any good map.

The following interesting description of Tamán is given by Sestrenevich de Bohujz : — “ The isle of Tamán is washed on one side by the straits of the Bosphorus, and on the other by two branches of the river Kubán, one of which throws itself into the Black Sea, near the mountain Kisiltash, situated upon the left bank, where was Hermonassa towards the embouchure. The ancient town of Korscondama was upon the right bank. The other branch empties itself into the sea of Azoph, near Temruk. A third branch of the same river forms the island Astcheniéf, so called on account of a borough of the same name, near which it falls into the Sea of Azoph. The Russians now call it the Black

* Captain Cochrane, in making a kind of apology for a false interpretation of a Russian phrase, says, — his error, however it abased him at the time, places him in very respectable company — “ no less than the *justly celebrated* Dr. Clarke, who was eternally crossing the river Protók, apparently ignorant that the Protók means neither more nor less than the *branch* of a river.” — *Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey*, p. 113. Before the Captain repeats this remark, he had better look at p. 385—6, of Clarke’s *Travels*, and consult a good map of the Caucasus. It is true, that Protók means a rivulet, and may thus be generally applied ; but, *Tchérnoi-Protók* is the specific name of a branch of the Kubán, and means Black Rivulet ; and, indeed, in comparison with the Kubán, it may be called but a rivulet.

Branch (*Tchéroni-Protók*), and the Tartars designate it Koumli, or Kára Kubán. It commences near Kopíl, capital of the island, and formerly the residence of a Seraskier, who commanded all the Tartars of the Kubán, for the Khan of the Krimea. Astcheniéf is larger than Tamán, but it is full of sand, and marshes covered with rushes and reeds, which render it very unhealthy. It was originally a peninsula ; but, a little before our æra, Pharnaces, king of the Bosphorus, transformed it into an island by piercing the banks of the Kubán, and by turning the waters of this third branch into the Sea of Azoph, across the low fields of the Dardaniens, his enemies, with the intention of inundating them.” *

I shall now proceed to detail the result of my own observations.

Having called upon Colonel Babayédof, and delivered our letters, we walked to the fortress of Phanagorii, supposed to occupy the place of ancient Phanagoria, and at the distance of about a mile from the town of Tamán. Close by the gates we examined a tumulus, which had been searched, and whose contents had been found of the same nature as those at Kertch. On the outside of the fortifications a number of edifices are occupied by a corps of engineers. The fortress, which lies upon a plain, was founded by Suvárof. It occupies an

* Histoire de la Tauride. Introduction, p. 25.

immense space, and is surrounded by a ditch, and a low earthen rampart, upon which are mounted numerous cannon. It contains about twenty edifices, which are used as barracks, hospitals, magazines, officers' lodgings, &c., and makes a very respectable appearance. But it is a place of no strength; and could not withstand a well-directed attack a single day. It forms the head-quarters of the island of Tamán. After having made a visit to Colonel Kalamára, a Greek, who is stationed here, we returned to the town of Tamán.

After dinner, we walked to the Greek church, accompanied by Captain Kapústa (Captain Cabbage, literally translated) of the *Tchérnomórskii Kozáks*. This sacred temple is also become a considerable museum. The last *atamán* of these *Kozáks*, I was told, had a taste for antiquities; and, independently of Imperial order, had carefully preserved every fragment of marble, and every inscription he could find. To tell the truth, the collection here is by far the most numerous, and the best, in the south of the Russian dominions. I should have been happy to have spent a couple of days, instead of a couple of hours, at this place, but that was impossible. Some future traveller will find a harvest worthy of his labours, in giving an account of those antiquities, which the *savage Tchérnomórskii Kozáks* have not only spared, but carefully assembled together, and which they now guard with atten-

tion. How unlike the conduct of the conquerors of the Krimea!

Dr. Clarke has said, that Turks are men of taste and science, in comparison of the Russians, and, no doubt, he would have given the same comparative praise to the Kozáks of the Black Sea. To whatever cause it may be ascribed, whether to the *Passion of destruction*, or not, it must be fairly allowed that the Russians destroyed what even the Tartars had revered, though they could not comprehend, and what the Kozáks of the Euxine would have guarded, had they had the power. To this general censure, Count Mushin-Pushkin is a most honourable exception. This nobleman has contributed his share to the commemoration of every thing worthy of history, in a learned work respecting Tamán.*

Among other *débris* at the church, I remarked three columns of Cipelino marble, numerous capitals, many blocks, and some imperfect marble statues, the drapery of which was very fine. Numerous pieces of marble were also scattered about the churchyard. In the interior of the temple were piled up, in regular order, upwards of twenty massy broad stones, covered with Greek inscriptions, all of which might, with time, have been deciphered and copied. I may remark here

* Istorícheskoyé Isledovaniyé o Méstopolojéníyé Drévnaho Rossiískaho Tmútarakánskaho Kniajeniyé, 1794.

that both Pallas and Clarke have inaccurately rendered the inscription, in Slavonic, which exists upon the celebrated marble slab, that threw so much light upon the Russian principality of Tmútarakán, and thence have led to an important blunder. In both works, it runs to this effect : — “ In the year 6576 (1065) indict. 6, Prince Gleb measured the sea on the ice ; and the distance from Tmútarakán to Kertch was 30,054 sajins (fathoms).” * Now the year 6576 corresponds to A. D. 1068 ; and the distance of the passage between these places is not 30,054 fathoms, which would make $60\frac{1}{2}$ versts, but only 8054 fathoms, which make $16\frac{1}{2}$ versts. This is the real distance between Kertch and Tamán.

Tamán, it is said, was once a very large town, and its present inhabitants report that it contained 7000 houses. It now contains only forty-seven houses, and is not worthy the name of town. Its stationary population does not exceed 150 males, and its vicinity is covered with ruins. In the year 1787, during the war with the Turks, a small fortress was erected here, which is now nearly rased from the ground. The ditch and rampart show its boundaries, and the ruins are

* Pallas's Travels, vol. iv. p. 4., and Clarke's Travels, p. 406. The curious reader will find a fac-simile of the inscription on the stone of Tmútarakán in Karamzin's History of Russia, at the end of vol. vi.

covered by luxuriant wild plants, especially *Eryseum Barbarea* and *Datura Stramonium*.

Colonel Babayédof had placed sentinels over our carriages, which we afterwards found to be a common practice in the Caucasus, and of course is a very useful one to travellers. Captain Kapústa, who came to Tamán along with the Kozáks of the Black Sea, in 1797, acted as *our guide*, and *we presented him with a ten-rouble note* at our departure. He ordered one of his men to put on the uniform which they wore when they had the name of the Zaporogian Kozáks. He was a little man, fifty-five years of age, and presented himself with all the vivacity and fire of youth; he went through several evolutions, danced in the manner of the gypsies, and sung a national song, which was little more harmonious than that of the Russians or the Tartars. His uniform was made in the Polish manner, of excellent blue cloth, and trimmed with silver. The pantaloons were of the make of those worn by the Kozáks of the present day; the coat hung over his hips, and its arms were wide and slit up, like those of the Georgians and Persians. During his manœuvres with a sabre they were tied behind his back. In the evening, he came to us again, when his shining jet-black waist-coat excited our particular notice. He told us that it was prepared from foal's-skin, which was procured in the embryo state.

The regiment of Colonel Babayédof consists of eight companies, each of 180 men, making a total of 1440, besides officers. Three companies are stationed in the fortress of Phanagorii; two near Anápa; one company at Búghas; one at Temrúk; and one at Kopíl. The Colonel has also about 500 Kozáks at his orders; so that, in all, he has nearly 2000 men under his command, for the protection of the island of Tamán and its vicinity.

Though the neighbourhood of the Cimmerian Bosphorus be the most classic ground over which we journeyed; and though its hills and valleys, its sepulchral tombs and monuments, renew our associations with the earliest history of Greece, and the proudest periods of Rome, yet I shall abstain from all detail. Pallas, Mushin-Pushkin, Sestren-
evicz de Bohujz, Cary, Clarke, Reuilly, Castelnau, &c. have fully treated of, and even represented, every thing which is connected with this district, the ancient kingdom of Pontus. It is evident, from a perusal of their works, and from the remarks of Mr. de Brücks, that the antiquities of both sides of the Bosphorus are similar. The tumuli, the sepulchres of ancient heroes, have been found to be caverns, regularly and well constructed, and penetrated by arched doors. One of these, near Kertch, which displayed beautiful masonry, and an elegant arch, was lately destroyed in the night. Mr. de Brücks supposed that this was done by the

Tartars, *for the sake of the stones* ; but the spirit of destruction is much more characteristic of the Russians than of the Krim Tartars, as we have abundantly seen.

Agreeably to appointment, on the 28th of May we left the town of Tamán, accompanied by Colonel Babayédof, and after a short drive, by a good but uninteresting road through plains scattered with tumuli, we reached Búghas. At this place there is a small semicircular bay, which forms part of the *limán*, or embouchure, of the river Kubán, on whose banks are erected a *custom-house* and a *quarantine*, which greatly resemble stables. By the straits of Búghas this bay communicates with the Black Sea, and with Circassia. Along the opposite coast, Circassian fishermen have taken up their residence, and find abundance of fish in the gulph. Others of the natives bring grain, as well as honey, to Búghas, which they exchange with the Russians and Kozáks for salt. We saw a few of those who were engaged in this traffic, but they were not permitted to land from their boat. Their ferocious and barbarous appearance was well calculated to inspire dislike and dread, and the rags, which barely sufficed to cover them, indicated the last degree of poverty and wretchedness.

Búghas is a small village, but being so near the frontiers of Circassia, it is one of great importance ; and, therefore, not only a band of the Tchérnomórskiï

Kozáks, but likewise a company of infantry, is stationed here. The narrowest part of the straits of Búghas is only about half a mile in width ; and, consequently, it is not difficult for such a predatory and daring people as the Circassians to make a descent in their light canoes, upon the Russian territories. Formerly such an event was of frequent recurrence, but since the Russian forces have been increased, these mountaineers have chosen other more advantageous spots for their incursions and robberies, as we shall see hereafter. We could not help being struck with the excellent policy of the crown, in granting Tamán to the Tchérnómórskii Kozáks. It gave them a dangerous property, which it became their personal interest to defend ; while they, a people then almost as savage as the natives of Circassia, guarded the frontiers without expense to the crown.

In the neighbourhood of Búghas is one of the petroleum springs, so frequent in the isle of Tamán, and so amply described by Pallas. It yields but a small quantity of petroleum. We dined at the Captain's house, and were liberally treated with Don wine. A number of officers were present, and greatly enjoyed a few glasses of Madeira, which we had of our remaining stock from Moscow.

We arrived at Sénnaya, the first regular post-station from Tamán ; for so it is called, though we saw nothing but a single wicker-work house, situated upon an immense plain, and with the Sea of

Azoph on one side.* We found that here were placed nine horses, and three drivers, all tenants of the same apartment. The rate of postage was diminished to five kopeeks *per horse per verst*; a sure proof that corn is not dear. Only four fresh horses were at home; and we were afraid we should have been obliged to await the return of the other five, at this dreary abode. But, by persuasion and drink-money, we succeeded in getting the drivers to put a pair of horses to each carriage, to assist those which we already had, and to continue the journey.

Nothing can be conceived more dreary than the drive to Perepíska, the next station. Extensive plains, destitute of wood, but covered with the most luxuriant weeds; scarcely any pastures; and few cattle, except near some small scattered villages; were the only objects of our regard. The road lay through a morass, the water of which was frequently up to the nave of the carriage wheels; and, to increase the desolation of the scene, the Sea of Azoph, agitated by a violent wind, roared furiously on our left.

The soil must here be rich, as was proved by the abundance of thistles, centauries, geraniums, vetches, sorrels, wild chamomile, &c.; all of enor-

* The vignette at the head of the 16th chap. of Clarke's Travels gives an excellent idea of such huts, "rudely constructed of reeds and narrow flags."

mous size. The eye wanders over hundreds of acres of these wild plants, as the carriage pursues its course amid high reeds, which frequently obstruct the view. Near Temrúk, daylight began to fail us, and the road became extremely bad. It must be next to impossible to travel here in the spring, or after heavy rains, even in summer, except in Russian *telégas*. One can hardly conceive a condition more forlorn, than that of the traveller whose carriage should break down, or who, by any accident, should be detained in the night amidst these high reeds and unbounded marshes. The few bridges we passed were extremely bad, and the carriages were in danger of being broken. Just before reaching the bridge which crosses the marsh at Temrúk, one of them stuck fast in the mud, and was extricated with great difficulty.

Before we left Tamán, Colonel Babayédof said it was useless to give us letters of introduction, as he had despatched a *special messenger* to prepare quarters for us at Temrúk. When we arrived, we could get no intelligence of the special messenger, or of the lodgings prepared, and were obliged to put up with very indifferent accommodations in the house of the *smotrítel*. On sending to the captain who had the command of a company here, a guard was granted for the carriages ; a necessary precaution in a country where they might so easily be plundered, and the blame laid upon the Circasian mountaineers.

Temrúk is a large village, raised upon a gulph of the Sea of Azoph, with a white church in its centre, which we had remarked as the only relief to the eye during the preceding day's drive. Under the domination of the Turks there was always a garrison of 2000 janissaries stationed here. Temrúk is fortified, and now forms part of the line of defence of the Kubán.

After quitting Temrúk, we travelled over an excellent road carried through a dead plain ; but, before arriving at the next station, the scenery was totally and most agreeably changed on the west side of the Kubán. The Circassian mountains rising behind an extensive green plain, and covered with woods and scattered trees, had the most delightful effect upon the mind, after the dreary morasses and *steps* we had been traversing.

On approaching the station which is called Kurtchánskaya, or Andriévskoi Redoubt, a sentinel standing upon a watch-tower, or observatory, called a *vishka*, not a little surprised us. This appellation does not admit of a translation. It simply means elevation, or height, or lofty body, and was formerly applied to the *elevated summer quarters* of the Tsars of Russia, with the epithet of *royal* preceding it.* Representations of a *vishka* are given by Clarke and Porter, and one is also seen in the vignette to this chapter. Their construction is

* Vide Karamzin's *Sotchinéniya*, vol. ix. p. 211.

very simple : a board, or floor, about four or five feet square, being formed, with a coarse, low rail round it, is raised in the air to the height of thirty or forty feet, by four * posts (or rather trees), one at each corner. There is frequently no ladder, but cross-bars between the trees on one side, by which the sentinels ascend and descend. These watch-towers are found at each of the stations, as well as at every piquet ; and their general accompaniment, as is seen in the vignette of this chapter, is an immense faggot on each side, which being covered with hay, to keep them dry in bad weather, resemble the trunks of decayed trees. It is kindled the moment an enemy is seen. It must be a real penance to remain four hours in the air in cold and bad weather ; but the passive obedience of the Kozáks astonished us. Our road lay close by the *vishkas*, and we often passed them without exciting a look or a motion from the sentinels, who stood like statues with their backs toward us, and their faces to Circassia, as if a horde of mountain depredators had been advancing.

Andriévskoi Redoubt is but a weak fortress. It consists of a large square, enclosed by an earthen rampart and a deep ditch, and contains barracks, stables, and magazines. Here were stationed 105 Kozáks, besides officers, well armed with guns and lances ; but their whole artillery, is a single

* Dr. Clarke says three, but four are seen in his plate.

piece, a two-pounder; of which the mountain tribes of the Caucasus stand in great awe. Similar fortresses are erected along the east side of the Kubán, at the distance of eighteen, twenty, and twenty-five versts from each other. Between them, at the distance of every six or eight versts, we found a *vishka*, with faggots, and small houses for the residence of piquets, with their horses.

We made a present to the officer whom we found at the station. He gave us a guard of six Kozáks, three for each carriage, as no individual is allowed to travel here alone, even were he willing. During the course of the next station, the Kozák guard changed three times at the intervening piquets, but we scarcely perceived the change, as the carriages never stopped. The sentinels on the *vishkas* gave warning of our approach; and by the time we reached the piquet, fresh Kozáks mounted, were ready to take the place of those who accompanied us.

From Temrúk to Karakubánskaya the road lies chiefly over a plain and marsh, covered by weeds, long grass, and reeds. The Circassian mountains and the Kubán, with intervening fields and woods, on the west, tend to cheer and amuse the traveller. On the east, the eye wanders over unbounded plains, and reposes upon the horizon. The road in some places was excellent, in others heavy; and in the marshes, the horses were up to the girths in water. We, therefore, were by no

means astonished at the trite remark of a Kozák, that “*few carriages pass this way.*” Medvédovskoyé, a large village, with a painted church, filled with human beings, and surrounded by herds of cattle, stands amid open fields. Few trees are to be seen in its vicinity, and the birds, for want of a loftier resting-place, warble their pleasing notes from the tops of the mullens (*Verbascum thapsus*). At each of the Kozák stations are kept three *troikas*, or nine horses, and, almost every where, we were instantly provided with them, and found them excellent.

At Petróvskoyé we ascended a *vishka*, from whence a marsh full of reeds was pointed out to us, in which nearly a thousand Circassians had been drowned in the month of October, 1821. General Vlássóf, having had intelligence that these lawless banditti were about to make a descent, made all preparations to give them a warm reception. They crossed the Kubán, landed safely, and advanced to a short distance, when a cannon was fired as the signal of attack. In the meantime, all the faggots along the line of the river were in a blaze, and the cannon of the nearest fortresses were also fired. The Circassians were thrown into a dreadful panic and confusion. Their whole force consisted of about 3500 men, of whom only 500 escaped by means of their canoes. About 2000 were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, besides those drowned, so that the defeat was sig-

nal and complete. Notwithstanding this, not more than five weeks before our arrival, a small body of these bold marauders crossed the Kubán, and carried off two men, their object being to obtain prisoners to exchange with the Russians. Colonel Babayédof, however, informed us that the “affair of October” had given the Circassians a very useful lesson; as before it they were continually making incursions, and doing great injury to the Kozáks; stealing horses, cattle, men, women, and children.

At Kopíl we crossed the Tchéroni-Protók, or the Black Protók, which had been better named the Dirty Protók, for its water was exactly like that of marl-pits. It is not a very broad river, but it is very deep, and flows through a level country, as already noticed, to the Sea of Azoph, while the Kubán, from which it branches off, proceeds to the Black Sea.* The carriages were placed upon a ferry formed of two boats, joined by planks. At Kopíl the guard left us. When we were at Mishátovskaya, we begged a guard, but the officer told us it was unnecessary. As we calculated that we should not reach Kopánskaya before it was dark, we gave him a *douceur*, and our wish was instantly gratified. We were detained upon the road, and arrived, when it was excessively dark, at a miserable station, where we were forced

* Vide p. 383. of this volume.

to pass the night. The apartment we entered might well be called the black chamber, and it swarmed with a variety of detestable insects, some of them of great size. It was filled with sleeping Kozáks, who were covered with *shoobs*, blankets, and rags, and whose guns, pistols, sabres, and belts were suspended around the walls. Neither a table nor a chair was to be found, and with difficulty we got wood to cook our dinner, at ten o'clock in the evening. Our repast was placed upon a board, after partaking of which, we withdrew to the carriages for a few hours' repose.

We took no guard from hence, and departed at an early hour, while it rained heavily. The wheels of one of the carriages gave way, no doubt, in consequence of the injury it had previously sustained in the drive through the marshes. We left our servants and the coachmen to take charge of it; and one of us driving the horses, we soon reached Yekaterínodár in the calash. We went directly to the house of Colonel Matveéf, *atamán* of the Tchérnomórskii Kozáks, and delivered our letters of introduction. The police-master, who was with him at the time, immediately ordered us a lodging, where we were very unwelcome guests. Unable to buy a wheel, we sent horses and people to give assistance in bringing forward the carriage. By order of the *atamán*, a captain of engineers set his men to make a new wheel, which they did surprisingly well, and at a moderate price, by the

afternoon of the following day. Our stay here gave us ample time to examine every thing connected with Yekaterínodár.

Our first visit was to the quarantine, where we found a number of Circassians exchanging a measure of rye for a measure of salt. We made arrangements with the officers of the establishment (after having received the approbation of the *atamán*) for seeing a Circassian prince and his suite, as well as some of the common people, on the following day. Our message to him would have sounded very strangely in some princely ears. The translator was desired to say, “that four Italian and British gentlemen having arrived at Yekaterínodár, were anxious to have an interview with him, and desired to make him some trifling presents.” On the following morning, precisely at the appointed time, he arrived, and awaited us a quarter of an hour, in consequence of a mistake. The prince, named Pshi Mahmet Khadjemko; his two sons, Sheret Luk, eight years of age, and Alantcherai, seven years of age; his *mohla*, or priest, Mahmet Khatún; two of his *mirzas*, or nobles; and about a dozen of his suite, all in uniform and well-armed; besides a number of boys, and many Circassians on business, were assembled in the quarantine. After the usual salutations, by means of our interpreter, we held some conversation with the prince and the *mohla*; and having explained the objects of our curiosity, we begged they would ex-

cuse our questions. The Prince Khadjemko is a tall, well-proportioned man, of about forty years of age. In his physiognomy there was no expression of talents, but much of good humour. His complacent manners struck us forcibly. His cap was cupola-formed, made of leather, and bordered with black sheepskin. His upper garment, made like the coats of the Kozák officers, was dark-coloured and striped; and above it was a coat of chain armour. This was covered with a sort of white linen tunic. The arms were defended by steel armour, silvered, and gilt, and otherwise ornamented at the wrists; and below it was a sort of sleeve, which reached the middle of the hand. His blue pantaloons were embroidered with silver, and bound at the knees by red leather garters; and his boots, formed of red and yellow leather, were extremely long, sharp-pointed, and drawn close to the leg and foot by laces. In his right hand he held a Circassian whip, whose handle was short and covered with leather, and which, instead of having a lash, terminated in a heart-shaped expansion, red on one side, and yellow on the other. Such an instrument is admirably calculated for making a noise against the horse's sides. His bow and its case, his quiver full of arrows, and his sabre, we were allowed to examine; but his pistols were in the holsters of his saddle on the other side of the Kubán.*

* In Pallas's Travels there is a good representation of a Circassian equestrian whom the prince much resembled. The

The sabre was of Damascus workmanship, and very beautiful; but its handle, formed of ivory, was so beset by long and sharp projections, like teeth, that we had to put on gloves before grasping it. The prince's sons were plainly dressed in the Circassian style. The *mohla* wore a white turban, a wide flowing scarlet robe, and yellow boots, and was also armed with a sabre. The suite were moderately well dressed, and were all well armed. As is usual, their guns were enclosed in goatskin cases, with the hair outside, which had a very primitive appearance. The Circassians who were here for commercial purposes, for the most part were very badly clothed, and all of them had a wild and savage aspect.

We placed a Karassubazár red morocco skin, and some papers of English needles, before the prince; two pair of ornamented Tartar shoes, and a pair of hand-balls, before his sons; a penknife, some pencils, and a paper of needles, before the *mohla*; and a small yellow leathern bag, before each of the followers; all of which were cheerfully accepted. The needles and pencils, especially, seemed to afford great pleasure. We next tossed a number of red leather straps and

reader may look at his 18th, 19th, and 20th plates, for other illustrations of this people. In the 18th plate is an excellent figure of a Circassian noble. Clarke has given a plate of a Circassian prince, and a native of the common order. I never saw any of the princes in the costume represented: I always found them habited as in Pallas's 18th plate.

small pieces of silver into the air, when a general scramble took place, the men showing as much eagerness as the boys to share the spoil.

Our curiosity often excited laughter, but all our questions were gratified by direct and civil answers. At our request, the Prince strung his bow, and shot off an arrow, During this action his appearance was extremely imposing. The arrow was found by a Circassian boy, at a considerable distance, and I have preserved it as a specimen of the excellent workmanship of the natives.

During our long interview, we were not allowed to approach within four or five feet of the party, on account of the danger of the plague, which frequently reigns in Circassia.

Having bid us farewell, the Prince and suite betook themselves to their canoes, which they paddled across the river. To our surprise, in a few minutes, the whole of the party, mounted on horseback, issued from an enclosure on the other side of the Kubán. The prince first appeared on a white steed, then the *mohla* upon a dark grey horse, and they were followed by the whole suite. The horses were remarkably fine, and held their heads extremely high. This cavalcade paraded up and down upon the banks of the river, the prince's eldest son galloped backwards and forwards, and all seemed busy with preparations, the meaning of which we did not comprehend. At length the prince and suite set off at full

gallop on the plain by the river side, fired their pistols in succession, exercised with their sabres, and then formed a circle, and, having made a short *détour*, they repeated the same manœuvres. After another gallop the whole party halted instantaneously, came down to the beach, formed a line, and, having called to the interpreter to bid us farewell, they rode slowly off.

In our return from the quarantine, we looked into the yard of the public prison, and saw a number of miserable delinquents. The prison itself is small, and the yard is surrounded by very high sharp-pointed palisades, or rather trunks of trees, and has a very disagreeable appearance.

From the prison we proceeded to the fortress, an immense square court, included by a deep ditch and an earthen rampart, like the other small redoubts already spoken of. About twenty white-washed houses, one story high, arranged around the square, form barracks, magazines, workshops for carpenters, smiths, &c., besides a prison and an hospital. In the centre of this fortress stands a very large, clumsy, green roofed cathedral, with five domes, besides the dome of the belfry. Its interior is only remarkable as being unfinished, and in having a pulpit-like projection in the screen, placed over some shockingly disproportioned composite columns, the shafts of which are twice the length they should be. The public money is kept within its walls, a custom which is common in the Krimea, the Caucasus, and Georgia, (of

course among Christians and Mahomedans,) and which is founded upon the belief that the sanctity of the church will prevent the intrusions of even the most abandoned persons into the public coffers; but this idea, however powerful with many, does not operate upon all, as we have already seen in the instance mentioned at Kíef.

At the prison of the fortress we saw twenty-two Circassian prisoners, most of whom had been captured in the affair already alluded to, in October, 1821. A number of them were extended before the door, basking in the sun, while others were huddled together upon mats in a miserable apartment, and presented a spectacle of great dejection and wretchedness. They were well guarded by the Russians and anxiously awaited an exchange of prisoners. This is made on very disadvantageous terms for them, as two Russians are required in exchange for one Circassian.

Yekaterínodár, or the *Gift of Catherine*, was founded in the year 1792, by the Empress, who had granted a portion of the Kubán to the Euxine Kozáks, and who wished to commemorate the event by the appellation of this town. It is the capital of the territories of the Tchérnomóorskii Kozáks, the residence of their *Atamán*, and the seat of their civil-military judicature and general administration. This town stretches over an immense space. The streets, *many of them without houses*, are all in straight lines, extremely broad, and intersect one

another at right angles. None of them are paved, and they are excessively dirty in wet weather; then, indeed, they are nearly impassable on foot, as was the case when we were there. The houses are mostly mean in their appearance, but their general gloom is relieved by the rich vegetation of the trees and gardens which surround them. The population of Yekaterínodár, if I be correctly informed, does not exceed 3000 souls.

The *Atamán* of the Tchérnomóorskii Kozáks, Colonel Matvééf, is a plain, fat, little man, of few words, and as few pretensions. He speaks only Russian, and appears not to have seen much of polished life. He was dressed in a blue jacket and blue trowsers, and wore a grey lambskin cap; indeed his small crosses alone distinguished him from a Kozák serjeant. He came here with his countrymen in 1792, has been their *Atamán* during seven or eight years, and ardently devotes his life to their service. He deserves our warmest thanks for his kindness in assisting us in all our arrangements.

The origin of the Kozáks has exercised the pens of a number of ingenious writers. It is of little importance to our present object, whether they were originally a distinct people, or are of Polish or Russian descent. The curious reader may be referred to the works of Storch, Scherer, Sestrenevich de Bohujz, Schékatof, Clarke, Vsévolojskii, Castelnau, &c., in which he will find this subject amply discussed. A few general remarks, however, respecting this interesting people, and espe-

cially respecting the Kozáks of the Black Sea, I hope will not be found misplaced here.

The Kozáks have been divided into two great families ; 1st, the Kozáks of the Don, from whom originated different tribes, as those of the Volga, of the Ural mountains, of Siberia, &c. 2d, The Kozáks of the Ukraine, who gave birth to the *Zaporoghian* Kozáks, now the *Tchérnomórskii* Kozáks, or the Kozáks of the Black Sea. This warlike people have always been accustomed to derive their name from their situation, as is evident by the above statement. The word *Zaporójskiyé*, or *Zaparoghian*, comes from *za*, beyond, and *poroghi*, cataracts, and was applied to those Kozáks who dwelt beyond the cataracts of the Dnéper, where their *setch*, or government, was established. They vowed celibacy, and devoted their lives to the profession of arms. They were a ferocious and lawless band of plunderers and desperadoes. In their *setch*, deserters, vagabonds, and rebels, found an asylum. They were long the bulwark, however, of the Russian Territories against the Tartars of the Krimea. They lived in strict union with the Kozáks of the Ukraine, as long as they were under the domination of Poland ; but after the union of the former to Russia, the unprincipled *Zaparoghian* Kozáks who lived by piracy and fishing, sometimes fought for the Russians, sometimes for the Turks, according as they were best paid, or as it suited their own views, always

maintaining a degree of barbarous independence on the frontier of two powerful nations. In the year 1775, the Empress Catherine II. alleging that they were guilty of high treason, and that their fidelity could not be trusted, ordered their *setch* to be destroyed, their name to be annulled, and they themselves to be driven to the district of Bielgórod, where, abjuring celibacy, they became cultivators of the land, while their former property was bestowed upon others. After the declaration of war against Turkey, in 1787, many of them wished to form regiments, while others who had emigrated to the Turkish provinces, returned and offered their services to Russia. Prince Potyémkin formed the whole into a body, under the appellation of “*Faithful Kozáks of the Black Sea*,” trusting that they would prove so in future. Perhaps the protection and pay offered them were the grand causes of the fidelity which they afterwards showed. They proved of great service during the Turkish war, and eminently distinguished themselves at the siege of Otchakof, and the capture of Berizan. When peace was established, the Empress, as a reward for their meritorious services, granted them the country which they now possess, and which had been lately conquered from the Kubán Tartars. In 1792, they were transported thither, founded their capital, and built different villages, and they were charged with the defence of the line of the Kubán along their own territory. They

live chiefly by feeding cattle, by fishing, and by collecting salt from some small lakes in their country, part of which they exchange, as already mentioned, with the Circassians. They have their own *Atamán* and government, and enjoy the same privileges as the Don Kozáks. Since they came to the Kubán, they have proved faithful, and have maintained their military character. Their condition seems to have been considerably improved since Clarke and Heber visited them. For the most part, they appeared to be easy in their circumstances; and were as well dressed as any Kozáks we found, remote from the great towns. Their dress also is now the same as that of the other Kozáks, blue jackets and trowsers, bound with a girdle; and so are their arms. I am quite of Dr. Clarke's opinion, that "The Tchérnomórskii are a brave, but rude and warlike people, possessing little refinement of civilised society, although much inward goodness of heart," and ready to show their hospitality to strangers; qualities, however, which seem common to barbarous life. They prevail among all the mountain-tribes of the Caucasus, whom I have seen, or respecting whom I have received trust-worthy accounts. From the statement of the professor, that "they do not resemble the Kozáks of the Don, in habits, disposition, or in any circumstances of external deportment," I should beg leave to dissent. I could not discover any very marked differences between

these two classes of Kozáks. It is true, that the very name of the Tchérnomórskii Kozáks, at a distance, inspired a secret dread ; but, from the first moment we found ourselves among them, we were quite at our ease. Their appearance and conduct gained complete confidence, which was never forfeited. I should think that the Tchérnomórskii Kozáks are similar, in many points, to the Kozáks of the Don, an opinion which I found was adopted by Castelnau. Like them, they also profess the Greek religion. It is possible that they may have considerably altered their habits within the last twenty-four years, *i. e.* since Clarke's visit. *

* The Roman Catholic metropolitan in Russia, Sestrenevicz de Bohujz, in his *Histoire de la Tauride*, vol. ii. p. 31., in a sketch of the history of the Kozáks of the Black Sea, relates that, " We cannot have more unquiet, factious neighbours, nor worse soldiers. They are not changed. During peace, we have seen them pillaging even the desert country of New Russia, planted and become fertile by the wise administration of Catherine II. The Marshal-General Count Rumántsof Zadunaiskii equally celebrated for the excellency of his judgment, and his military exploits, and truly above all eulogy, after having had the Zaporoghians under his orders in the war of 1768-1774, declared that he had found them without subordination, of an untractable temper, and only brave by the lure of booty, or when they could not fly away." The same author also states, that " if they should ever return to their former robberies, they will be supported by the Circassians, acknowledged the most expert thieves of our days." In justice to these Kozáks, it is but fair to mention that they have proved faithful guardians of the frontiers, and determined enemies of the Circassians.

The country of the Tchérnomóorskii, on the south, stretches from the mouth of the river Lába to the embouchure of the Kubán river in the Black Sea; toward the north and east it is limited by the river Yea, which separates it from the government of Yekaterinosláf and the country of the Kozáks of the Don; on the west it is bounded by the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Sea of Azoph. Thus the extent of their territory comprehends upwards of 1000 square miles. Though it is known by the name of "*The Land of the Tchérnomóorskii Kozáks*;" and though, as we have seen, they have their own particular administration, yet this country is under the inspection of a Russian governor; and, no doubt, all their motions are carefully watched by the Russian officers, at the different stations along the line of defence. Till lately, not only Tamán, but the whole of the land of these Kozáks, formed part of the government of the Taurida or Krimea, and was under the superintendence of the Duc de Richelieu, and of his successor, Count Langeron. But very lately it has, more naturally, been made part of the government of the Caucasus, and is under the care of that bold and active chief, General Yermólof, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in another part of this work.

The number of Kozáks who took up their abode in the Kubán, in 1792, amounted, I believe, to about 15,000 males, and it seems to have been nearly stationary for the last twenty years; being stated

at 14,500 in 1804, 1813, and 1818, by three Russian writers, Stchékatof, Vsévolojkii, and Yablóvskii.

Since their abode here, they no longer are sworn to lives of celibacy, and women and mothers are seen among them; but they are few in number, and, consequently, population makes no progress. They have a fertile country, but it is little cultivated. It is scattered with numerous villages, as may be seen by inspecting a good map, and is by no means so desolate as is generally imagined.

On the 1st of June we left Yekaterínodár, at two o'clock in the morning, travelled the whole day, without stopping, till the evening, when we reached Timijbésckaya, where we dined. On the west, as we passed along the high banks of the Kubán, the day being cloudy, the mountains of Circassia were completely veiled, and on the east, nothing but an interminable plain, covered with long herbage, was to be seen. The villages, Ust Labínsckaya, Ládojsckaya, Tiphlískaya, Kazánsckaya, Kavkásckaya, and Timijbésckaya, are all similar to each other. The road, for the most part, was level, and we remarked numerous tumuli on both sides, some of which, upon the banks of the river, served the sentinels in place of observatories, or *vishkas*, while the interior arches were converted into stables.

If the hundreds of tumuli, in the *steps* beyond Kiéf,—indeed, throughout the south of Russia,—in the Krimea, in the Kubán, and, according to the

reports of travellers, also in Wallachia and Moldavia, be all sepulchral tombs of the ancient inhabitants of these regions, they would argue a considerable population in remote ages. But there is reason to believe that many of them were elevated by the different tribes of Tartars. Such tumuli are also found, though sparingly, in the vicinity of Moscow; and a number of years ago, when at Ostápyeva, (the estate of Prince Viasemskoi, one of the most distinguished living poets of Russia,) only seventeen miles from that capital, I well remember seeing two of them, which that nobleman was of opinion owed their origin to the Tartars.

We found good horses, and were attended with a guard of three, four, or five Kozáks, who changed, as on the preceding day, at the piquets, so that we made rapid progress.

The defence of the line of the Caucasus, by the Kozáks of the Black Sea, ends at Redutskoi Karantín, and is then committed to the Grébenskii Kozáks, who are descendants of the Kozáks of the Don, and who had taken refuge in Circassia, after a revolt, and dwelt near a rugged rock, which resembled a comb, *grében* in Russian, from which they got their name.

Among these Kozáks we found the same kind of earthen fortresses, piquets, and *vishkas*, as among their Tchérnomórskii brethren; but the latter were much better constructed. Mounted in the air, the guards resembled the *Stylite Simeon*, and

showed the same indifference as a statue, when we passed them at full gallop, — not even bestowing a look upon us. Two carriages travelling this road together is a rare sight; and as the Kozáks were long warned of our approach from the towers, they had time to make all preparations for receiving us; and, most likely, they took us for military officers, and wished to show great attention to their duty by their immobility.

The fortress of Ust Labínskaya is one of the largest and most important along the Kubán; and is constructed in a manner similar to that at Yekaterínodár. Colonel von Behn, a German, informed me, that he had sometimes two, three, four, six, seven, or eight battalions of Russian infantry, besides a corps of 100 or 200 Kozáks, under his command, and that they were all required, at times, to keep their restless neighbours in awe, who crossed the Kubán in their canoes during the night, and concealed themselves among the reeds in the marshes, till they saw a fit opportunity of carrying off booty, or attacking travellers. He also told us, that of late the danger upon this frontier had been greatly diminished by the vigilance of the troops, and the severe chastisement the mountaineers had received.

When we arrived at the fortresses of the Kozáks, we were generally met by the commander, either on foot or on horseback, who saluted us *à la militaire*, expressed his happiness at our safe arrival, and hoped we should have a prosperous journey.

During this day's drive, amid many wild plants, it was impossible not to be struck with the profusion of the beautiful *Fraxinella* (*Dictamnus albus*), and of Feather-grass (*Stipa pennata*).

On the 2d June we left our quarters at an early hour, and passed through a monotonous country, and gloomy villages, whose only ornament consisted in their churches. There are three roads by which we could have approached Stávropole; and the one we chose, as being the shortest, led us to desert the banks of the Kubân. We found that the interior of the country, being more remote from plunderers, was covered with flocks and herds, that there was a greater appearance of cultivation, and that villages were numerous. Having passed Novo-Troïtskoyé, the landscape became more varied, and soon presented hills and dales, scattered with dwarf trees, especially oaks and maples. The nearer we approached Stávropole, the more diversified the scenery became; and, in making a *détour* to enter it by a better road than the post took, we passed a fine dell richly clothed with wood and shrubbery,

Stávropole is the chief town of a district, built upon the left bank of the Tashla, which runs into the Kaláuius, and in a pleasant situation. The soil around it is rich, and is remarked for its abundant crops of hay. In the town are two or three good streets, lined by stone and wooden houses. The courts of justice, the police-office, some public ma-

gazines, a few candle and soap manufactories, and tanneries, besides a couple of churches, and the fortress, are the most remarkable edifices it contains. We were rather surprised at finding some well stocked shops so far in the interior of the Caucasus. The Don wine cost here 1s. 3d. *per* bottle, but it was of excellent quality.

Stávropole contains between 2000 and 3000 inhabitants, consisting of Russians and Kozáks, besides a few foreigners. It is remarkable for its healthy climate.

From the time we entered the Krimea, till we joined the great line of communication with Russia, we had little cause to complain of delay, of imposition in the fare, or of the post-masters, but here we found that Russians again held these stations. I augured, that at such a distance from their own country, their habits might have changed; but I was deceived. At Stávropole the *smotritel* did all in his power to induce us to pass the night under his roof. Horses were procured for one of the equipages, and it set off, and gained the next station. At length horses were likewise got for the other carriage, and we proceeded on our journey, but were overtaken by darkness, and obliged to take up our quarters for the night at Nadéjda, twelve versts distant. On joining our companions next morning, we found that they had been put to considerable inconvenience owing to their not having had their *podorójnê*, which remained with

us. Without this very important credential, nobody would receive them into their house. The *stárost* was absent killing locusts, and it was with difficulty that they at last persuaded an old man to give them lodgings. At the late hour they arrived, it was contrary to law to light fire or candles; and much persuasion was necessary to induce the host to let them so far infringe the law as to light a candle.

After a very early breakfast we left Beshpaghír for Gèorgiévsk, which we reached in the evening. None of the post stations require any notice. The road lay through monotonous scenery, but of a different kind from what we had been accustomed to for some time, for we continually ascended and descended hills nearly destitute of wood and covered with long grass, like that of the *steps*, and passed over immense tracts, on which little was to be seen but thistles, bell-flowers, and wormwood, intermixed with fine fields of corn and pastures.

After leaving Stávropole, but more especially on the approach to Gèorgiévsk, the views of the Besh-tau, and the neighbouring mountains, which arise from the bosom of an immense plain, are remarkably pleasing. We had not yet beheld the range of the Caucasus, the weather having been unfavourable; though, when clear, it is seen from Stávropole. The Circassian mountains we saw in our course along the Kubán, were only of secondary importance, and none of them covered with snow.

We had considerable difficulty in finding a lodging at Geórgiévsk ; and the commandant, to whom we had sent to beg his interference, as the *gorodnitchii* was not at home, returned an answer, “ that it was not his department.” At length we entered the house of a Russian, who showed us a couple of rooms, in one of which was a handsome well-dressed Persian, with a fine long black beard, who not a little surprised us by addressing us in our native tongue. We found that he was second dragoman to his Royal Highness Abbas Mirza of Persia, and had acted as guide to numbers of our countrymen, while in that country, and, among the rest, to Sir R. K. Porter, who judged him so good a specimen of the Persians as to give his portrait a place in his travels. Saith Satoon, for such is his name, was educated at an English school at Bombay, and spent many years of his life in India, chiefly among the English. We found him an intelligent and pleasant man, who was loud in the praises of Persia, of the King, and of Abbas Mirza, and, perhaps, with good cause, for his country was never ruled with such mildness and talent combined, as at present. But, as we shall see hereafter, it is to be feared, that a calm precedes a dreadful storm. The Persian ambassador, who was on his way to London, and whom Saith Satoon was to accompany, had made a *détour* to the mineral waters of the Caucasus, and was to be joined by him at Stávropole.

The day had been windy ; and, although we had arrived at the 3rd (15th N.S.) June, the thermometer sunk as low as 58° Fahrenheit.

On the following day, which was Sunday, we made a visit to the civil vice-governor, there being then no governor, a circumstance which did not surprise us, since such an appointment must be regarded as a punishment, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the climate, and the prevalence of most violent and inveterate intermittent fevers. Madame Freyganch, in Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, in 1812, informs us that her uncle was the fifth governor of the Caucasus who had died within the short space of eight years. If correctly informed, a few more have also forfeited their lives for the honour conferred upon them ; and Count Gorskii, apparently, was rapidly following them. He had had an intermittent fever for three years, with only short intervals of health, or rather of convalescence. For the last eleven months he had never had an intermission of his disease ; sometimes the paroxysms returned every day, and sometimes on alternate days, a form of intermittent fever extremely common at Moscow, and especially among the lower classes. He had been attended by a number of medical men, individually, and in consultation, and had taken a great variety of medicines, besides the Peruvian bark, red and pale, in all forms,—powder, decoction, and pills, &c. —without any effect. He was very

much reduced, and seemed about to fall into a general dropsy, and most likely, ere this, has paid the debt of nature.

The vicinity of Geörgiévsk must be healthy, for Dr. Kimmel says, that intermittent fevers are unknown at Stávropole, and that those attacked with them are quickly cured when transported to that town.

The plague sometimes rages also at Geörgiévsk, to augment its *disagréments*.

Count Gorskii, notwithstanding his very diseased state, wished to see us, and was extremely polite. Though not able to be present himself, he invited us to join his usual dinner party on Sunday, at which we met all the authorities of the town. A circumstance he mentioned excited considerable interest. When he had been in the military service sixteen years, he fought a duel, and killed his antagonist. He was reduced to the ranks, served other sixteen years, and left the army with the title (I believe Colonel) he had before the duel.

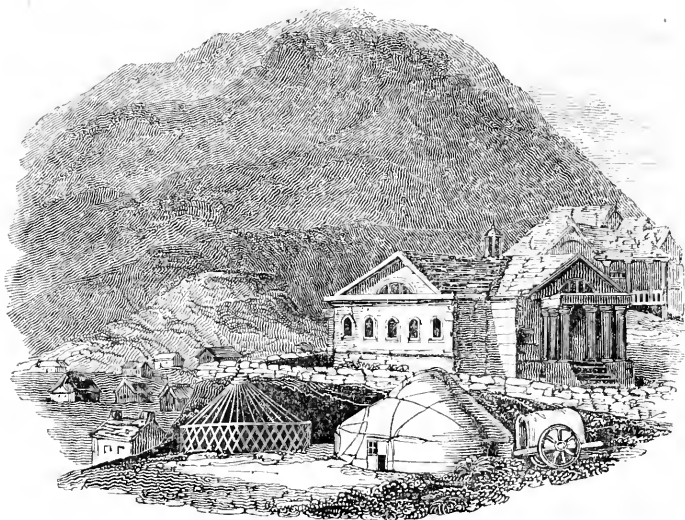
By the Russian authors, Geörgiévsk is called a *fortified town*, words which are apt to convey a much more exalted idea of it, than it really deserves. It is rather like a large village than a town, and especially since the fire, which half-consumed it, in 1816. It lies upon the north bank of the Podkúma (or the Little Kúma), at eight versts from its junction with the (Great) Kúma, and at the distance of 2094½ versts from Moscow. Its

fortress was constructed in the year 1771, and in 1785 it became the chief place of a district, which sometimes belonged to the government of Astrachan, and sometimes to that of the Caucasus. In 1802, it was made the government town of the Caucasus, and the residence of the general-in-chief of this district. General Yermólof, however, has now fixed his head-quarters at Tiflis.

Geörgiévsk * is divided into three quarters, one of which is the fortress of St. George, and is surrounded by low fortifications. The churches, the arsenal, the barracks, the hospitals, the public magazines of corn and salt, are the chief edifices in this town, which is said to contain 500 houses, and above 2000 inhabitants, and with a *stanitza* or village of the Kozáks, at a short distance, about 3000. The military excepted, the greatest part of the inhabitants are Kozáks of the Volga, intermixed with some Russians and Armenians, who keep shops, in which we found abundant supplies both of the necessaries and the luxuries of life.

On the 5th of June, we left Geörgiévsk, and accompanied by a Kozák guard, which was changed at the piquets, we reached the Scotch Colony, Karáss, distant thirty-five versts. The road, which lay chiefly in a valley, by the banks of the Podkúma, and over plains by the foot of the mountains, is described by Pallas and Kimmel.

* Each *g* is sounded hard.



CHAP. X.

DESCRIPTION OF KARÁSS.—ITS MILITARY GUARD.—DISEASES.—

THE REV. MR. BRUNTON.—GOVERNMENT OF KARÁSS.—ITS LANDS.—CULTURE.—POTATOES.—RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OF ITS MAHOMEDAN NEIGHBOURS.—INTENDED BAPTISM OF AN OSSETINIAN.—RANSOMED MOUNTAINEERS.—VISIT TO BESH-TAU.—VIEW OF MOUNT CAUCASUS.—RETURN TO KARÁSS.—RECEPTION BY MR. JACK.—KONSTANTÍNOGÓRSK.—GENERAL DÉSBOUT.—DEPARTURE.—THE PODKÚMA.—KISLAVÓDSKIL.—ACIDULOUS SPRINGS.—DELICACY OF THE RUSSIANS.—MOUNT ELBORUS.—SPRINGS AT KONSTANTÍNOGÓRSK.—BATHS.—THE MESTCHÚCHA.—DESCRIPTION OF KONSTANTÍNOGÓRSK.—VISIT TO A CIRCASSIAN VILLAGE.—REPAST.—A NOBLE WHIP-MAKER.—PRESENTS.—PROBABLE UTILITY OF MR. JACK.—MOUNTAIN TRIBES.—THEIR ARTIFICE.—MAHOMEDANISM.—FRIENDLY CIRCASSIANS.—MOUNTAINEERS IN THE RUSSIAN SERVICE.—RETURN TO GEÓRGIÉVSK.—DEPARTURE.—DELL NEAR PÁVLOVSKAYA.—YEKATERÍNOGRÁD.—PÁVLÓDÓLSKOYÉ.—AMUSING SCENE.—MOZDÓK.

— POPULATION. — COMMERCE. — STREETS. — HOUSES. — DEPARTURE. — THE TÉREK. — REDOUBT OF ALEXANDER. — COMPOSITION OF A CARAVAN. — DEPARTURE. — BANISHMENT OF THE TCHITCHÉNTSI. — REDOUBT OF CONSTANTINE. — REDOUBT OF ELIZABETH. — VLADIKAVKÁZ. — ITS FORTRESS. — SHOPS. — DEPARTURE. — BEAUTIFUL DEFILE. — MAKSÍMKINA. — DEFILE OF LARS. — LARS. — DEFILE OF DARIÉL.

ON reaching the village of Karáss, after the usual formalities, we were admitted through its wicker-work gate, by a Kozák guard. This Scotch colony is agreeably situated on a gentle declivity, about two miles distant from the foot of the Besh-tau, or the Five-Mountains, and at the eastern extremity of a fine forest. It consists of two wide streets, which intersect each other at right angles. Through the middle of the principal one of the two flows a clear rivulet, which furnishes an abundant supply of water, at all seasons of the year. The houses here, though chiefly constructed of wood, had a mean appearance, but the gardens, orchards, and cultivated fields, by which they and the whole village were surrounded, produced a cheerful effect, and argued that this establishment was one of the abodes of industry. The most remarkable edifices were the minister's small house, the soldiers' barracks, and the wicker-work stables for the horses of a company of Kozáks. In the middle of the village was a small guard-house, with a sentinel parading between it and a loaded piece of artillery, while an immense torch blazed at his side. Upon enquiry why the cannon was

loaded and the torch lighted, we were informed, that the predatory incursions of the Circassians had of late been very frequent, and that they had carried off considerable property from the village, especially horses and cattle. The guard had been strengthened, and a cannon planted there on purpose to frighten the plunderers, who have a most salutary dread of such formidable weapons. The village has now been very quiet for some months.*

Although it is not my intention to give a long account of Karáss, yet a few details may be mentioned. I shall not hesitate to make some quotations from a small volume published by the Rev. Mr. Glen†, especially as that work is not likely ever to have an extensive circulation, and as they appear to me to be highly interesting.

* Mr. Glen thus expresses himself upon this subject. “ The case of the sentinels is as follows : one of them stands at each gate of the village, and, when travellers wish for admittance, his duty is to give notice to a brother-sentinel at the guard-house, who must tell the captain, with whom it rests to admit, or refuse admittance, according to circumstances. The police above described, or some modification of it, is considered as necessary for protecting the property of the inhabitants from thieves and other banditti, the effects of whose depredations they have often felt ; and, as there is neither a wall nor a ditch around it, but merely a wattled fence, the Russian guard will not be accountable as they now are, for property stolen from the village, unless they have the power of refusing admittance to suspicious characters.”—*Journal of a Tour*, &c. p. 84.

† *Journal of a Tour from Astrachan to Karáss*. Edinburgh, 1823.

The greatest part of the original missionaries at Karáss, and their wives, were carried off by dysentery in the years 1804, 1805; but the climate is generally healthy. The most prevalent disease, as at Gèorgiévsk, is the ague, which is often followed by dropsy. Consumption is little known in the colony or its vicinity. In the year 1804, the plague committed dreadful ravages in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony. "It is a circumstance," says Mr. Glen, "that will be long remembered with gratitude by the missionaries, that when surrounded by the plague, to which thousands of the natives became victims, not one of their number fell. Sultan Katti-Gherri Krim-Gherri, then under their care, was indeed seized by it, but was mercifully preserved, and preserved, I hope, to be a blessing to his countrymen." *

We did not visit the burying-ground, which lies about half a verst north of the village. It contains the mortal remains of a number of Britons, males and females, among whom the late Rev. Henry Brunton was the most distinguished. In a conversation with the deceased Dr. Rogerson, many years ago, he told me, that if any man was calculated to do good, as a missionary, it was assuredly Mr. Brunton; and, besides, he spoke of that gentleman's talents with admiration. According to

* Journal of a Tour, &c. p. 55.; and vide p. 237. of this volume.

all accounts, the Doctor's opinion was well-founded. Mr. Glen pays a tribute to his memory, and states, that he was "a man of a most vigorous understanding; well skilled in the sacred literature of Europe; extensively acquainted with the dogmas of the Mahomedans, whose Coran he could read in the original Arabic; endowed with a singular capacity for acquiring a knowledge of dead and living languages; of a shrewd, active, and enterprising turn of mind; and, by consequence (as far as natural capacity, and extensive erudition, are concerned), eminently qualified for the work of a Christian missionary. He died on the 27th March, 1813, after having finished the translation of the Tartar-Turkish New Testament, now in circulation among Tartars, &c. on both sides of the Russian lines,—a work that may be considered as a kind of standard or model for those who wish to write agreeably to the Turkish grammar, yet in such a style as to be understood by Tartars possessed of a moderate knowledge of their own language." * Mr. Glen, in alluding to the failings of his brother-labourer, in the above parenthesis, did well to let the veil remain untouched; for, it is ever to be regretted, that it was the lot of a man of Brunton's talents to have been, as it were, expatriated, and secluded from society. Perhaps consequent melancholy drove him to seek relief in liberal potations, which may have accelerated death.

* Journal of a Tour, &c. p. 52.

In all civil causes, the colony of Karáss is “governed by its own laws; but, in criminal cases, it is subject to the general laws of the empire, or, to speak more properly, to Russian courts of justice. The chief court in the colony is the Missionary Committee, in subordination to which is the *unter gericht*, or under-court, which is composed of three of the Germans.” The colony was, in a great measure, composed of Germans; but, according to Mr. Glen, with the exception of a few families, they have been ordered to leave the place, and to settle elsewhere.* It is to be hoped, ere this measure is carried into execution, that new settlers may have arrived, so as to keep up and extend the cultivation of the lands — a task, with a few good hands, and a little money, of no difficulty.

In 1822, the population of the colony consisted of only three Scotch families, including the minister’s, and of between twenty and thirty German families.

The quantity of arable land, lately measured off for the colony by order of government, is 2500 *desiatins*, which, allowing three acres to a *desiatin*, is upwards of 7000 acres, exclusive of nearly 1000 *desiatins*, overgrown with brush-wood, reeds, &c. The soil of the lands of the colony, and neighbourhood, is a rich black loam, which, when well cultivated, is remarkably productive in all kinds of

* Journal, Note, p. 60.

grain, though as the Germans find the culture of tobacco, potatoes, &c. more profitable, the portion of land appropriated to the raising of corn, is but small. Great quantities of excellent cabbages are also raised by the Germans, which, when taken to the market at Geörgiévsk, or the village at the spring of Konstantínogórsrk, bring a high price, being reckoned the best in the country.

From Mr. Glen, we learn, that till the Scotch missionaries went to Karáss, potatoes were scarcely known on the Kúma, and are still considered as a rarity.* He likewise adds, that he found that valuable article better at this establishment than any where else in Russia. Good potatoes, however, are to be got both at Moscow and Petersburg, especially those raised by the German colonists, and other foreigners, who understand not only how to cultivate them, but likewise how to boil them. In the last respect the Russians are extremely ignorant, and they spoil good potatoes by allowing them to boil very slowly, or to soak long in water. The peasants have still a saying among them, that “potatoes are not an article of God’s giving, or he would have given them to the Russians.” This nonsense, however, is annually becoming less credited, and the common people begin to consume considerable quantities of this invaluable root.

A few citations from Mr. Glen’s book will illus-

* Journal of a Tour, &c. p. 25. and p. 56.

trate the opinions entertained by the tribes, by which the Scotch colony is surrounded.

In an argument with the Carbardian chief of a village, it was urged against Mr. Glen, that “as for the people in their quarter, God had given them the Coran, which recommended good morals, and condemned every kind of wickedness,” and therefore, that it was foolish in the missionaries to imagine that they should be able to turn any of them to the Christian religion, except they succeeded, in the first place, “in converting their *mollas* and *effendis*.” In continuing the argument, the same chief admitted the fairness of the professions of the missionaries in general terms; but instead of listening to them, he kept them at bay for a good part of an hour, by a pretty artful use of the *argumentum ad hominem*, as if determined to make reprisals for the use they had been making of it among his brethren of the Mahomedan faith. “Ye have a religion,” he said, “which ye tell us is better than any other, and ye profess that, in making it known, ye do to others as ye wish them to do to you. This has been your way of talking from the first. Ye came here, and entertained us with fair speeches, till you got our lands taken from us, and secured to yourselves. Was this doing to others as ye could wish them to do to you? Who, think you, can believe your professions after having acted in this manner?” The missionaries told him, that the lands had been

assigned to them by government, which had a right to dispose of them; and as he must allow they were much better with them for neighbours, than with their own countrymen; not to speak of the fact, that they had only a small part of the land appropriated to their own use, the greater part of it being in the hands of the Germans, while he and others of his countrymen were permitted, at times, to graze their cattle, cut hay, &c., &c., without charge. "Neither Germans, nor any other description of strangers," he rejoined, "would have ventured to settle in this wild region, unless you had set them the example." * On these points I shall leave the reader to judge who used the most powerful arguments.

"In a conversation with a Cabardian *Uzden*," says Mr. Glen, "we took occasion to point out to him the superior excellence of the truths of the Gospel, and recommended them to his attention; but while he admitted the things were good and salutary, he declared his resolution to hold by the religion in which he had been educated; adding, that Mr. Galloway and he were always good friends, and never differed except on the subject of religion, about which, he was sure they would never agree, and therefore it was best for them to avoid discussion, and to worship God each in his own way."† However different our ideas may be on the subject, it is impossible not to admire

* Journal of a Tour, &c. p. 117. † Ibid, p. 105.

the liberality of such a doctrine, whether held forth by Pagan, Mahomedan, or Christian.

In another place, says Mr. Glen, “ In conversing with us, one of the Tartars, a *mirza*, (but in reduced circumstances) took the lead, and acted as chief speaker. After he had proceeded so far as to explain himself distinctly, his opinion, like that of the greater part of his countrymen, was, that God had given to every people the religion most suitable for them, and that each of them should be satisfied with their own. He had been long in the interior of Russia, and he had seen their religion; he had been in Germany, France, and other parts of Europe, where he had an opportunity of observing the forms of worship which obtained in them; and the impression left on his mind, from a review of the whole, was, that the religion practised in each of these countries, was good for its inhabitants. The religion of Mohammed, as practised by his countrymen, was, in like, manner, good for them; and any alteration of their established forms improper, or, to say the least, unnecessary.”*

It is painful to read the following quotation. The missionaries, “ finding to their no small grief and astonishment, that not a few of the Mohammedans made it their business to ask for Testaments, without the remotest intention of reading them,

* Journal of a Tour, &c. p. 182.

and, so far as could be ascertained, for the sole purpose of providing themselves, at an easy rate, with covers for the Coran and other books, recommended by their teachers; while the sacred volume, which they had promised to read, was destroyed, or thrown aside as waste paper; they altered their plan, and now they seldom give away a copy of the Testament, till, by sounding the petitioner respecting his views, or enquiring into his character, they obtain some faint evidence that he really intends to peruse it,—with a promise, if the case seem to require it, that he will on no account destroy the word of God.”*

I shall merely add another short citation, to show the general impressions made upon the tribes in the neighbourhood of Karáss. “The missionaries,” say the natives, “are very kind obliging neighbours, but dangerous people, as they make it their business to speak against the Prophet.”†

As the foregoing statements are calculated to inspire gloom, as to the success of the efforts of the missionaries, it is agreeable to find that great hopes are entertained by them, of ultimately overcoming all obstacles, and of obtaining many converts to the Christian religion.

The missionaries, of late, have ransomed fewer of the children of their demi-barbarous neighbours, than they were wont to do, because many

* Journal of a Tour, p. 158.

† Ibid, p. 155.

of them ran away, or were stolen, after the money had been obtained. As the reader will see by and by, however, the whole were not lost; and a few of them have become converts to Christianity. But it is time to return to the journey.

Finding that Mr. Jack, the resident minister, was gone to some distant village, accompanied by one of the missionaries, Mr. Galloway, to instruct the Circassians, we called upon Mr. Paterson, who is here for similar duties. Him we found in a well laid out and thriving garden, amid beehives; and I could have fancied myself in Scotland, from the appearance of industry, and the Scotch pronunciation of my countryman. One of the chief objects of our visit was an affair of importance. An Ossetinian servant-man, who belonged to Sultan Katti-Gherri Krim-Gherri, and whom we had taken with us from Sympheropole, had desired to be baptised; and I had been requested to make all the arrangements with the missionaries for the ceremony, provided the man should be of the same way of thinking when we reached Karáss. It was still his intention to become a Christian; but some recent orders of the Russian government prevented this measure. It was no longer permitted to baptise converts from Islamism without giving previous notice, and observing some new formalities. Against this new order the missionaries intended to petition the crown, as it seemed to them very

hurtful to the interests of Christianity. I have not heard of the result.

The weather was remarkably fine ; and, by making liberal presents to the Kozáks, we obtained the given number of horses, and ascended the Beshtau, one of the most celebrated mountains in this neighbourhood. The road lay through fine woods, and afterwards entered a dell, the ascent through which was difficult. Here we left the horses in charge of some of the Kozáks who had accompanied us, and taking guns in our hands, we ascended the hill on foot with our guide. The height of this mountain is reckoned about 3000 feet, and it occupied us two hours, from the time we entered the dell just mentioned, to reach its summit. To about half its height, the Beshtau is adorned with woods, and higher up, the yellow azalea (*Azalea Pontica*) in full bloom, contrasted its fine colours with those of a profusion of the purple Anemone (*Anemone Narcissiflora*.)

We had seen Mount Caucasus, “ the cradle of the human race,” before reaching Géorgiévsk, with mingled feelings of surprise and reverence ; but the majestic scene which instantaneously burst on the view on gaining the top of the mountain, — the weather being clear, and the sky of cerulean blue, — filled the mind with the deepest awe and admiration. The whole chain of snow-capped mountains between the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, raising

their venerable heads to the clouds, and reflecting the rays of the sun with all the colours of the rainbow, was one of those sights which lead us to “look through Nature up to Nature’s God,” and to meditate on the attributes of Him, who said, “Let there be light, and there was light.” Below us, stretched out as on a map, were the Great and Little Kabárda and Abáza; the other four hills which, with that we stood on, compose the Beshtau*; Konstantínogóorsk; and the Podkúma flowing from among the mountains near Kislavódskii. Turning to the north, the Scotch colony; a number of separate mountains, all of which have different appellations; the *aiuls*, or wicker-work villages of Circassians and Nogay Tartars; with Géorgiévsk and Stávropole in the distance; are the objects which attract notice. We sat down on the mountain-top, and at our ease contemplated one of the grandest views in Europe.†

* This word signifies *The Five Mountains*, and is derived from the Tartar or the Circassian language, in which *Besh* signifies five, and *Tau* a mountain. It is the same in Greek, under *Pentopolis*; in Sclavonic under *Piatiború*, and in Circassian under *Och’hi-tkk’ou*. Hence, it is not uncommon to hear of the country of the Five Mountains. Vide *Histoire de la Tauride*, vol. ii. p. 20, and Klaproth, vol. i. p. 251.

† A friend who has travelled a great deal, and to whom I had shown this part of the MSS., makes the following remark: “I do not think this is quite correct. There are innumerable views in Switzerland and in Norway infinitely grander.” I have never been in Switzerland, and have seen but little of Norway; and as it is natural for us to judge by comparison, I

We descended the mountain, and rapidly returned to Karáss, where we found Mr. Jack ready to receive us into his house, in the most hospitable manner; and I was not a little pleased at the opportunity I had of joining the private family devotions of a Scotch clergyman so remote from our country. A maid-servant, who talked "*broad Scotch*," attracted our notice; but what was our surprise on being informed that she was one of the children of the Circassians, who had been bought from her parents, educated in the colony, steadily followed its fortunes, and was now a sincere Christian. John Abercrombie, another of these converts, and a ransomed Circassian, called upon me at Moscow in 1822, and I took him for a Scotchman. I was about to present a glass of wine to him, when the gentleman whom he accompanied said, "John is my servant, Sir."

On the 6th June we arrived, at an early hour, at Konstantínogórsk, and sent our cards to General Désbout, who gave us a very kind reception. We found him an intelligent and interesting man. He came to Russia when he was only seven years of age, and has passed the last ten years of his life in the vicinity of the Caucasus, and has occupied his leisure hours in composing an interesting Russian work, which he allowed us to examine, and which

wrote agreeably to the dictates of my sensations and belief. My friend admits, however, that it is a most imposing view.

bears the following title: “An Account of the Line of the Caucasus, and of the Forces of the Kozáks of the Black Sea; or, General Observations respecting the Colonised Regiments which guard the neighbouring Mountain Tribes.” He informed us, that every Thursday there was a regular guard provided, to accompany invalids, or visitors, from Konstantínogórsrk to Kislavódsrk; but he was so obliging as to order a special guard of six Kozáks, with whom we departed. During the first twenty versts we changed our guard three times. The road had hitherto led through a plain, frequently by the banks of the Podkúma; but, as we were soon to enter the defile of the mountains, where there was more danger of attack, the under-officer commanding a small redoubt wished to send ten soldiers with us. This we refused, as we should have been detained by walking at the rate the soldiers chose, but, by intreaty, we got our Kozáks augmented to eight in number. The preceding night had been very sultry, and the morning oppressively warm, and we were overtaken by a violent storm of wind and rain, after a good deal of thunder. We were shown a cavern in the calcareous rock, in which twenty Circassians had lately been destroyed by suffocation, in consequence of having kindled a fire, shut up the aperture, and gone to sleep. After winding among high mountains, some of which were bleak and sterile, while others were covered with wood, and passing some paltry

streams, it was necessary to ford the Podkúma, which we found flowing with great rapidity. The Kozáks having preceded us, and sounded the bottom with their lances, we passed in the carriage. The water reached above the horses' girths, and there was considerable danger of being carried away by the force of the stream. As the Podkúma frequently changes its course, it is necessary to examine before entering it, for it becomes so thick and turbulent that the bottom is not seen. By the banks of the rivulet Narzána we reached Kislavódskii, and ascended to the fortress, where the commandant offered us two low filthy apartments, from which we were glad to escape. It being yet too early in the season, the Kalmuck Tartars had not arrived to pitch their *kibítkas**, or portable felt-covered tents, upon the surrounding hills.

A merchant of Astrachán had caused eight wooden houses, each weighing 2000 poods, to be transported from thence, and erected here, on speculation. All of them were unfurnished, but still they proved a great accommodation to strangers. In one of these we took up our abode for the night.

Kislavódskii is beyond the line of the Russian dominions, but the Russians have taken entire possession of the neighbouring districts, for the sake

* A *kibítka* being the name of a very common *equipage*, in Russia, I could not think of a *tent*, when I first heard its application in that sense.

of the mineral waters, and have erected a small shabby redoubt, like those on the line of the Kubán, on an elevated situation, to protect visitors against the incursions of the Circassians, Abazians, and other mountain tribes. The neighbouring country has been pronounced "*one of the finest in the world* *," but we found Kislavódskii a bleak barren spot, surrounded by hills and mountains of various forms, but very unproductive, and almost bare of wood. In fine warm evenings, when the place is crowded with company, and the valley resounds with mirth and music, it may have a different aspect; but it was one of the gloomiest places in the world during our short stay.

The acidulous springs which flow from the neighbouring hills have been long known, and held in repute, by the natives, who call them *Nar-Zána*, or the drink of heroes, and by the Tartars, who name them *Atchi-Su*, or acidulated water. They have been examined by Lovitz, Pallas, and Sucharéf, and, if I mistake not, also by Guldenstäedt and Gmelin. More lately they were described by Dr. Háas, of Moscow, in a quarto volume; a work which may be recommended to those who want to know the minutest details respecting the different springs, as well as the diseases for which they are in use, the nature of the climate, &c.† They are strongly impregnated with carbonic acid gas, and

* Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, &c.

† Ma Visite aux Eaux d'Alexandre, en 1809 et 1810. Moscou.

they have been recommended in the same diseases for which the waters of Seltzer, of Egra, and Altwasser are used. Pallas bestowed upon them the appellation of *Waters of Alexander*, which is still retained. They are frequented by eighty or a hundred individuals annually, and are likely to be much used, if the plans of General Yermólof be adopted. It is said that this officer wishes to expend 200,000 or 300,000, roubles in arranging the baths at Konstantínogórsrk and Kislavódskii in an elegant manner, in building houses for visitors, and in procuring every other convenience.

The springs have often changed their course, and even been interrupted by the wanton mischief of the natives. There is a basin, about twelve feet in length, and six or eight in breadth, regularly formed, through which fine fountains throw up their waters, foaming and sparkling like champagne. The temperature of these waters is between 55° and 57° of Fah. Their chemical composition, according to the latest analysis, is detailed to tediousness by Dr. Håas, whose work may be called a panegyric rather than an impartial history.*

The baths for ladies and gentlemen were in a wretched condition, close to each other, and only inclosed by basket-work. The following account of them, given by Dr. Kimmel, in 1812, is amus-

* For an account of the rocks and plants at Kislavódskii the reader may consult Pallas.

ing, gives an excellent idea of the delicacy of the Russians who then frequented them, and forms one of the best illustrations of Russian character which ever issued from the native press. He says, “ A quelques pas de la source, il y a un grand trou dans la terre, par lequel l’eau passe. Autour de cet endroit on a fait une enciente de paille et de roseaux, et c’est là qu’on prend les bains froids. Les années précédentes, et même au commencement de la saison actuelle, les dames étoient obligées, d’y aller aussi bien que les messieurs ; car il n’y avoit pas d’autre bain, aussi eut-il beaucoup de désagrémens, les uns et les autres devant s’attendre mutuellement. Pour obvier à cette incommodité, Monsieur le Sénateur Obréskoff a fait arranger à côté un bain pour les dames. Il est établi sous un *aiul* Tartare et par conséquent beaucoup mieux gardé que celui des hommes.*”

On the 7th (19th N. S.) of June, at six o’clock in the morning, the thermometer sunk to 50° of Fah. an extraordinary low temperature for the time of year in this climate.

The Elborus,† the loftiest mountain of the Cau-

* Lettres écrites dans un Voyage de Moscou au Caucase, p. 124. Moscou, 1812.

† The Elborus, Elburus, Elbruz, Elburz, or Alburz, is sometimes called by the natives the *Shat*, or *Shach-Gora* ; but, according to Pallas, the Circassians call it *Osha Mashua*, or the Happy Mountain ; and the Akases, *Orfi Ipgub*. Mr. Glen *Scotchifies* it into Alburrows. *Journal*, p. 37.

casus, and one of the highest on the globe, was alternately seen insulated, and showing two conical summits, one much higher than the other, and obscured by passing clouds. According to Pallas, this mountain yields in nothing to Mont Blanc, in Switzerland. It was measured, some years ago, by Colonel Boutsovskii, who estimated its height at 16,700 Parisian, or 17,785 English feet, above the level of the sea. If this statement be correct, mount Elborus exceeds mount Blanc (which is only 15,630) in height more than 2000 feet.*

We returned by the same road to Konstantínogórsk, and breakfasted with General Désbout, and then proceeded to examine the celebrated warm sulphureous springs, which form the Aix-la-chapelle of the Russian dominions, and have their source in the hill called Mestchúcha. In our way thither, our attention was arrested by a fair, or sale of horses, at which we found Kálmucks, Tartars, Circassians, Georgians, and Russians, assembled. We saw none of the beautiful animals which we had expected to have found here. Indeed it was rather a sale of carriage horses, and is held weekly during summer to supply the visitors and invalids of Kon-

* Vide *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Georgie*, &c. 23 ; or, the English Translation of this work, which was lately published in a very elegant manner, and by an individual who was competent for the task she undertook. The additional plates, and the notes of the translator, give additional value to the volume. The original work is written in a lively romantic style, but often fails in conveying the requisite or the most accurate information.

stantínogórsrk with these animals for their carriages. The Kálmucks had just arrived, according to their annual custom, with their *kibítkas*, or covered felt tents, which they were busily occupied in pitching upon the plain, in order to let them at a fixed price, by the week, month, or season, there being a great want of accommodation for strangers.

Over the hot springs, a small edifice, with columns, has been lately erected, and has a handsome appearance. It is well represented by the vignette of this chapter. The interior apartments are elegantly fitted up; and the baths are large and very neatly cut out of the solid rock. Their temperature being 106° of Fah. they felt excessively hot. It required ten minutes before I fairly entered the bath to the chin, having been obliged to proceed in the slowest manner, and it was impossible to remain there long. One of our party could not enter the bath at all, the heat being to him quite insupportable. The rooms were filled with strong sulphureous vapours, and a pipe conveyed cold water, so as to enable every bather to use any temperature he pleased, or that was prescribed by the resident physician; or rather, I ought to say, the physician who is appointed by the crown to reside at the mineral waters of Konstantínogórsrk and Kislavódskii. After leaving the bath, we examined another spring which flowed into an open basin covered by a deposit of sulphur, and whose temperature was 112° Fah.

In ascending the Mestchúcha, we saw an immense fissure, and different caverns, in the rock, from which issued abundance of sulphureous vapours. Higher up this hill we remarked another fountain, which was somewhat warm, in a state of effervescence, and slightly acidulous; and, what was more remarkable, at a short distance from it, we found a sulphureous and acidulous cold spring. Consequently the Mestchúcha contains mineral fountains in its bosom, by the mixture of which any temperature can be employed either for drinking or bathing.

Konstantínogórsk forms one of the redoubts of the Caucasian line, and includes wooden and earthen barracks, and some small houses for the commanding officers. It is surrounded by a ditch, and a dozen of cannon defend its ramparts. At a short distance is, the *slóboda*, or suburb, which contains a number of paltry wooden and clay-covered houses, of a very mean appearance, excepting three or four, and the newly-erected habitation of General Yermólof, who means to improve this watering-place, and to encourage it by his presence annually, during a short time in summer. Most of the houses consist only of two apartments, belong to soldiers who have returned from the service, and are let at a high price. We entered some small shops, which were well stocked with provisions and luxuries, which were very dear. The Don wine, red and white, was much drank during the heat

of the day, by the numerous visitors; but they generally bring stores with them from Moscow, or from some one of the government towns. They are supplied with cheese, butter, chickens, hens, eggs, lamb, veal, vegetables, and fruit, by the Scotch colony. In some of the shops, the arms of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus are sold, as, poniards, (called *kingjal*), knives, sabres, guns, pistols, and even complete dresses and uniforms. The number of invalids sometimes amounts to 200, or even 300, during a season.

Mr. Jack had come along with some *friendly Circassians* on purpose to join us at Konstantínogórsrk, and to conduct us to their houses. After a drive of about four versts, we reached their village at the foot of Beshtau. It was inclosed by a paling of basket-work, which, after alighting, we entered by a wicket. A number of women, miserably dressed, made their escape, but the children, almost in a state of nudity, remained for a few minutes to gaze at us. One black-eyed girl, of a very dark complexion, with a few tattered clothes on her, and with a naked child in her arms, reminded us of the savages of America and India. The *Usdeen*, or noble, who was well-dressed and very clean, conducted us past a number of wicker-work clay-plastered houses, one of which had been blown down the preceding night, an occurrence which is very common, and which is greatly faci-

litated by the lightness of the materials of which they consist, and by each standing separate from the others. Our host's wife had retreated to her own apartment, and no persuasion could induce him to present us to her. We saw and conversed, however, through Mr. Jack, with his mother, an old woman, who had a dignified deportment. We were shown into a small room, with the fire-place on one side, and a very low sofa, with cushions, on the other, the wall being hung, not with tapestry, but with woven straw, and covered with Circassian fire arms, swords, and poniards. This noble wished to kill a sheep for our entertainment, but as we refused to await its preparation, a small low round table, without table-cloth, knives, forks, or plates, was covered by millet boiled in milk, like pieces of pudding. In the centre was placed a wooden dish, containing pieces of new cheese, like curd, which had been toasted with butter and honey. At another table, his children, and some other girls, partook of the same fare, which they helped themselves to with their hands. They were all dressed in gaudy colours, and walked in high pattens. They were very fine girls, and most of them had beautiful features.

We gave our host, Soliman Abazkoief, a tenrouble note, under the name of his eldest daughter. Another *Uzdeen* or noble, Shóra, who had also joined us at Konstantínogórsk, and accompanied

us to the village, employs himself as a *whip-maker*, and from him we bought a number of Circassian whips, for four, ten, and, even fifteen roubles; those at the last price having a small dagger in the handle. All of them were remarkably well made.

As we proceeded to Karáss, we could not help being amused at the component parts of our party. A Scotch priest, mounted as among his native hills, and a Circassian noble and whip-maker, on his beautiful steed, rode side by side, or tried the speed of their horses against one another, as we were whirled along by the Russian *isvostchiks*, who sung with great animation. In the evening, Soliman, and another noble, a Nogay *mírza*, or prince, whose village was in an uproar, and who had been to complain to the military authorities at Konstantínogórsk, made us a visit, and were highly pleased with the presents we made them of English razors, as was also our faithful attendant Shóra. The latter we found to be a clever intelligent man, who both spoke and wrote Russian very well; his occupation proclaimed that he was not rich, but yet he had a noble mind, and perhaps only awaits an opportunity to distinguish himself. Mr. Jack having informed us, that he had been at different times on the point of becoming a convert to the Christian religion, and once had consented to be baptised, and then relapsed into his Mahomedan ideas and opinions,

I entered into a long conversation with him, and was equally surprised at his knowledge and his powerful mode of reasoning.*

Although the Scotch colony had not as yet been attended with all the success which was to be wished, Mr. Jack was in great hopes of being ultimately successful in the object of his mission. He was upon excellent terms, as we had opportunities of witnessing, both with the chiefs of the Nogay Tartars, and those of the Circassians. Having gained their confidence and esteem, he is likely to become useful; and then, though only established for about two years at Karáss, he had succeeded in obtaining a hearing from the natives, who had also submitted to be catechised.

All the mountain tribes of the Caucasus seem to have some affinities, and to wish to continue the mode of life of their ancestors. Little given to agriculture, they support themselves by hunting, robbing, and feeding cattle. They lie in ambush and at once seize their prey, or make an attack upon small parties, when sure of victory. They carry off men, women, children, cattle, provisions, and indeed every moveable that falls in their way. Their great object is to take prisoners of high rank, for whom they obtain a large ransom, and

* Shóra is spoken of by Mr. Glen, (p. 84). He appeared to be very cunning, and perhaps he reaps some advantages from his attachment to the missionaries.

they treat them severely, and even cruelly, in order that they may give an account of their afflictions to their friends by letters, which are sure to be forwarded. As the ransom depends upon the lives of their prisoners, they are peculiarly careful to preserve them. Since the Russians have acquired Georgia, the mountaineers have made many prisoners, and obtained great ransoms; but of late the guards of the mountain passes have been strengthened, and a severe, nay, even barbarous, policy has been pursued, which has greatly intimidated the Circassian highlanders. The Russians were formerly in the habit of sending predatory bands of the Kozáks among the mountaineers, in order to retaliate for their incursions, and they were successful in their object; but, unfortunately for them at times, they introduced the plague among themselves, a disease which often rages among the mountains, and against which no means are employed; the natives, like the Tartars, and true disciples of Mahomed, having the strongest belief in fatalism. They have great advantages over their enemies, for, when they wish it, they retreat to their rocky and inaccessible fastnesses, and guard their defiles. The Christian religion, which was formerly taught among the primitive mountains of the Caucasus, is now almost entirely unknown, the natives having become either Mahomedans or idolaters. It is true, a few of the Osseti-

nians at Kazbék, and its vicinity, profess Christianity, but they are deficient in the knowledge of its principles.

A number of Circassian families, who dwell on the north side of the Caucasian line of defence, and are called *Friendly Circassians*, though not real *subjects* of Russia, yet may be regarded, in a considerable degree, as *subjects* to that power. They preserve their ancient habits and manners, and mode of living, but they dare not pass *the line* without permission from the Russian government, nor visit any town after having obtained it, without subjection to the quarantine. The Circassian priests, and even the peasants, like the Crimean Tartars, frequently make pilgrimages to Mecca, and thus introduce the plague, which produces the greatest consternation, and has tended greatly to depopulate the Caucasus. The Nogay Tartars, who live on the north of the line of the Caucasus, are subject to the same formalities as the *Friendly Circassians*. Neither of those tribes dare rob or steal openly, but it is suspected that they sometimes do so clandestinely, and also that they maintain a correspondence with their brethren on the other side of the *line*, and furnish them with information which guides some of their predatory incursions. The Russians have used all possible efforts, by force and flattery, to tame those fierce and valiant barbarians, who, with some reason, regard them as intruders upon their territories, and have sworn to

accept of no conditions, and to make no terms of peace, until they evacuate their defiles. Kimmel tells us, that in 1812, he knew Kabardian princes who were in the Russian service, one of whom had the rank of a Colonel, the other that of a Major, and we heard of a Circassian noble who held a rank in that army, when at Konstantínogórsk.*

The government among most of the mountain tribes is feudal; and the natives are divided into three classes, the princes, the nobles, and the peasants, besides the priests. The nobles have slaves, who descend to them by inheritance, but whom they dare not sell. The peasants work for the nobles, and take care of their cattle. The nobles contribute to the support of their princes by furnishing them with horses and cattle.

Pallas and Klaproth have given interesting accounts of the Circassians; and Dr. Clarke has also treated of them at some length, so that I shall at present refer the reader, for details, to these authors.

We bade Mr. Jack and the other members of

* Some of the Ossetínians, and also of the Tchitchentsi, are likewise officers in the Russian service. Mr. Glen, in one of his visits in the neighbourhood of Karáss, speaks of a Sultan who acted as *pristaf*, or a kind of civil officer, among the Tartars, and who had the title and pay of a Russian general; he had been at Petersburg in his youth, where he had access to good company; he was a shrewd man, and apparently of an inquisitive turn of mind, and his knowledge of the politics of Europe was considerable. *Journal*, p. 143.; and p. 490. of this volume.

the Scotch colony, adieu, and returned to Geörgiévsk, where we made but a short stay.

On the 9th June we left Geörgiévsk, about half past six in the morning; and, after a rapid drive of 115 versts over level, dry, and excellent roads, we reached Mozdók at half past four o'clock in the afternoon, though we had been detained at one of the stations till the horses were brought from the fields. To prevent this occurrence a second time, we gave the *uriádnik*, or under-officer, at each of the stations, as well as the Kozák guards, liberally for drink-money, and employed one of the latter as an *avant-courier*, who preceded us with the *podorójne*, and got the horses ready by the time of our arrival. One of the stages, between Prochládnaya and Yekaterínográd, we ran in an hour and two minutes, a distance of seventeen versts, or nearly eleven and a half miles.

After having forded the Podkúma, we remarked that Geörgiévsk had a formidable appearance from the south, on account of its situation on the high banks of that river. Near Pávlovskaya we crossed a small river, where there is a rapid hill to ascend, and we were obliged to walk. In this dell the Circassians were formerly wont to make their attacks. We were powerfully struck with a beautiful small dell, or valley, on the left, in the middle of surrounding *steps*, whose declivitous sides were covered with wood, and its centre filled with gardens. The villages, besides those at some of the stations, were

few in number. Yekaterínográd, which was once intended to have been a government town, may be reckoned a large village, with a fortress, and the *unfinished Tribunals* falling into ruins. The Malka is a considerable river, but the water is extremely muddy. From Yekaterínográd the country becomes more pleasant, and the views include green plains with scattered trees, and the gentle hills of Circassia. When we arrived at Pávlodólskoyé, we were told by the *uriádnik*, just before entering the gate, that there were no post-horses, but that he had given orders, and we should find them in the village. We accordingly proceeded, when the Kozáks, who had been sent before us, came up, and said there were *no horses*. The *stárost* was found, and he ran from house to house and gave orders, while the Kozáks were equally as busy, having received permission to take horses wherever they could find them. The whole village was in an uproar. Men, women, boys, and girls, led out their harnessed horses from every door, and violent disputes arose as to whose should be taken, as none were willing to give them, though necessitated to obey the mandate. When we set off, we left about twenty horses behind us ; and, as we had paid well for those we had received, the peasants were ultimately well pleased, as we had an opportunity of learning upon our return. I mention this circumstance to show how absolute power is used in a despotic country. When the post-horses are all

out, there is an understanding that the village horses may supply their places, on urgent occasions, but in regular routine. On this occasion, however, no regularity was observed, and the peasants were forced to obey.

On arriving at Mozdók, we proceeded directly to the police-office, and the master of police immediately ordered us quarters in the house of an Armenian merchant, where we were well accommodated, but very unwelcome guests. In the evening we drank tea with the commandant, who made all arrangements for our journey to Tiflis, and furnished us with an order for horses, and a guard in the Caucasus. As a powerful convoy accompanies the mail every Saturday, we had purposely calculated our journey, so as to arrive at Mozdók on Friday.

Mozdók lies upon the right bank of the Terek. It is one of the largest towns in the south of the Russian dominions, and contains a population of about 5,000 souls, chiefly Armenians, Georgians, and Circassians, besides some Russians, Greeks, Tartars, Kalmucks, Kozáks, and Jesuit Jews. It forms a small emporium between Russia and the Caucasus and Georgia. The inhabitants chiefly live by the products of their vineyards, gardens, morocco manufactories, and a kind of spirit prepared from grapes, which they send to Russia. They keep many silk-worms, and the town and neighbourhood abound in white and red mulber-

ries for their support. Their chief commerce, however, is with the mountaineers, to whose necessities or luxuries they contribute.

The streets of Mozdók are all straight and regular. The principal one is broader than the rest, and its southern extremity is terminated by a square, in which are the police-office, a Russian church, shops, &c. Ditches, with trees growing out of their middle, run along both sides of all the streets. The houses are mostly one story in height, built of wood, and covered with the same material, or with straw, and *plastered with clay*; so that the whole town would have a gloomy appearance, were it not for the gardens which, in the Asiatic taste, every where surround the houses, and, by their green shade, their various-coloured blossoms, and their abundance of fruit, give a cheerful aspect. The Roman Catholic chapel is the best edifice in Mozdók, but Pater Henri, a Jesuit priest, who has officiated in it for the last fifteen years, was about to depart, in consequence of an Imperial *ukáz*, commanding all Jesuits to quit the empire.

We saw many of the Armenian women here, and some of them seemed as shy as the Tartar or the Circassian females. They are a fine race of people. They are married at a very early age; and it is not uncommon for a mother to be no more than thirteen years of age. The males do not think of marriage till sixteen, eighteen, or

twenty; and it often happens that a man of forty marries a girl of twelve years of age.

We laid in a stock of provisions at Mozdók to serve us to Tiflis. On Saturday afternoon, the 10th of June, we left that town; and, after proceeding about six versts, we came to the ferry of the Térek, where were assembled crowds of individuals of different nations, and numerous equipages, around a few wattled huts for the convenience of the officers of the crown, quarantine, &c. The Térek rises in the ravines of Mount Caucasus, near one of its highest hills, the Kazbék, and, being gradually increased by many tributary rivulets and streams, passes through a rocky precipitous channel, till it reaches a more level surface. At the ferry it is a deep, wide, and rapid river. Retaining an eastern direction from thence, it proceeds to pour its waters into the Caspian sea, by various embouchures beyond Kislár. This river, according to modern geographers, forms the boundary between Europe and Asia.*

The ferry is very badly arranged; but, after waiting a considerable time, we succeeded in making our passage, and landed in Asia, where we took up our quarters in the *Alexándrovskoi Redut*, or the Redoubt of Alexander. A small basket-work house, half sunk in the earth, and covered with clay, was allotted for us, as being the

* Vide p. 382. of this volume.

best accommodation of the place. Its bare walls and damp floor, concealed by an abundance of hay, gave it more the appearance of a stable than quarters for travellers; and, for our comfort, the soldier who attended gave us to understand, that we should have plenty of society, — especially fleas and bugs, — as numerous former *tenants* had slept upon the hay; but we preferred walking in the open air till bed-time, and then enjoyed the luxury of sleeping in the carriages. *

The whole caravan had not crossed the Térek before next morning. At half-past seven o'clock the drum beat, as a signal for all to prepare to march, by quitting the redoubt and assembling on the road. Our cavalcade was of a very motley description. Eleven Kozáks, divided into three parties, one in the middle of the road, and one on each side, and at a considerable distance, formed the advanced guard. Our whole body of infantry consisted of seventy soldiers, who, as well as the Kozáks, were commanded by a lieutenant. Part of them followed the central Kozáks, with a three-pounder and a powder magazine, each drawn by a team of horses, in their rear. The *mail-cart*, filled with large leathern bags, driven by a rude clumsy Russian female, and surrounded by infantry, took the

* I collected the following plants by the banks of the Térek :
Statice tatarica, *Pyrethrum corumbosum*, *Nepeta Ukrania*
Phlomis pungens.

next station, being the place of greatest security. As a mark of respect, our carriages had the post of honour, next to the *mail-cart*, assigned to them, and were followed by about a hundred equipages of various kinds. French calashes, Polish *britchkas*, Russian *kibítkas* and *telégas*, Hungarian waggons, and Tartar *arbas* drawn by oxen, formed the line nearly a mile in length. The greatest part of the Russian and Tartar carts were filled with seventy soldiers' wives, who, by command of General Yermólof, governor-general of the Caucasus and Georgia, were proceeding to the neighbourhood of Tiflis, to join their husbands for the sake of colonisation. A number of these carts were also loaded with black bread, millet, barrels of *kvass*, and even of *vodtka*, for the support of these women, and of 300 recruits who were on their way to supply deficiencies in the Georgian army. Some hundred horses, which were going from Rostóf to Tiflis for sale, were driven forward in the adjacent fields, while herds of cattle from Stávropole, for the same purpose, brought up the rear. Russians, Georgians, Kozáks on business, Armenians,—some of whom preferred making the journey on horseback,—with ourselves, Italians, and Britons, were the representatives of the nations of which the caravan was composed.

At the sound of the second drum the procession, as it might well be called, began; and, very soon afterwards, the cavalcade was formed, by the

lieutenant's orders, into two parallel lines, so as to be more compact, while the Kozák guards rode a verst in advance, and on each side. After travelling seven versts we rested half an hour, as preparatory to a pretty rapid ascent among the mountains, which are of considerable height, and finely wooded. It had rained all night, and still continued to rain, so that the roads were excessively heavy, and our carriages with great difficulty were dragged to the summit of a hill, where the caravan remained an hour to feed the cattle. We then descended the same hill, whose southern aspect was more dreary and bare than the northern, and, after traversing a fine plain, we arrived at the paltry redoubt of Konstantin, situated near the base of the next range of mountains. Within the fortress we got two miserable chambers, but somewhat better than those we had left at Alexándrovskoi.

We had long conversations with different officers with respect to the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, and heard many relations respecting them, both during our dreary drive of twenty miles, which had occupied us about twelve hours, and after our arrival at the place of rest for the night. An officer whom we met informed us, that General Yermólof was so incensed against the Tchitchéntsi, one of the most ferocious and untameable of the Caucasian tribes, that he was now sending off great caravans of them to Siberia. They are seized and kept prisoners till a sufficient number is collected, and then

they are transported to the East for life. Surely such rigorous policy is neither sanctioned by the laws of God nor man. The Kabardians too have lately been expatriated, and their country given to others of the more tranquil tribes. Indeed, I have been informed, that it is intended to establish Russian colonies in these regions, so as more effectually to repress the highlanders of the Caucasus; and this will be easily done, as the soil is rich, and will yield plentiful crops, if well cultivated.

The fort of Constantine is pleasantly situated*, and a small temple on an adjoining rising ground gives it a picturesque effect. We were surprised, when informed that this temple was erected to the memory of one of the princes of the Tchitchéntsi, who fell in an engagement between his followers and a party of Russians.

On the 11th June, after a good night's repose, we were warned again by the signals to put ourselves in motion. It had rained all night, the morning was dark and dismal, and the roads were in a shocking state. By advice, we hired additional horses for one of the carriages, and we were afterwards

* It is thus described by Sir R. K. Porter: — "The fort (called Algoi Kabaki, otherwise the fort of Constantine) is one of the Russian positions which maintain the passes of the mountains, and is situated on a rising ground, at the foot of a high hill. These positions are mere *field-forts*, surrounded by a ditch. The inner face of the breast-work of the fort we were then in, was additionally strengthened by a thick lining of wicker-work." — *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.* p. 567.

glad that we had done so, as even with eight we accomplished the ascent of seven versts, among the hills, with difficulty, which was greatly increased by the horses being unshod. The same kind of scenery was seen to-day as yesterday; and during the short intermission of rain and the dispersion of the clouds, we perceived that the country was very fine, varied with gentle elevations and valleys, in some places bare, and in many covered with wood. On our return from Georgia we enjoyed some extensive views from the tops of these mountains; and the impression made upon our minds was that the country for which the Tchitchéntsi fought was worthy of a struggle. We neither saw village, nor human being, in the course of the day, though we were told that there were both at the distance of five or six versts from the road. Having descended the second range of hills beyond the Térek*, and walked over the plain, at the distance of thirteen versts from the station, by permission of the commanding-officer, and with a guard of Kozáks, we left the caravan, crossed the rivulet Kambeleika, and got pretty comfortably lodged in the Redoubt of Elizabeth, another mean fortress, surrounded

* Madame Freyganck very inaccurately states that "*the plain*," which is crossed between Mozdók and Vladikavkáz, "offers nothing to the sight but uncultivated heaths." She has altogether forgot the two ranges of hills to which I have alluded, and which, in many places, are covered with shrubs and woods. Vide *Letters from the Caucasus*, p. 36.

by earthen ramparts and palisades. The water we found here was so muddy, that before we could use it, we were obliged to employ boiling and filtration.

On the 12th June, after the usual ceremonies, we pursued our journey, over roads which were in a horrible state, the rain having continued all night, and still continuing. The route to-day was wholly through a level country, a fine and rich plain, but completely desolate. At the distance of five versts we again left the convoy, with a guard, and arrived at Vladíkavkáz, whose lively appearance, on a rising ground, at the bottom of the grand chain of Mount Caucasus, somewhat relieved the gloom of three days' most tiresome march, in which we had not travelled sixty miles, and during which the roads were so bad, and the rains so incessant, that we could not quit the carriages without getting wet. We got comfortably lodged, and made a visit to the governor, Colonel Skvartsóf, whom we found very obliging. He had just received a letter, informing him that an *avalanche* had fallen beyond Kóbi, into the ravine in which the Térek flows, and rendered it almost impassable. He, consequently, advised us to leave our carriages, and to make the journey to Tiflis on horseback.

Vladíkavkáz, from its situation, being a place of great importance, deserves particular notice. Its name is a compound word, derived from the Russian verb *vládet*, to govern or command, and *Kavkáz*, the

Russian name of the Caucasus; and this appellation was given to the fortress because it commands one of the passages of the chain of mountains which forms the almost impenetrable barrier between Asia and Europe. It is believed to be the key of the famous *Pylæ Sarmaticæ*, the *Porta Caucasica*, or the *Porta Iberica* of the ancients, through which the Medes, or rather their descendants, the Sarmatians, and other nations, passed into the plains of the north, and gave origin to a variety of nations. This pass is generally known in modern times by the appellation *Porta Caucasica*, *Porte Caucasiennne*, or *Defile of the Térék*. The other passage of the Caucasus was known to the ancients under the names of *Pylæ Albanicæ*, or *Via Caspia*; and in modern times forms the *Porte Caspienne*, or the Pass of Derbent. Because Pliny describes the fortress of *Cumania*, some speak of a third mountain defile, though unable to tell us where it is, and it appears probable that it never had existence. Others, perhaps with more reason, have bestowed the name *Porta Cumana* to the *Pass of the Térék*, as one of its synonyms.

The Russians, well aware of the importance of the site of Vladíkavkáz, resolved to erect a fortress, which might not only serve as the head quarters of the forces on the north side of the mountains, but also as an emporium of military stores for the neighbouring troops.

Within the boundaries of the fortress are nume-

rous magazines, barracks, and rows of shops, besides some white-washed houses, for the dwellings of the governor and of the officers. The number of troops stationed here varies, according to circumstances, from a battalion to a regiment or two, but it is always defended by a number of cannon. The adjoining village, inhabited by Ossetinians, has a very mean appearance.

The shops were well supplied with every article we desired, and even with many kinds of wine.

The weather still being very unfavourable, we took a hint from the custom of the natives of these mountainous regions, and provided ourselves with *burchás*, of which I have already spoken*, and with great thick white flannel hoods, called *bashliks*, which covered our caps. On the 14th of June, mounted upon good horses, shrouded under our uncouth but weather-proof hoods and mantles, and accompanied by ten Kozáks displaying their lances, and as many soldiers with their loaded guns, we left Vladíkavkáz, and crossed the Terek by a long wooden bridge, so covered with mud, that the road resembled a quagmire. Turning to the south, we traversed a plain near the banks of the river, which here flows with considerable rapidity. The scenery on the left, intermixed with the villages of the Ossetinians, warned us of our approach to the charming views of which we had heard so much. Eight versts from Vladíkavkáz, we passed through

* Vide p. 220. of this volume.

Novinka, a village of the Ossetinians, and saw some of them, who were employed in different kinds of rural labour. Soon afterwards we passed the first defile of the *Porta Caucasica*, about four versts in length, presenting a combination of beauty and sublimity which rivetted the attention, and reminded me of the craggy mountains and romantic Highland dells of Scotland, and with them, of the agreeable associations of the days of one's youthful travels and adventures. Surrounded by beautifully wooded hills, overhanging precipices, and naked strata, which were intersected by ravines and valleys, and with the rapid but dirty Terek and an adjoining crystal stream flowing at our feet, it was impossible not to admire ; and while we admired, not to adore. *

The mountains became lower and farther separated before reaching a small village and military station, balled Balta, twelve versts from Vladikavkáz. In this village resides *Devlet Mirza*, an Ossetinian noble, who is a captain in the Russian service. Six versts further, and just before reach-

* The contrast between the water of the Terek, and that of the rivulet, struck us very forcibly. The Terek rises at a great elevation, flows rapidly, and is continually receiving tributary streams, which are formed from the melted snow during the warm season of the year ; and these causes may partly account for its being generally so muddy. Yet many mountain streams are quite clear. The rivulet takes its origin from low hills, at no great distance, and flowing quietly along, disturbs nothing in its course.

ing the village of Maksímkina, our attention was called to two high slender monuments rising in the valley, with inscriptions upon them. They are erected to the memory of two Georgian travellers who were murdered near this spot by the natives. The valley now again became narrow, forming a second defile, encompassed by wild and terrific scenery, which raised ideas of grandeur and sublimity, rather than of beauty. Immense mountains, on one side, present their naked walls, whose summits, from our situation, were invisible, and from whose nearly perpendicular craggy sides issue a thousand rills and streams, forming numerous foaming cascades. On the other side were the ruins of an old castle, a cemetery filled with white tombs, the picturesque Ossetinian village, Lars, and a Russian fortress; all backed by gentle hills, and these by almost naked mountains.*

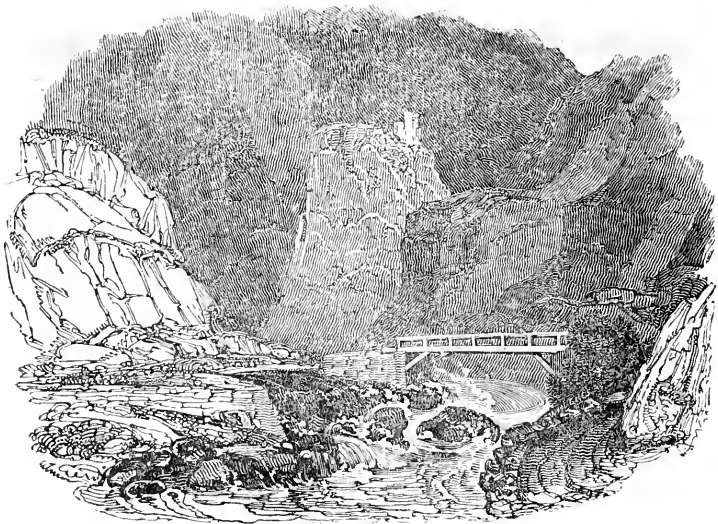
The village, Lars, is a very miserable dirty place, built a good deal like some of the Tartar villages in the Krimea. The natives behaved well, though they seemed greatly astonished at our appearance. In the small fort above the village is a number of buildings.

We found a Russian officer dwelling in a wooden house, adjoining to the village, who was there for the purpose of superintending the roads, and who gave us a very cordial reception. He was dressed completely like one of the Ossetinian nobles,

* Sir R. K. Porter has given a plate of the Pass of the Caucasus.

on purpose, he said, that the natives might not readily recognise him, and that he might better know what was going on in his neighbourhood.

We had changed the infantry three times in our progress to Lars ; and there we changed both them and the Kozák guard, as well as our horses. Through the mountain pass we reached the defile of Dariél, which may be called the *Thermopylæ* of the Caucasus, where Nature is seen in her fantastic wildness and sterility.



CHAP. XI.

DEFILE OF DARIÉL.—VIEW OF THE CAUCASUS.—SUBTERRA-
 NEOUS ROAD.—THE TÉREK.—IMPROVEMENT OF ROADS.—
 THE FORTRESS OF DARIÉL.—THE ANCIENT CASTLE OF DA-
 RIÉL.—MOUNTAIN TRIBES.—IMPOLITIC CONDUCT OF RUSSIA.
 —VILLAGE OF KAZBÉK.—ITS INHABITANTS.—MOUNTAIN
 OF KAZBÉK.—CATHEDRAL.—MOUNT ZION.—KÓBI.—DE-
 PARTURE.—ALPINE PLANTS.—MINERAL SPRINGS.—AN
 AVALANCHE.—THE BI-GORÁ.—THE MOUNTAIN OF THE
 CROSS.—ASCENT OF THE GOOT-GORÁ.—CRITICISMS.—BA-
 SALTIC ROCK.—DESCENT OF THE GOOT-GORÁ.—KASHAÚR.
 —MILITARY STATIONS.—FARE FOR HORSES.—COMPLAINTS
 OF THE KOZÁKS.—TEÜLUTIANS.—A CAT THEIR ORACLE.—
 SINGULAR PUNISHMENT.—COLLECTION OF TAXES.—THE
 ARÁGUA.—CONDUCT OF AN OSSETINIAN.—VALE OF PAS-
 SÁNANOOR.—FORT OF PASSÁNANOOR.—QUARANTINE OF
 ANANNOOR.—FORTRESS OF ANANNOOR.—ITS CHURCH.—
 NEW QUARANTINE.—CASTLE OF DUSHÉT.—TOWN OF DU-
 SHÉT.—PLOUGHING.—THE VALE OF ARÁGUA.—KHARTIS-

KÁRST.—MSKET.—THE KOOR.—THE CATHEDRAL OF MSKET.
— INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY. — THE TSARS OF GEOR-
GIA. — ANECDOTE.— PASSAGE OF THE CAUCASUS.

THE defile of Dariél is thus described by Sir R. Porter: “ The chasm rises from the river’s brink, upwards of a thousand feet. Its sides are broken into clefts and projections, dark and frowning ; so high, so close, so overhanging, that even at mid-day the whole is covered with a shadow bordering on twilight.” With this description, the knight’s pencil is in unison ; and the view he gives of the defile is one of the best in his volumes. Some of his other views, by such a master of his art, may be reckoned complete failures. Though when he first saw the proper boundary between Asia and Europe, he tells us, in the most flowery style, that “ the vast piles of Caucasus” presented to his view “ a world of themselves ; rocky, rugged, and capped with snow ; stretching east and west beyond the reach of vision, and shooting far into the skies ;” and that “ it was a sight to make the senses pause ; to oppress even respiration, by the weight of the impression on the mind, of such vast, overpowering sublimity ;” yet his “ *Distant View of Mount Caucasus*” does not convey the smallest idea of the truly sublime original. Indeed, a gentleman, well qualified to judge, said to me, that a view of Hampstead hills would give nearly as accurate a representation of the altitude and grandeur of the

Caucasus, as Sir R. Porter's plate ; and there is much truth in the observation. Some of his other views, however, are master-pieces of wild majestic scenery.

We had been forcibly struck at one part of the journey of the preceding day. A few yards of the road were blasted out of the solid rock, by the bank of the Térek, so that we rode through a kind of gallery, open on one side, and supported by pillars, beneath a huge mountain.* The Térek rolls its course with great rapidity, sometimes separated into a number of branches ; and no less than 800 soldiers were occupied in raising mounds of great stones and trees, called *counter-forces*, to keep it from destroying the road, and to confine it within

* After passing Balta, Sir R. Porter talks of the road running beneath pendent archways of stone, which are merely high enough to allow the passage under them of a low carriage ; and of a path so narrow as scarcely to admit two carriages to pass each other ;" while " one side of the road is on the edge of a precipice, which, in some places, is sixty feet deep ; and in others, above one hundred ;" with the " roaring waters of the Térek at the bottom of this abyss." I find no notice of any such place in my notes, nor do I recollect any such road ; and I am inclined to think, that Sir R. Porter, or his transcriber, has confounded this part of the defile with that above noticed, and of which I am about to speak. As Sir R. Porter drew near Dariél, he says, " our road was rendered still more obscure, by its leading, for a considerable way, through a subterranean passage cut in the solid rock." In Blackwood's Magazine it is remarked, " that this passage, however, is subterranean, in the usual acceptance of the word, only for the space of three or four feet." I believe my account above to be correct.

a regular channel. Colonel Johnson says, “ it is a matter deserving particular notice, that the Russian soldiers, wherever stationed, are usefully employed in public works, as roads, bridges, military posts, &c. This employment cannot but operate most favourably on their general character, as it counteracts those habits of dissipation to which soldiers are prone in the intervals of active warfare. It diminishes the repugnance excited by the presence of soldiers among the inhabitants of a district, who seeing them thus occupied, cease to regard them as slothful and vicious intruders, the drones or locusts of the state.”* But I have great reason to believe, that the mountaineers would much rather not see any improvements of the kind in their neighbourhood, as they tend to increase the means both of resistance and of attack.

We crossed an excellent bridge, now the only passage over the Térék near Dariél. The Ossetinians once destroyed it, when they knew that the tax-officers were about to make them a visit. The small fortress of Dariél is of more importance than its appearance indicates, being situated in one of the most dangerous places in the *Porta Caucasica*. The ruins of a castle on a nearly isolated rock in the middle of the valley, which commands the gloomy defile through which we had passed, attracted our particular attention. They, as well as

* A Journey from India to England, p. 256.

the bridge just alluded to, are well seen in the vignette prefixed to this chapter. Sir R. Porter “found the ruins consisted of one strong square tower, with thick massive walls surrounding it, and encircling a space besides, sufficient to garrison several hundred soldiers. This seemed the citadel of the pass ;” and “on all the points where the rocks might have formed advantageous lodgements for any enemy who had been dextrous enough to gain them, the ruins of subordinate out-works were visible. The face of the mountain behind the tower had been hewn, with manifest great labour, into a kind of aqueduct, to convey water to the garrison.” He adds, “when we consider that there would be ground within its lines, to supply themselves and cattle with food, we could not suppose a place better adapted for the purposes of such a station. A subterraneous passage runs down from the castle to the bank of the river, communicating, probably, with other works which might be below to bar more immediately the ingress of the valley.” According to the calculations of Dr. Reineggs, who made a number of visits to the Caucasus, the elevation of the mountains directly opposite the castle of Dariél is 3786 feet.

Were the above castle in good order, with a hundred men, and a few pieces of cannon, the *Thermopylæ* might be defended against the combined forces of Russia. We were informed, that a few Ossetinians even kept command of the defile against

a numerous corps of Russians, and killed all who attempted to pass ; till, at length, they were starved out of their position. To prevent similar attempts for the future, the Russians destroyed the castle ; but, probably, the natives rejoice that they cannot remove the mountain, which may very likely again become the seat of warfare.

Near Dariél, about a month before we passed the defile, two Kozáks were attacked and murdered by the natives. In ascending the mountain pass towards Kazbék, we remarked numerous villages, with square pyramidal towers, and surrounded by walls, which were the native fortresses in more remote periods, when the various mountain tribes waged war against each other. But these times are past, and they seem to reckon that they have now a common enemy. They appear to be united in a band of friendship among themselves, and to have sworn eternal enmity to the Russians, along the whole mountain chain, from the Euxine to the Caspian. It is the avowed policy of the Russians, to create divisions among the different tribes ; but, although they have been partially successful in their plans, internal warfare, I believe, has not, of late, been carried to a great extent.

Colonel Johnson says he understood that the Russians were frequently the aggressors, and that their conduct has been hitherto so oppressive and unconciliating towards the Ossetinians, that this tribe has been urged to a continuance of their pre-

datory habits by a spirit of retaliation, and he alludes to some instances in proof of this assertion, the most striking of which is the following : — A Russian Major having been seized by the Tchitchéntsi, one of the tribes of the Caucasus, the Emperor Alexander sent orders to General del Pozzo, who was then in command of Vladikavkáz, to pay the sum of twenty-five thousand roubles demanded for the release of the prisoner. The General, however, marched with five or six hundred men to a village inhabited by Tchitchéntsi, who had been protected in their labours of tillage, and to whom ammunition and grain had been given, under a stipulation that they should deter their wilder friends and neighbours from entering and plundering the Russian territories and roads adjacent. The General sent for the head men of the village, and told them that they must either pay him the twenty-five thousand roubles themselves, or compromise the demand by procuring the release of the Major, which accordingly was accomplished. The General then wrote to his Imperial Majesty, that he had assumed the discretion of acting in the manner described, as the most effectual preventive of similar attacks in future.*

I heard an account, oftener than once, of a similar kind, respecting the present governor-general of Georgia, Yermólof, but for the truth of which I

* A Journey from India, &c. p. 261.

do not vouch. It is said, that when a ransom was demanded by one of the mountain tribes for a prisoner, he ordered a body of soldiers to be assembled, and took all the flocks and herds with which they could come in contact, and retained them till the prisoner was released, notwithstanding that other conditions of exchange had been fixed.

Continuing a gentle ascent, we reached the village of Kazbék, called after the mountain of the same name, at whose base it lies. This village consists of different streets, or rather lanes, irregularly thrown together ; and the houses are all built of dark-coloured schistus, with small round-topped, and even Gothic, windows, or rather apertures, and flat roofs. Many of them consist of two small stories ; and in some there is no other approach to the upper story than by a ladder. The house of the late Colonel Kazbék is like a small fortress, near the middle of the village. It is an oblong square edifice, two stories in height, with columns before it, and is inclosed by a high wall, agreeably to the custom of the natives.* On our return from Georgia we were accommodated with lodgings in one of the edifices within its walls, and wished much to have seen our hostess, the widow of Colonel Kazbék, but she was said to be indisposed. Her husband was a native chief, who was completely in the service of Russia, and who became a

* This edifice is well seen in the frontispiece of "*Lettres sur le Caucase*," &c.

Christian convert. A small new church, dedicated to the Trinity, as I found by an inscription in its front, had been erected in 1809, by the Colonel, and now may be said to form his monument. He died six or eight years ago, and left considerable property to his family. His son is in the Russian service.

The inhabitants of Kazbék are chiefly Ossetinians, and most of them Christians. They are allied to the Georgians, with whom they maintain friendly communication, and are disliked by their brethren of the mountains on account of their religion, and still more so on account of their adherence to the Russians.

The Kazbék* had been all day concealed in the clouds. While we were at the village of the same name, it threw off its shroud for a moment, and appeared in all its glory, its snowy top reflecting the rays of the setting sun with the greatest brilliancy. On our return from Georgia, the weather was clear, and the whole mountain was seen to great advantage. One of the party then took a

* The name of this mountain is differently written. We have it under the forms of Kazibék, Kassy-beg, and Ghazi Beg. The Russians, whom I have followed, call it Kazbék. Klaproth says, that it is called Mquinivari, which signifies Snow-Mountain; and that the Ossetinians name it Tseritsi-Tsoub, Pic du Christ, or Ours-Khokh, or White Mountain. *Voyage*, vol. i. p. 471. — The translator of Letters from the Caucasus, &c. says, that Ghazi Beg is its Arabic and Turkish name, and implies, Hero of the true Faith.

sketch of it, but already it has been well represented in several works. Parrot and Eingelhardt have calculated the height of the Kazbék to be 14,400 feet above the level of the Black Sea.

A very striking object at Kazbék, is the view of a cathedral on an adjoining high mountain, perhaps between 1500 and 2000 feet above the level of its base, which, with other churches, was erected nearly 600 years ago by the Princess Tamara of Georgia, who converted the people of her dominions to Christianity.

Having changed horses at Kazbék, we proceeded on our journey, and, as we rode along, enjoyed some of the grandest scenery which can be conceived. I was particularly struck with the view of Mount Zion, its snow-clad ridges, its monastery, and its castle. They are exhibited in an engraving, after a masterly sketch by Sir Gore Ouseley, which the English Translator of "*Letters from the Caucasus*," has judiciously introduced as a frontispiece to her work.

We overtook three Kozáks who were on their return to Kóbi, and made an agreement with them to accompany us. We desired our guard of Kozáks to precede us, and we rode off, and soon arrived at that place, leaving the infantry to pursue their march at their leisure. We frequently stopped, however, to enjoy the views of the majestic cloud-capped mountains, and the barren hills, by which we were surrounded.

Mrs. Freyganch has given such a description of Kóbi as disgusts the traveller with the place before his arrival : but Colonel Johnson says, “this post is well built, and has *accommodations* for many visitors and travellers.” Sir Robert Ker Porter has well described Kóbi as we found it. “This post,” says he, “like most of the others, consists of a square fort, protected by earthen embankments, palisadoes, and a shallow ditch. A few dirty rooms, totally devoid of furniture, are set apart for the reception of travellers.” A bench formed all the furniture of the room we occupied, which was dirty in the extreme, and unluckily its window was immoveable. As there is no wood nearer Kóbi than twelve versts, we paid four roubles for as many bundles of dried underwood as was necessary to cook our dinner. But scarcely had we kindled a fire when the apartment in which we had fixed ourselves was so filled with smoke, that we were obliged to go out, and for the first time, we felt the real want of our carriages, in which we had before luxuriously reposed. We allowed the fire to be extinguished, and then laid down to sleep upon our *burchás*, and small pillows placed upon the bench.

In the course of the evening, we had been amused by seeing a regiment of Kozáks and their commander, as well as by some infantry officers, who had reached this place in *caláshes* and *kibítkas*, and who were in their route to join the Georgian

army, which, owing to the great mortality, requires annual reinforcements.

Having overcome some difficulties, which were made by the unaccommodating commandant of Kóbi, respecting horses, we set off from this dreary abode at six o'clock in the morning of the 15th of June. Although we had been gradually ascending, from the time we entered the defiles of the Caucasus, yet as we also descended into numerous small valleys, this circumstance was the less remarkable. Having begun the ascent, however from Kóbi, the vicinity of the snow, the cool temperature, and the alpine plants, soon made us sensible of being, as it were, transported to another climate. I was quite delighted with the *botanical banquet* of Caucasian rhododendrons, daphnes, anemones, and primroses, which decorated the sloping bases of these mighty mountains, at a short distance from the line of demarcation where vegetation ceases under an eternal covering of snow.*

Between three and four versts from Kóbi, large

* The principal plants I collected between Kóbi and Krestóvaya Gorá, were *Rhododendron Caucasicum*, *Daphne glomerata*, *Gallium Tataricum*, *Trollius patulus*, *Gentiana angulosa*, *Primula longifolia*, *Anemone narcissifolia* (both with red and white flowers), *Veronica gentianoides*, *Cerastium ruderales*, *Potentilla opaca*, *Fritillaria tulipiflora*, *Orobanche coccinea*, *Melampyrum arvense*, *Arenaria heteromalla*, *Hedysarum Bauxbaumianum*, *Parietaria lusitanica*, *Hedysarum petræum*, and *Symphitum asperrimum*.

patches of ground, of a fine orange colour, called our attention to them. They are found on both sides of the road, and are caused by numerous springs of mineral waters which arise in the mountains, and in their course deposit a yellow ochre upon every surface with which they come in contact; grass, stones, or the bottoms of rills and cavities. In some small natural basins, the fountains issued from the earth in a state of rapid effervescence, and the water was found to possess the same qualities as the mineral springs at Kislovôdskii.*

About two versts farther, we reached the *avalanche*, of which Colonel Skvartsóf had informed us when at Vladíkavkáz, and which had detached itself from an adjoining high mountain, fallen into the valley, and interrupted, or dammed up the Titri-Dskali, so that for some days the passage was highly dangerous. The river, at length, however, forced its way under the snow, and excavating a passage, left a snow-bridge, which was traversed by passengers, horses, and even carriages. The arch having become daily weaker by the melting of the snow, at last gave way, a couple of days before our arrival. We had considerable difficulty in crossing and re-crossing the ravine and the river, even on horseback, and were well pleased that we had left our carriages behind. The Kozák and infantry officers, alluded to at Kóbi, as we subsequently

* Vide p. 439. of this volume.

learned, were obliged to employ a great number of men to clear away the snow, who afterwards supported the carriages upon their shoulders in passing the river.

Water-cresses (*Sisymbrium Nasturtium*) and marsh-marigold (*Caltha palustris*) were abundant every where in the rills and marshy places among the mountains, even very near the snowy regions.

Pursuing the ascent, we soon reached an Ossetinian cottage, built upon the hill called the *Bi-Gorá*, whose inhabitants cheerfully supplied us with warm milk, after quieting a savage dog, which violently assaulted our horses' heels. It has been well remarked, that these demi-savages, in one respect, may remind us of the charitable zeal of the monks of St. Bernard in Switzerland. They assist the forlorn traveller in his winter path, and afford him shelter from the howling tempest or the drifting snow, under the roof of their humble hut. According to Sir R. K. Porter, the munificence of the emperor, Alexander, provides for this establishment. The family cultivate a piece of ground near their habitation. The produce, with sheep and goats, consigned to their charge, and a large dépôt of flour and brandy, are always ready for the purposes of charity.

Having forded a clear mountain-stream a little further on, we continued our ascent, and soon reached the highest point of the alpine pass, the

Krestóvaya Gorá, or the *Mountain of the Cross*, which at once recalled to mind the place named “*Rest and be Thankful*,” at Glencoe, in the highlands of Scotland. On this hill is a massy pedestal, surmounted by a cross, formed out of the same stone, and with an inscription on it. It was erected to commemorate the completion of the road, by the Russians, through the *Porta Caucasica*, in 1809. The descent from hence, by a long winding road, conducted us to a plain, in which was an encampment of Georgian merchants, whose chief property consisted in hundreds of horses, which were feeding around them. From the plain begins the ascent of the *Goot-Gorá*, which we traversed by an excellent road, cut out along its declivities. Hence we enjoyed a fine view of an immense valley, in which the *Arágua*, the *Araxis* of the ancients, flows; and which we could nearly trace with the eye to its source, among many foaming rills, which rushed from the chasms of the adjoining mountains. This valley is covered with numerous villages, corn-fields, and pasture-lands, and formed quite a contrast to the savage scenery we had left behind us.

After an alarming description of the descent from the Mountain of the Cross, Sir R. Porter quite terrifies us by a difficulty “of still more formidable magnitude.” “Nothing can paint,” says he, “the terrific situation of the road which opened before us, at Good Gora. It seemed little better than a scramble along the perpendicular face

of a rock, whence a fall must be instant destruction;" and while pursuing this "perilous way, at the bottom of the green abyss, the Aragua appeared like a fine silver line," and the knight dared not trust himself "to gaze long on a scene at once so sublime and so painfully terrible." But leading his horse "as near as he could to that side of the road where the Good Gora towered to the sky, and therefore opposite to that which edged the precipice," he looked with anxiety on his fellow-travellers, "who were clinging to the stony projections, in their advance up this horrid escalade." "Who would imagine," says an anonymous writer, "that this '*horrid escalade*' is almost daily effected by carriages; nay, that the author's (Sir R. Porter's) own calash mounted with himself, — that for a hundred yards or more, immediately below the road, this 'green abyss' is yearly mown for hay, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, and that a path leads almost directly down to it, by which this hay is carried to the foot of the mountain, over the backs of asses! — Yet such is the fact." This critic, like ourselves, appears to have passed through the mountain defile in the summer, and to have encountered no difficulty. Though the ascent of the hill must be more arduous at an advanced season of the year, when the road, in some places of the mountain side, may be filled up by snow and ice, yet I am still inclined to

think Sir R. Porter's account possesses more of romance than accuracy.

On the west side of the Arágua an interesting hill, presenting a bold perpendicular front of (apparently) basáltic columns on whose summit is an old square castle, and a village embosomed in woods and shrubbery, form the centre of the valley already mentioned, which must have a dreary and wild appearance in winter.

The descent from the Goot-Gora is rapid, and over a very bad road, covered with large stones. We often deserted it, by advice of our Kozáks. By a gentle ascent we reached the station of Kashaúr, where are two villages, with a square tapering tower, and a redoubt, similar to that of Kóbi. These mean and gloomy villages are surrounded by a profusion of the beautiful *Azalea pontica* and *Daphne glomerata*, which greatly enliven their vicinity. Guard was mounted, and the soldiers were ready to serve us. Here, as at all the stations between Vladíkavkáz and Tiflís, are a number of infantry, varying from twenty to fifty soldiers, and about twenty-five Kozáks.

The Kozáks receive the fare (the *progón*) of their horses, which becomes a considerable perquisite to them, when paid, as they get twelve kopeeks *per* verst for each horse, on account of the dearness of the corn which is brought from the south of Russia, for feeding them. Even hay is dear, as for

want of proper attention, enough of it is not produced to supply forage. It is sold to them by the natives, at above a rouble *per* pood; a greater price by far than is paid at Moscow in ordinary circumstances. The Kozáks complained much of the Russians paying for no more than a half, or a third, of the number of horses they take for their journeys, especially as they have only an opportunity, in the summer season, of making a small sum to defray their expenses, and to repay their trouble.*

An officer who accompanied us through the mountain defiles, and who had passed a number of years in this vicinity, informed us, that numerous villages which we had remarked before reaching Kasháúr were inhabited by *Teülutians*, who had an oracle that was consulted on all occasions. He had been employed, at times, to collect taxes among this people, with whom he was on good terms. Though the pretended oracle, under the form of a cat, was in his pay, yet it told its devotees that they ought to kill him. He was invited to their annual *fête*, and most unexpectedly attacked. One of his men was killed, and he himself wounded; and, indeed, he effected his retreat with great difficulty. The same gentleman also told us, that the greatest punishment employed by these people is of a singular kind: a cat is tied upon the delinquent's

* Vide p. 296. of this volume.

back, and is then irritated by gentle strokes, which it naturally retaliates by scratching. The sufferer is afraid to offer resistance, because the animal-being sacred, to hurt or kill it would be a great crime.

From the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, taxes in kind — for money is really out of the question — are collected with great difficulty from the few individuals who are peaceable. The Russians are obliged to employ all kinds of stratagems in order to accomplish their designs, and sometimes they resort to very dishonourable methods. Princes and nobles have been invited to dinner, and their arms and clothes seized, and kept as pledges, till redeemed by the payment of their *assessed taxes*; but they are no longer to be duped in this manner. A gentleman, who was very capable of judging of the matter, supposed that the mountaineers would willingly avoid all communication with the Russians, except for the necessity to which they are in some places reduced, of being dependant upon them for some supplies. He also said that it would be very difficult to ascertain the exact population of the Caucasus, as no lists are kept, either of the births or deaths, and, as, many of the natives live in the fastnesses of the mountains, which were never trod by an European.

Provided with good horses, and our usual guards, we soon reached one of the most beautiful landscapes I ever beheld: a valley equal in length to that of Baidar in the Krimea, but far surpassing it,

if not in beauty, at least in sublimity, through which the Arágua flows toward the Koor or the Cyrus of ancient days. The descent into this valley is long and difficult, and winds, in a zig-zag direction from the summit of the hill nearly to the river just mentioned, through delightful woods, and conducts to a more genial climate than that of the mountains. Passing a barrack, or small white house, where are stationed a number of soldiers, we crossed the Arágua, by a good bridge, the erection of which is commemorated by an adjoining stone pyramid. Having lost the party while in search of plants in the woods, I took a short by-path, in order to join them. An Ossetinian, who saluted me, and conducted me into another way, gave me some uneasiness, but acted with great propriety. I then suddenly came upon a family encamped in the wood. The husband seemed as much alarmed as I was, and, putting his hand upon his dagger,—which I did not then know was a sign of friendship,—he made a bow to me. Keeping at a respectable distance, we held a conversation in pantomime. He perfectly comprehended that I had lost my way, and made signs, by observing which, after a rapid gallop, I regained the road, and was soon overtaken by the party.

In passing through the vale of Passánanoor, the continual succession of wooded hills and lofty mountains, of craggy pinnacles and frightful precipices, with deep ravines, and dark and dismal

glens, which pour their tributary streams into the Arágua, is peculiarly grand and sublime, and, with some small but charming dells, forms a wild but beautiful combination of alpine scenery. The villages of the natives of this delightful valley, pitched among the craggy points and overhanging cliffs of apparently inaccessible mountains, and at such enormous heights as to be almost invisible, as well as numerous square towers or castles which were used as places of refuge in the times of former intestine broils, add a degree of the romantic and picturesque which is seldom combined.

Hawthorns, honey-suckles, guelder-roses, and barberries, besides a great variety of wild plants, grew in profusion among the woods, and by the banks of the Arágua, and numerous warblers cheered us with their sweet notes, as we approached Passánanoor, where the valley becomes more narrow.

Passánanoor, another palisadoed fortress, with a number of small edifices and barracks, and a few native huts, is placed, as it were, at the bottom of an inverted cone, whose sides are formed by mountains, covered to their summits with a variety of beautiful trees and shrubs.

The road between Passánanoor and Ananoor is one of the most delightful imaginable, and often presents such scenery as is described in the vale between Kasháúr and Passánanoor. Like the Térék, on the north side of the Caucasus, the Arágua on the south was extremely dirty, and its banks were

covered with innumerable lofty wide-spreading beech trees.

We arrived at the quarantine of Ananor ; and, though we got the best apartments of the establishment, they were very bad, and, what was worse, very damp. By bribing high, we procured wood : but, the *mercatánt*, as they called the grocer of the place, gave us bad butter, bad fish, bad caviár, bad eggs, bad every thing ; and, so poor was the place, that after our servant had prepared some portable soup, we were obliged to eat it out of the lids of the pans. The captain of Ananor was not at home, so we bought hay, which probably had been purchased a dozen of times before, and prepared our beds by spreading our *búrchas* over it.

On the following day, impatient at our detention in such a detestable place, we sent for the captain of the quarantine, who informed us, that the laws required that travellers should remain there for four days, even when there was no suspicion of the plague, and forty days when there was. As even four days was a serious loss of time for us, we endeavoured to make arrangements, and offered a considerable bribe to be allowed to proceed on our journey. But this was rejected : a circumstance which surprised me, as the captain was a Russian, and as its parallel does not often occur. He consented, however, to let us go on the following day, as he has the discretionary power of abating the time fixed, when there is a certainty of the

party enjoying perfect health, which I, as a physician, attested. The useless ceremony of fumigating our *bírchas* was gone through, so as, in some degree, to conform to the orders of the institution.

The quarantine of Ananor consists of a number of small low wooden thatched houses, forming a square, and all very miserable habitations. Yet here we found there were separate apartments for nobles and for commoners, store-magazines, fumigation-rooms, &c. Among other sources of amusement we visited the house for the common travellers, which has apertures, but no windows, in its walls, so that it was sure of a thorough ventilation. The inmates of this dwelling consisted of Armenians, Georgians, Hungarians, and Jews from near Kislár, who were dancing to the sound of the tambarine, or playing at various games for money. The Jews, having their heads shaved, and wearing the Asiatic dress, we did not at first distinguish from Tartars. They were selling Kalmuck lambskins, black and curled, at ten roubles each, which may be reckoned a high price, although they are much used in Russia, as well as in Georgia and Persia.

On the 17th June, having already breakfasted, at seven o'clock in the morning we gladly quitted the quarantine, and soon arrived at the fortress of Ananor, whose embattled and loop-holed walls and towers, include the church of the village. The money of the district is contained in the church;

and, we were assured, that a cellar under it was converted into a powder magazine. It is built in the form of a cross, with a single cupola, and of hewn stone. The town, or rather paltry village of Ananoor, stands on one side of the fortress. Leaving the Arágua on the left, we turned to the right, and after riding two or three versts, we came to the New Quarantine, an establishment which, no doubt, by this time is finished, and proves a very great convenience to travellers. It is situated on an elevation by the side of a rivulet, and consists of three different squares, formed by stone walls, and includes numerous edifices built of the same materials. One of those squares is for the nobles and gentlemen, a second for common people, and a third for all kinds of merchandise. From hence we ascended a steep hill, and had some fine views of alpine scenery, with a few small scattered villages, intermixed with ruined walls and towers, in the fore-ground.

By a long and gentle declivity we reached Dushét. Here is a regular fortified castle, with a Georgian inscription, on a marble slab over the principal gate; but it is a place of no great strength. The author of the “*Letters from the Caucasus, &c.*” speaks of it as a *château*, which has served for the former residence of the tsar of Georgia, Heraclius, and as a complete square, having a gallery running round it; but it is now falling to decay, and is used as a barrack for a battalion of soldiers,

and twenty-five Kozáks, who dwell without its walls.

Dushét is called a town, but it hardly deserves the name. It reminded us of the streets or lanes of Baktchiserăi, filled with low small shops, or boxes, in which different articles are exposed for sale, and where all kinds of tradesmen were at work, and even weavers of coarse linen, sitting upon the ground with their feet in holes in the earth. A church, and some surrounding villages, with towers like fortifications, deserve notice.

Around Dushét there is a good deal of open space and cultivated land. Here we saw the Georgians at labour with ten pair of oxen and buffaloes, and five men employed for each plough, which had a very extraordinary appearance.*

Having changed horses, after occasionally ascending and descending, we again reached the banks of the Arágua, which we had left at the castle of Ananoor, and entered a fine and delightful valley, much more open than either the vale of Passána-noor, or that of Ananoor.

The country now assumed more the aspect of cultivation, and of the beautiful, than of the wild and sublime. We soon entered into a cross-valley on the right and left of the road, called, by some, the Vale of Arágua. It is between twenty and thirty miles in length, and six and eight in

* Vide p.355. of this volume.

breadth, with gently elevated slopes, fringed richly with wood, and lofty hills in the back-ground. After having seen the situation of Tiflis, I am surprised that the vale of Arágua had not rather been chosen as the site of the capital of Georgia. On the south of this valley the Kozák station, Khartiskárst, generally called Khartiskél, or simply Rskal, is beautifully situated on a rising ground amid lofty trees. About ten versts before reaching this place, we passed some houses in the form of a square, which are used as barracks for infantry, and a few Kozáks. We changed horses at Khartiskárst, and soon came in sight of the ruins of a castle, on an insulated hill, by the banks of the Arágua. From hence two fine old churches on the west, and a ruined castle on a bold projecting rock, on the east of the Arágua, and with fine intermixed scenery, make a beautiful landscape. We entered the small village of Msket, now inhabited by Georgians and Armenians, part of which we absolutely rode over; and, but for smoked holes, serving as chimneys, in the flat earth-covered roofs of the houses, we should scarcely have distinguished them from the roads, or lanes, which wind among them. In many places they are half under ground, and some of them are altogether subterranean. They are built in the sides of declivities, in other places, like the huts of the Crimean Tartars; but they are not enlivened by the luxuriant foliage which gives a cheerful aspect to

the latter. Indeed they impressed us with the idea of poverty and wretchedness, and are by no means in harmony with the rich scenery of the valley in which they lie, or the mountains by which it is surrounded. Msket is supposed to be one of the most ancient towns of the universe ; and, tradition says, it was inhabited by some of the earliest descendants of Noah. It was formerly the capital of Georgia, and was then twenty miles in circumference, and is said to have contained eighty thousand men capable of bearing arms ; an account which probably was exaggerated, though, it must be confessed, that numerous ruins, by the banks of the Koor, and in the vicinity, testify that it was once of considerable size. Sir R. K. Porter supposes it is the Artanissa and the Missetta of Pompey, and the Harmastis of Pliny.

Msket now occupies the angle formed by the confluence of the Koor and the Arágua, or the Cyrus and the Aragus of the Greeks, whose united waters, under the former appellation, run through Tiflis, and after a winding course between Moghan and Sheervan, fall into the Caspian Sea, near the bay of Bakú, at its southern extremity.

The objects which attract attention here, are the *débris* of the palace of the ancient tsars, or princes of Georgia, or, strictly speaking, of Kachetia ; the ancient churches, and a castle on the east side of the Koor.

The fine cathedral church which rises amid the

ruins of the *château*, is one of the best examples of the style of architecture which has generally prevailed throughout Georgia, ever from the introduction of Christianity up to the present time. Like the Greek temples, it is built in the form of a cross, and resembles the church of Ananoor, hereafter represented, though of much greater magnitude. It is constructed entirely of stone, hewn and polished. Neither iron nor wood are employed in its massy strong walls, arches, or cupola. Its interior is surrounded by arcades, neither beautiful nor well proportioned. It is still used for the performance of divine service, after the Greek ritual, but in the Georgian language; of course the few ornaments with which it is decorated, are all in the Greek style.

The chapel of St. Nino, who, according to some accounts, introduced Christianity into Georgia in the beginning of the fourth century, under the reign of the Tsar Marian, next attracted our attention. Some state, that Nino, who became the patroness of Georgia, was carried captive to this country in the time of Constantine the Great, and that Marian, convinced of the miraculous cures she performed by the power of her religion, became a convert to Christianity, and, like Vladimir in Russia, obliged his subjects to embrace the same faith. Others relate that St. Nino went of her own accord, from Rome to Jerusalem, and from thence into Iberia, for the purpose of diffusing the true faith, and that she bore a cross,

made of the vine, bound with her hair ; and, holding it in her hand, preached the doctrine of the Evangelists. This cross was carefully preserved by the Tsars of Georgia, who during their absence deposited it in the cathedral of Msket, When this country was invaded by the Turks and the Persians, in 1720, it was carried into the mountains, and remained for a while in the church of Ananoor ; from whence it was afterwards sent to the *Tsarévitch* (son of the tsar) Vachtang, at Moscow. The Tsar Heraclius had often, though without success, reclaimed the revered relic from the descendants of Vachtang, But at length, Prince Bokaref, nephew of the latter, laid the cross at the feet of the Emperor Alexander, who graciously restored it to Georgia.*

In the cathedral of Msket the ancient tsars were crowned, and their remains deposited after

* Vide Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia. Voyage en Perse par Maurice de Kotzebúe. Voyages de Chevalier Charadin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient.

According to Mosheim, the light of the Gospel was introduced into *Iberia*, a province of Asia, now called *Georgia*, in the following manner. A certain woman was carried into that country as a captive, during the reign of Constantine the Great, and by the grandeur of her miracles, and the remarkable sanctity of her life and manners, she made such an impression upon the king and queen, that they abandoned their false gods, embraced the faith of the Gospel, and sent to Constantinople for proper persons to give them and their people a more satisfactory, and complete knowledge of the Christian religion. *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 338.

death, as well as those of the nobles. Among many tombs, those of the two last Georgian tsars, Heraclius, and his son George, are the most conspicuous, being raised about a foot and a half from the ground near the centre of the nave, and on each side of the steps of the *ambon*. Over them are cross plates, with inscriptions, indicating the names, the titles, the time of birth and death of the royal personages, and informing us that the sepulchres were erected by the Marquis de Paulucci, then governor-general of Georgia, in consequence of an order to that effect from his Imperial Majesty Alexander. If my notes be correct, it is plainly stated in the inscription on the tomb of the Tsar George, that he *ceded these states to Russia in 1801*; so that the apparent mark of reverence for the dead, might also be intended to remind the Georgians of their legal subjection to Russia. This power is never wanting in *finesse* to accomplish her purposes of ambition and aggrandisement.

Another church, which we had passed on the west, near Msket, is said to be of more modern erection than the cathedral; otherwise it exactly resembles it both in the exterior and interior. It is now out of repair and out of use.

Upon an eminence to the north, are the ruins of a fort constructed by the Princess Amilachvorof, above two thousand years ago, and part of

the walls remain entire to a considerable height. Thence you have a superb view over the long and fruitful valley of the Arágua, which extends for thirty versts, interspersed with towers and hamlets. There is scarcely any old castle that has not its tale of murder, is not haunted by a ghost ; but the story goes here, that this fort was for a long time inhabited by a princess of strong passions who used to entice young travellers to her castle, and afterwards have them thrown from the top of one of its towers into the river, hoping by these means to conceal her crimes and shame.*

We were now within a station of Tiflís, and could scarcely believe we had crossed the Caucasus, having had the most erroneous ideas as to the immense difficulties which were to be encountered.†

* Lettres sur le Caucase, &c. p. 109.

† I had no time for making any mineralogical or geological remarks, worth publishing, with respect to the Caucasus. The following extracts, however, may be interesting to some readers.

According to Engelhardt and Parrot, between Kóbi and Abana, on the right bank of the Téreke, the rocks consist of compact, greyish-black, slaty limestone ; from Abana to Stepan Sminda, of porphyry and clay slate ; and from thence to Dariél, variously-alternating beds of greenstone, hornblend-slate, black compact trapp, gneiss, and granitic sienite occur. About Lars, clay slate, with green-stone, is found ; and, lower down, from Kaitukina to the foot of the mountain, compact, grey, brown, and black limestone. — *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukass*, 1812.

Madame Freyganch has given quite a romantic and terrific description of the road,—its inconve-

“ At the entry of the valley of the Terek, which stretches to the south-south-east, and which cuts all the northern Caucasus, the mountains on the right and left are of transition limestone, afterwards of argillaceous schistus, then, higher up, in ascending the river, of sienite. Behind Dariél the sienite sinks, and basalt, interrupted by mountains of argillaceous schistus, begins to be seen ; it stretches not only into the highest part of the Caucasus, but also into the most elevated portion that it is necessary to ascend, in order to pass from the valley of the Terek into that of the Arágua, situated opposite to the south.”—*Voyage au Mont Caucase*, &c. par M. J. Klaproth, vol. i. p.444.

“ The rock of the Mountain of the Cross is a reddish-brown basaltic porphyry, very compact, mixed with amygdaloides, and disposed in almost horizontal strata.”—*Voyage par Klaproth*, vol. i. p. 486.

“ The most elevated ridge, or the crest of the Caucasus, is composed of sienite, granite, and basaltic porphyry, which in many places, is interrupted, in the direction of the north, by argillaceous schistus, and which is frequently surmounted by basaltic summits. The sienite is commonly of a greenish colour, or spotted with white ; sometimes darkish, even to grey ; sometimes more clear, and of a sea-green. This crest presents a mass of continued rocks ; it is neither covered with earth nor with plants, but with perpetual ice and snow.”

“ The mountains of middle height are covered with alpine plants, and produce excellent pasturage and very fine hay. This schistus, especially in the places where it is of a calcareous nature, presents many veins, filled with spath and quartz, which are generally the *gangues* of metals, and which contain, in different places, galena, often very rich in silver, copper, sulphureous, and arsenical pyrites, and bismuth. This schistus is immediately followed by lime, which is of the nature of marble,

niences and its dangers ; and she is equalled, if not surpassed, by Sir R. Porter. In the works of these authors the words danger, peril, chasm, abyss, precipice, robbers, banditti, tremendous, terrible, and such like continually appal us, yet our journey was remarkably pleasant. Except in a few places, the road was very good, and we scarcely ever had to alight from our horses : indeed, in most places, we could either trot or gallop. The *disagreeables* are already detailed, and are but what travellers should expect, until Russia has her public money better expended by those who are entrusted with the care of the roads, and the accommodations for strangers.

in some places fine, in others coarser, and almost always of a white colour. This chain, which is even enough, is neither so high nor so steep as the schistous rock, and is generally covered with argillaceous earth. — Saline springs are rare at the foot of this chain, and one does not meet with the smallest trace of metals.”—Vide *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Georgie*, par M. J. Klaproth, vol. ii. pp. 275, 276. But for further mineralogical information I must recommend the reader to peruse the work itself.

“ The Caucasus is a primitive chain, containing, in many places, columnar trapp. The older, secondary rocks, on its northern border, are a continuation of those which form the highest mountains on the south coast of the Crimea, where primitive rocks are wholly wanting.”—Vide *An Outline of the Geology of Russia*, by the Hon. T. H. F. Strangways, in the Transactions of the Geological Society, (second series,) vol. i. pt. 1. p. 38.

Colonel Johnson's statement is very correct: "Notwithstanding," says he, "the appalling anticipations that we had been led to form of the Caucasus, we found very little difficulty in passing those mountains. The roads are in general very good, and practicable even for wheel carriages throughout. There is only one range of mountains to traverse, and the passage is by no means so arduous as that of almost all the ghauts in India, the declivities being nothing near so steep. The accounts given to us, had foretold not only difficulties but perils. If a traveller, from inability to ride on horseback, wishes to use a travelling carriage throughout the whole way, he ought to take with him a Russian subaltern officer to assist him, and especially to provide an escort of soldiers to help the carriage through the most difficult places. At some of these he must expect to walk perhaps five hundred yards at a time; here the difficulties are greatest, and the tremendous precipices adjoining are likely to alarm a person unused to contemplate them, but they do not frequently occur. On the whole, the facilities afforded by the Russian commandants are so great, and the expenses of travelling so moderate, that to traverse the Caucasus ought not now to be regarded as a formidable undertaking. On the contrary, the stupendous grandeur of scenery, the beauty and variety of landscapes, the novelty of manners,

costume, and habits of the people, observable on this route, combine to charm the attention of the traveller, and to render him almost unconscious of fatigue.”*

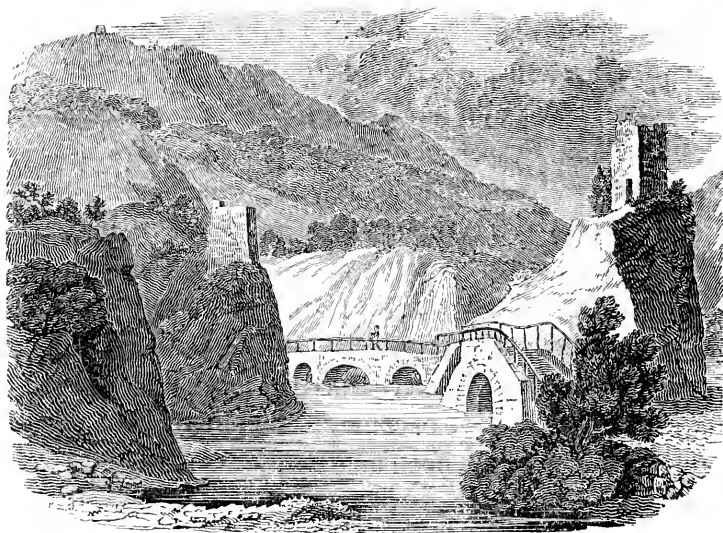
The traveller, however, must not be thrown altogether off his guard. Many travellers have spoken of the Ossetinians, who reside near the environs of Vladikavkáz, lying in wait for passengers, whom they carry off and detain as prisoners, until they obtain a ransom for them from the Russians. This horrid practice of extorting money has subsisted among this people for upwards of forty years, and they pursue it so constantly that scarcely three months pass in which some passenger of note is not waylaid and captured by them. “The most dangerous spots are passes up narrow chasms, leading to the mountains, which are so difficult of access, that in order to pursue and overtake these freebooters, it would require large bodies of light troops, expressly trained for this service.”† But it must be allowed that the savage mountaineers, accustomed from their youth to the ascent and descent of difficult defiles, and clambering among the rocks, and having a perfect knowledge of all the mountain passes and fast-

* A Journey from India to England, through Persia, Georgia, Russia, Poland, and Prussia, in the year 1817. By Lieut.-Col Johnson, C.B., London, 1818, p. 264.

† Ibid. p. 260.

nesses, will long be able to elude their pursuers, and to make sure their retreat.

The most formidable drawbacks on the pleasure of passing through the *Porta Caucasica* arise from causes against which the traveller can provide no safeguard. I allude to overwhelming *avalanches*, and the downfall of immense masses of precipitous mountains, that often follow the thaw which takes place in the superior regions of the mountains during the heat of summer. Such *avalanches*, and such masses of rock, have become suddenly detached, and have, in a moment, been launched downwards to the valley ; overthrowing every object which opposed their progress, filling up ravines, and obstructing the mountain streams and rivers, so as often to cause them to change their course. As the reader will remark by and by, had we passed the defile of Dariél but two or three weeks later, we might all have been swallowed up under the ruins, if I may so speak, of an adjoining mountain, whose projecting cliffs fell with an awful crash, were broken into a thousand forms, and dammed up the Térék.



CHAP. XII.

ROMAN BRIDGE.—CAVERNS.—SCENERY.—VIEW OF TIFLÍS.—
 ARRIVAL AT TIFLÍS.—LODGINGS.—GENERAL YERMÓLOF.—
 GENERAL VILYEMÍNOF.—MR. GRABÁRITCH.—HISTORY OF
 TIFLÍS.—DERIVATION OF ITS NAME.—SITUATION.—POPULA-
 TION.—DIVISIONS.—APPEARANCE OF TIFLÍS.—ITS STREETS.
 —ITS HOUSES.—BOORDOOKS OF WINE.—CURRENT MONEY.—
 THE BAZÁRS.—CARAVANSERAI.—GENERAL YERMÓLOF'S
 HOUSE.—THE ARSENAL.—THE PUBLIC GARDENS.—THE DÉ-
 PÔT DES CARTES.—NEW SQUARE.—ANECDOTE.—THE CASTLE.
 —THE SUBURB AVLABÁRI.—ITS OLD FORTRESS.—THE
 CROWN-BATHS.—CHAMPOOING.—LUXURY OF THE BATHS.
 —TEMPERATURE OF THE SPRINGS.—THEIR GENERAL NA-
 TURE.—MINERALOGICAL REMARKS.—SINGULAR DIVERSION.
 —CORRUPTION OF MORALS.—AN ALBINO.

AFTER riding a couple of versts beyond Msket, we
 reached a bridge across the Koor, which is flanked

by two square gently tapering towers on bold picturesque rocks. Pompey is said to have built this bridge for the passage of his army, and the towers for its defence; but the author of *Lettres sur le Caucase*, &c. conjectures that they were erected by the Prince Gedevanof, who had possession of this neighbourhood before the arrival of Pompey. It is therefore clear that both had their origin in remote antiquity. The bases of the arches alone remain of their ancient structure.

This bridge and towers, with the surrounding scenery, struck us as being extremely picturesque; and, on that account, I have given a view of them in the vignette on the opposite page, so as to enable the reader to judge for himself, as authors have pronounced very various opinions upon this point.

“It is a strange disease of the human mind,” says Kotzebue, “only to admire a thing in proportion as it has a remote origin. I will venture to assert, that without the magic of the great name of Pompey, we should have passed the bridge without having given it the least attention; we examined it, however, as one of the wonders of the world. This stone, says one, presents all the vestiges of a high antiquity; these arches, says another, are at the same time light and strong; they do not now work in this manner, cries a third. One of our companions ‘*considérait avec ravissement deux tourelles, dont le sommet*

ressemble beaucoup à nos fromages pointus de l'Esthonie, et ils s'extasia sur leur élégance.' In a word, every one sought in this monument a subject of interest and admiration. As for me, if it be necessary to say it, what I found most marvellous was a Russian grenadier on guard upon the bridge of the Great Pompey. It is true, that if Pompey should return to the world, this circumstance would strike him most." "I think Mr. Kotzebue, by the former part of his own opinion shows very bad taste ; but, with the latter, I perfectly coincide. I believe both Pompey, and his officers, and his army, would cry, in the language of surprise and contempt — What, Scythians in the warm climate of Asia ! return to the barbarous regions of the north ! the Caucasus is your natural barrier !

After crossing the bridge, the road returns along the opposite bank of the Koor, making, on the whole, a *détour* of about four versts to pass this river. We were astonished to find numerous caverns like those in many parts of the Krimea, hewn out of the solid rock, and some of them at a considerable height in its perpendicular face. They served as a place of retreat to the inhabitants of Msket, when they were attacked by their enemies.

Our route led along the banks of the Koor for a short distance, and then a plain opened before us, with Tiflis at its extremity. We now emerged from among the mountains, and bade adieu to

charming valleys, wooded hills, and green pastures, I had almost said to vegetation. The transition from delightful to dreary scenes, is so sudden as to produce painful emotions. On both sides the view was now bounded by naked sterile hills at some distance. The grass was burned up, and the plain had a gloomy appearance, which gradually increased as we approached Tiflís. The corn was already reaped, and the fields only presented stubble. We saw this town at that time, to great disadvantage. Before the wet season has withered every blade of grass, or after the country has recovered its effects, it must have a more inviting appearance. Still, however, I am certain that I should never have agreed with the fair author of "*Lettres sur le Caucase, &c.*" that where the plain gradually contracts into a narrow valley, at the extremity of which is Tiflís, "the scene is beautiful, particularly when viewing the town, with its numerous towers and churches, of every colour, glittering in the sun."

We crossed a small stream, by a stone bridge, and soon reached the barrier of the town, upon the top of a hill, where we left our order for post-horses, which also served as a kind of passport. A little farther on we gave in our certificate of health from the captain of Anannoor, to the chief of the quarantine of Tiflís. We now passed into the town, but had much difficulty in finding lodgings. An Englishman made himself known to us, and

conducted us to an inn kept by a German, who gives good dinners, but has no apartments for travellers. During our repast, two rooms were found at an Armenian's of the name of Piránof.

On the following morning, the commandant called upon us to offer a lodging, which we readily accepted; but we afterwards regretted having done so. We got excellent rooms in the house of a Russian major, where we were most unwelcome intruders, and where we suffered great inconvenience from the difficulty of procuring the commonest article of necessity. One can scarcely be surprised at their not having shown greater eagerness to serve us. What would an English major think of having four foreigners, of whom he knew nothing, sent to lodge at his house, for as many days as they chose, perhaps without any warning, except his general's compliments?

When we were at Géörgiévsk, we were informed that General Yermólof, commander-in-chief of the forces in Georgia, was gone into the mountains to superintend the erection of some fortresses along their base, so as more effectually to restrain the ferocious tribes of the Caucasus: and we had despatched our letters to him by post, mentioning the time we should arrive at Tiflis. One of the aides-de-camp of General Vilyemínof, the second in command, waited upon us with a very polite letter from General Yermólof, in which, among other things, was his advice, as to the part of

Georgia, we should visit during our stay. General Vilyemínof, at the same time, invited us to dinner, through his aide-de-camp, at the early hour of one o'clock, which we found to be the usual dinner-hour of polite society, all of whom take a *siesta* after their nearly mid-day repast. We dined with a number of officers, and drank some excellent Georgian wine. The general was remarkably hospitable, both on this occasion and during our stay in Tifflís. We employed the afternoon in making visits, walking in the public gardens, examining the baths, &c. and in the evening, the commandant conducted us to his house to supper, and was extremely civil. We found Mr. Grabáritch (for that was his name) a very singular man. He is a Hungarian by birth, but, having been long in the service of Russia, he spoke the language of that country pretty well. He is one of the most restless persons I ever saw; standing or sitting, his body and limbs were continually changing their position. He speaks a little French, German, Latin, and Italian jargon. He plays on the flute, the flageolet, the guitar, and the piano-forte; but on none of them well. He pretends to have discovered three notes lower than the usual vocal scale; but they more resembled the low, hoarse, grunts of a pig, than the sounds of the human voice. His playing and singing partook of the restlessness of his corporeal system: he began many tunes, and finished none; and all his

instruments, as well as his voice, were in requisition within the space of a few minutes.

The present political situation of Tiflís adds a degree of interest to the account of this town, which it did not formerly possess. Some pretend to have traced its foundation to the year 469, and attribute it to Vachtang, a powerful and victorious sovereign, who at that epoch vanquished all the countries between the Euxine and the Caspian Seas. It was considerably augmented and embellished after his reign, and became one of the most remarkable towns of the north of Asia. The Tsar David, as hereafter mentioned, wished to render it an abode for the sciences; but it does not appear that either his efforts, or those of any of his successors, were very fortunate. Chardin gives an interesting account of Tiflís, accompanied with a general view, which conveys an excellent idea of the place as it was 150 years ago. It was then a town of considerable size, but of no very imposing appearance. In the time of the Tsar Heraclius, Tiflís contained 4000 houses, and 20,000 inhabitants.*

Tiflís is now the capital of the Russian *government* or *province* of Georgia, and was formerly the capital of the kingdom of the same name, and the residence of the kings of Kartalinia. It is situated in a narrow valley upon the Koor, and be-

* Letters from the Caucasus, p. 133.

tween the right bank of the river and an elevated mountain, which, as it were, overhangs it, and upon which the citadel is placed. Its true name is said to be Tphilissi, or Tphilis-kalaki, *i. e.* warm town; an appellation which it received on account of its warm springs. Its geographical position has been variously stated. According to Brookes's Gazetteer, it lies under $44^{\circ} 56'$ E. Long. and $41^{\circ} 40'$ N. Lat.; but agreeably to an observation of Capt. Monteith, its real latitude is $41^{\circ} 43'$. It is distant 2627 versts, or about 1751 miles, from Petersburg, and 1900, or 1267 miles, from Moscow.

The town of Tiflís in 1812 was said to be only the shade of Tiflís, as described by Chardin in 1673. Scarcely was a third of it rebuilt, after its destruction by Aga-Mahommed in 1795. Its inhabitants are Georgians, Armenians, Mingrelians, Persians, Tartars, Lesghees, &c. According to Klaproth, in 1812, the population, independently of the Russian *employés* and the garrison, amounted to 18,000; one half of whom were Armenians. By the accounts of others, if we include the persons employed by the Russian government, and the garrison, the total population of Tiflís may be estimated at about 20,000 souls. In 1822, it was roundly stated at 30,000, exclusive of the military; but though this statement was obtained from high authority, I regard it as an exaggeration. Every individual in the service knowing General Yermólof's favourite scheme of restoring Tiflís to its flourishing state,

of rendering it an European town in its appearance, and of encouraging its commerce, seems inclined to overrate its prosperity. If its population amount to 20,000 souls, besides the military, as a more candid individual said, it is, most probably, the utmost extent.

Klaproth received the following account from the police of Tiflis: There were in this town, in 1812, 1 Georgian patriarch (*Katholikos*); 1 Georgian metropolitan; 55 Georgian priests; 1 Greek *archirei*; 3 Greek *archimandrites*; 1 Armenian archbishop; 73 Armenian priests: 8 Armenian *archireis*; 4 Catholic priests (*peres*); 1 Tartar *effendi*; 160 Georgian princes; 216 gentlemen; 1983 burgesses; 251 peasants; 426 slaves, servants of gentlemen; and 3684 *maisons particulières*. No doubt, three fourths of the latter were no more than very mean huts.

Tiflis is surrounded by a wall of a triangular form, and has six gates (or rather the names of former gates) which are still used. It is divided into three parts: 1st, Tiflis, properly so called, or the ancient town, in which are the warm baths, very small, and on the east of the Koor; 2d, Kala, or the fortress, situated to the north of the preceding, on the west of that river, and which is more populous; and 3d, the suburb Isni, or Avlabári, which is separated from the other divisions by the Koor, but is connected with them by the only bridge across this river in the city. Not

very long ago, there were at Tiflís nearly twenty churches of the Greek religion ; fifteen Armenian churches ; and one church of the Roman Catholic faith, administered by Italian capuchins. The Persians have also a mosque.

The Cathedral is very ancient, of fine architecture, and of considerable size. It is called the church of Zion, and was repaired by orders of Prince Tchitzianof, who commanded the Russian army in Georgia for a number of years. Some of the other churches resemble those at Ananoor and Msket.

I agree with Sir R. K. Porter, that Tiflís will give us very incorrect ideas of Asiatic grandeur. This author well remarks, “ That the town itself stands at the foot of a line of dark and barren hills, whose high and caverned sides gloomily overshadow it. Every house, every building within its walls, seems to share the dismal hue of the surrounding heights ; for a deep blackness rests on all. The hoary battlements above, and the still majestic towers of the ancient citadel ; the spires of Christian churches, and other marks of European residents ; even their testimonies of past grandeur, and present consequence ; and, what is more, present Christian brotherhood ; could not, for some time, erase the horrible dungeon impression of Asiatic dirt and barbarism, received at first view of the town.”

We entered Tiflís at the worst season of the year, and experienced very disagreeable sensations, and

considerable disappointment. A miserable gloomy town, by the side of a muddy river, surrounded by bleak sterile hills and parched corn fields, in sultry weather, and only enlivened by a few exotic green trees, was not likely to produce any but melancholy impressions, and the desire of a short residence. The climate, though often fine, is unhealthy ; and the heat so insupportable, that the inhabitants are glad to withdraw themselves to the hills at twenty or thirty versts' distance. During our abode at Tiflís the temperature never exceeded 91° F. ; but the air was indescribably sultry. At times, however, the thermometer, in the shade, rises to 38° R. = 118° F.

The streets, or rather I should say, the lanes of Tiflís, are, for the most part, very narrow, and irregular beyond description. Except in those places which have been rebuilt in the European style, there is not one which is straight. The houses, as well as their enclosing walls, are built of broad flat bricks, often mixed with common stones, or forming alternate layers with them, and bound together with mud mixed with a little lime. Except in the best houses, there are no glazed windows. Common paper and oiled paper are here used as a substitute for glass, which is excessively dear, because there are no glass manufactories in Georgia. The doors opening into the courts, often answer the purpose of windows. The greatest part of the town is excessively nasty. The Koor is dirty, and often

offensive ; the public markets are dirty ; many of the baths are filthy ; and, in fact, in spite of all the Russian improvements, Tiflís seemed one of the meanest and most disagreeable towns I ever saw ; but an excessively busy place.

In passing through the streets of Tiflís, the apparently stuffed skins of buffaloes, hogs, and goats, standing upon stumps, surprised us, and we were amused at seeing the fine wine of Kachétia drawn off from such receptacles. The natives keep the wine in enormous earthen jars, under the earth, in this district ; but for its transport these skins are employed. Their hairy sides are covered with a coating of naphtha, and then turned inside out. This communicates a disagreeable flavour and taste to the wine, to which the Georgians are accustomed, but which is highly disagreeable to strangers. These prepared skins are called *boordooks*. Barrels are not used at all, and few bottles : the latter cost six or eight times the price of the wine. General Hofen told us he had often thought of establishing a bottle manufactory near Tiflís, but that they could not find good sand for the purpose. Wine is sold here by the *tunga*, a measure of about seven good-sized bottles. A *tunga* of common wine of Kachétia, is sold at sixty or eighty kopeeks, and the best sorts at 100 or 120 kopeeks ; *i. e.* about seven bottles are sold at from 6*d.* to 1*s.*, or for a penny, and twopence, per bottle. It is not therefore surprising that the

people as regularly drink wine as the English do porter. I mention the prices in kopeeks as being better known than the *abazes* of the country, four of which are about equal to a silver rouble. At our visit gold and silver, especially ducats, formed the chief circulating medium. The native coins have the Persian names of *dóuble abazes*, *abazes*, and half *abazes*.*

Russian copper money, and silver and paper, were also plentiful at Tifflís. The paper money was exchanged with a premium of eight, and even nine roubles, upon the hundred; so that it is higher than at Moscow, where I never knew it exceed eight roubles.

The *Bazárs*, though of late much improved, yet have no imposing appearance. The shops are arranged along a covered alley, which is a complete thoroughfare. Some of them are very dark, and all of them gloomy, but they are enlivened by the bustle and noise of crowds of people. The same kind of shops are mostly found together, as grocers, cap-makers, taylor, ironmongers, armourers, silversmiths, &c. In the fruit shops we found abundance of apricots, cherries, and mulberries of inferior quality, and different kinds of salad. The season was yet too early for the fine fruit of the climate; and during our stay at Tifflís we never saw any upon the tables of the nobility. Every

* Some write these Persian words *abassees*, &c.

kind of merchandise and provisions is to be found here, as well the production of the country, as of Persia and Russia. We saw carpets, silks, shawls, and other articles, in the shops, which are not sold cheap in comparison with the prices in Russia. Immense quantities of Russian and German prints, handkerchiefs, besides cotton cloth, &c. of Russian manufacture, were every where exposed for sale.

We had expected to have found the *Caravanserais* much more imposing edifices, and better supplied with merchandise from eastern countries, than was the case. There are two of them at Tiflis, the one for the Turks, and the other for the Persians. They are square buildings, not unlike some prisons. They surround squares, with a double row of piazzas, one above the other, and are divided into numerous small unfurnished apartments, in which these foreigners pile up their merchandise, and reside. In the day they sit cross-legged upon the floor, smoking their pipes, or assembled in small parties for the same purpose, till a visitor enters. In the night they make their beds upon wadded covers, and thus they pass their time till they have finished their affairs, when they begin a new journey.

Two large ranges of new shops, or *Caravanserais*, have been lately erected near Yermólof's palace. Few of them were occupied, and, indeed, they were not all finished, in 1822. We were rather surprised at finding an Englishman, who had just commenced business in one of them. But where can

we go without meeting with our countrymen? This part of the town assumes an European aspect, but it still includes hundreds of Asiatic hovels, like terraces, in the sides of the hills, which being extremely low, flat-roofed, and mean, they are in many places scarcely visible until we are close upon them.

About the middle of Tiflís another irregular square is formed by the civil governor's house, the police-office which was erected in 1820, the *Prav-léníyé* or the administration, and other edifices, which belong to the crown.

The part of the town, which is far the best, is near General Yermólof's house, a structure which, though inferior to many private edifices in Petersburg and Moscow, both in size and in style, yet is thought extraordinary at Tiflís. Adjoining to it is the Arsenal, and opposite it the *Corps de Guard*. On one side is the public garden, which is of considerable size, and pretty well laid out. It contains a grotto, tea-rooms, and shaded walks and avenues, chiefly formed by vines. A pond, with *jets d'eau*, runs along its top, and the views from hence are extensive, and, in spring, are said to be pleasant. Behind it the hills rise rapidly, and are scattered with numerous churches.

The *Dépôt de Cartes* is near it, and is under the care of Colonel Kotzebue, son of Kotzebue the famous dramatic writer, and author of "*Voyage en Perse*," who accompanied us to see it. It con-

tained but few maps, and not one of the whole Russian empire. Here they are now preparing an immense map of Georgia, which is to extend to forty or forty-eight sheets, part of which we saw. It will be a work of several years' labour.

Opposite to General Yermólof's palace, but much nearer the river, there is a square of new edifices, in one of which we lodged. Here General Modátov, a Georgian prince in the Russian service, and a number of officers, have erected houses. According to Kotzebue this square was formerly a cemetery, and no great ceremony seems to have been observed in removing the tombs of the dead, so dear even to the most savage nations. But despotic power pays little regard to such ancient prejudices. These are Kotzebue's words:—

“ There existed, in the centre of the town, an ancient cemetery, much revered on account of its monuments of the dead ; but it occupied too much space and was surrounded by the most filthy and most disgusting streets. General Yermólof caused the enclosing walls to be pulled down, and the earth to be levelled, after having given the sepulchral stones to the families to whom they belonged. The surrounding houses were ornamented with fine façades.” *

Tiflis is much indebted to General Yermólof for his improvements. He wishes it to become the

* Voyage en Perse, p. 48.

grand *entrepôt* between the southern and eastern countries of the world and Russia, and is extremely desirous that it should be *made* a great commercial town. On these accounts, the ranges of shops, already noticed, were built, and the bazárs repaired. The soldiers, aware of General Yermólof's desire, in passing through the streets and lanes, each pulls out a brick or two from the walls of the old houses, so as to accelerate their fall. This practice demonstrates, 1st, that the dwellings of the Georgians are not very firmly built; and, 2dly, that the wish is most ardent to replace the present by modern buildings.

There is an hospital, and a botanic garden, upon the Koor, about two miles below Tiflís; but, as we did not visit them, I cannot give any account of their present state.

The Castle, or Citadel, was built by the Turks, in 1576, when they became masters of Tiflís and of the surrounding country, after many victories gained under the command of the famous Mustapha Pacha, generalissimo of the troops of Soliman. Its situation is on a high and insulated hill, and its strong walls and towers must have rendered it a place of great strength.—*See 13th Vignette.* It is now in ruins; the ascent to which is very difficult. We were stopped, when half way up, by a sentinel, whose objections to our proceeding farther were overcome by a trifle for *vodtki*. From the castle is obtained an excellent bird's-eye view of Tiflís

and its vicinity. The flat-roofed houses, in some places, arranged along the declivity of the rock, exactly resemble the steps of an immense stair, which might serve for some of the giants of fable. Their roofs were covered with people working, loitering, or amusing themselves.

In order to make a visit to the suburb of Avlabári, we crossed the Koor by a wooden bridge, at the side of which is the only mosque now in the town. It is intended soon to replace this bridge by one of stone. After passing it, a rude representation of the *Holy Supper*, cut out of the solid rock, and in an alcove ornamented with pillars, attracted notice. Great reverence is paid to this rude workmanship, the origin of which I could not learn. Ascending the hill, we reached an old fortress, which stands upon a bold rock; it was undergoing a thorough repair, preparatory to its becoming the chief prison of Georgia. We were told that it is the design of General Yermólof to make Tiflis a completely European town, and to allow this suburb only to retain its Asiatic character. In the meantime it exhibits nothing but meanness and wretchedness.

We afterwards made a visit to the Crown-Baths. On entering the hall we remarked a large room on the left, in which the Georgians were playing at billiards. We were shown into a similar apartment on the right, with an alcove on one side, and a curtain drawn in front of it, between two columns. In

the alcove we found some chairs and a low table, or rather bench, covered with a linen sheet, where the natives undress and deposit their clothes. Having desired the attendants to treat us, in every respect, as they did the Georgians, they took off our clothes, and, after fastening a linen girdle upon each of us, they led us to the bath-rooms, which are large and vaulted. In the centre of their arched roofs are apertures for the admission of air. The baths are of an oblong square form, and from 5 to 5½ feet in depth. They are cut out of the rock, and are filled by means of pipes fixed above them, and through which the warm sulphurated fountains continually flow. Each bath is provided with two large boards, raised about four inches from the floor, so as to accommodate two persons at the same time. I was desired to descend into the bath by means of a stair, which being done, I was led out, and laid upon one of the boards mentioned, while my head rested upon a little wooden pillow. The attendant having filled a bucket with water from the bath, and having put on his right hand a glove without fingers and made of goat's hair, washed and *scrubbed* over the whole body. This process lasted about a quarter of an hour. A number of tubfuls of warm water were then dashed over me. He next took a bag, which was filled with soap-suds, and emptied it on different parts of the body, while he continued a gentle friction with one hand; a second

operation, which did not terminate in less than twenty minutes. The ablutions with warm water being again repeated, he made signs for me to enter the bath, and to remain as long as I chose. As in Persia, Turkey, Egypt, and India, the attendants employ pressing, squeezing, and kneading, as it were, the surface of the body ; an operation well known under the appellation *champooing*. Another part of the operation consists in cracking all the joints, and then standing on, and even walking over, the body ; but to neither of these did I submit. One of our party had his joints cracked ; but to the *walking operation*, he also demurred.

Such a *luxurious bath* I never before enjoyed ; and now I can easily conceive how the natives of this country should remain in it hours, nay, whole days. “ The Georgians of rank,” says Madame Freyganch, “ particularly the ladies, devote a whole day in every week to the baths ; and not unfrequently pass a night in them. Reclining in luxurious ease upon the couches, they dye their hair and nails ; and the old ladies have hair as black as ebony, from constantly staining it. Here also they paint their faces red and white ; torturing themselves to make the eye-brows join, which is absolutely essential in a Georgian beauty. The day thus employed is with them one of the greatest importance, although attended with pain, as well as pleasure. After going through the ceremonies of these caverns, an hour’s repose and a plate of

fruit are very acceptable, even to Europeans ; and, although the situation of these baths is not very inviting, I have contracted a taste for them, at the risk of being looked upon as a Georgian.”* The crown-baths, which, as I have said, are well arranged, were not in existence when the above was written.

Besides the crown-baths, there are other six baths in the same neighbourhood ; four for males, and two for females. One of the female baths was in the most filthy condition. Innumerable naked women were busy washing clothes in it ; while others were reposing in the empty baths, and allowing the water from the fountains to run over their bodies. But, for a more particular description of such scenes, I recommend the reader to peruse Sir R. K. Porter’s account of the “Georgian Venuses” in the baths of Tiflis.

Of all the warm springs at the baths, I found the temperature to vary from 100° to 112° Fah.; indeed, the only one which reached 112° was in the crown-baths. Other writers speak of having found springs, both of a lower and of a considerably higher temperature, than I have stated ; and it seems very probable, that the temperature may vary, at different times, from changes in the interior of the mountains, of which we know nothing beyond conjecture. The author of “*Letters from the*

* Letters from the Caucasus, p. 119.

Caucasus," speaks of baths at 50° of R., equal to 144° F.; but I think she must be mistaken, unless they were warmed artificially.

The distinguishing characters of all the baths at Tiflis is their strong impregnation with sulphuretted hydrogen gas, and their possessing a temperature from 100° to 112° Fahrenheit.*

The Crown-Baths are situated in a plain edifice, and are kept in good order. They yield an annual revenue of 5000 silver roubles, nearly equal to 20,000 paper roubles of the present day, or 883*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling: no small sum in Georgia.

The inhabitants enjoy the crown-baths, by paying about 6*d.* or upwards; and the common baths do not cost more than 3*d.* or 4*d.*

Besides the baths, the chief pleasure the Georgians allow their wives, is to take the air, on Sundays and festivals, upon the tops of their houses, where they sometimes dance to the sound of the tam-

* The mountains in the neighbourhood of Tiflis, which Klaproth regards as belonging *à une branche avancé* of the chain of Pampák, separated from the Caucasus by the Koor, are composed *de marne, de schiste calcaire marneux et de grés*: their base is of brown-grey argillaceous schistus. In the cavities of the marl, one often meet with *filons de calcaire fibreux et du plâtre*. Pyrites is found in the *schiste tabulaire*, and it is often changed into true aluminous schistus. The soil around Tiflis is argillaceous, and presents, in many places, a mixture of calcareous sand, which contains much *galet du Kour*. In the valley, which is watered by the Tsakvissi, one sees hornstone covered with a green earth, hard and similar to jasper. Vide *Voyage au Mont Caucase*, &c. par Klaproth, vol. ii. p.9.

barine. But Kotzebue informs us, that they were also permitted to be spectators of a very singular species of diversion at Tiflis. At certain solemn festivals, the whole population left this town, and divided themselves into two bands of warriors, who made a kind of mock fight. Both sides demonstrated an incredible obstinacy, until one of the parties was obliged to abandon its position. They threw volleys of stones, then beat each other with sticks, or with wooden sabres. The little children, even, were employed in throwing stones by the opposing parties. Many persons were bruised and and lamed, and some even lost their lives. It was made a point of honour not to complain of accidents; and even mothers were witnesses of their sons' misfortunes with the resignation of Spartan women. This kind of general battle was called *Tamascha*, and princes took a share in it; but its continuation was prohibited by General Yermólof.

The Russian soldiers have been much blamed for corrupting the morals of the Georgian females, especially those of the lower ranks. They seem also to have made them, at times, the sport of their amusement. "When a female," says Kotzebue, "meets one or more Russians in the streets, and the passage is too narrow to admit her changing her direction, she turns her face toward the wall, until these formidable men have passed. The young officers sometimes amuse themselves in mocking this custom dictated by shame: they arrange them-

selves before the wall, and cover their faces with a white handkerchief, *et font, avec la pauvre femme, assaut de modestie, jusqu'à ce que d'un côté ou de l'autre on se lasse, soit de la rigueur de la coutume, soit de plaisanterie, et l'on finit par se souhaiter, de part et d'autre, un bon voyage.*" *

Among the objects of curiosity at Tiflis, the commandant one day ordered an *Albinos* to be brought to our quarters. He was a boy about thirteen years of age, the son of a Mingrelian, who is a Colonel in the Russian service. He had yellowish-white hair. His features were pleasant, and his complexion was fair. I remarked a white line round the pupils of his eyes, which were very small, and altogether insensible to different degrees of light. The whole iris was of a purplish colour, and this was peculiarly remarkable after causing the boy to shut his eyelids, with his face to the wall, and turning him suddenly round to the light. He enjoyed good health, and was intelligent.

* Voyage en Perse par Maurice de Kotzebue, p. 45.

LONDON :
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

TRAVELS
IN
RUSSIA,
THE KRIMEA, THE CAUCASUS,
AND
GEORGIA.

By ROBERT LYALL, M.D. F.L.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON; OF THE WERNERIAN
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH;
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, AND OF
THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY, OF MANCHESTER;
MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL SOCIETIES OF AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL HISTORY,
AND OF THE PHYSICO-MEDICAL SOCIETY, AT MOSCOW;
&c. &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND;
AND W. BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH.

1825.

DK

25

L98

V. 2



CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

	Page		Page
CHAPTER XIII.		Uncertainty of Property	
FOUNDATION of Tiflis		in Georgia.....	17
uncertain	1	Attacks of the Lesghees	18
Connection of Tiflis with		Policy of Russia.....	19
Georgia	2	Probable Improvement of	
History of Georgia.....	3	the Georgians.....	20
Connection of Georgia		Departure from Tiflis...	<i>ib.</i>
with Russia.....	8	The Russians Mushroom-	
Churches in Georgia.....	9	Eaters.....	21
Toleration in Georgia...	<i>ib.</i>	The Road to Muchrován	<i>ib.</i>
Productions of Georgia...	<i>ib.</i>	Description of Muchrován	22
Towns in Georgia.....	10	The River Yóra.....	24
Population of Georgia...	<i>ib.</i>	The Ruins of a Convent	<i>ib.</i>
Revenues of Georgia...	<i>ib.</i>	Gambóra.....	<i>ib.</i>
Administration of Geor-		The Hill of Gambóra.....	25
gia	11	Description of Teláv.....	26
Medical <i>Upráva</i>	12	The Vale of Teláv.....	28
Character and Conduct		Departure from Teláv...	<i>ib.</i>
of the Georgians.....	<i>ib.</i>	The River Alasán.....	29
Bribery and Corruption		Yeniséli	<i>ib.</i>
in Georgia.....	17	A Georgian Dinner.....	30
		Wine of Kachétia.....	31

	Page		Page
Prince Georgiádtsof ...	31	Buonaparte's Opinion...	62
Russian Camp.....	32	Opinions of Others.....	63
Kvaréli.....	<i>ib.</i>	Conquest of Turkey by the Russians.....	71
CHAP. XIV.		Buonaparte's Opinion on this point	<i>ib.</i>
Departure from Kvaréli	34	Popularity of such a Conquest in Russia...	72
Grémi Castle and Church	35	The Grand Duke Con- stantine.....	73
Shackriáni. — Laliskúri	36	The Royal Family of Georgia.....	74
Georgian Females.....	37	Alexander Mirza, Here- ditary Prince of Geor- gia.....	75
The Tushíntsi.....	<i>ib.</i>		
Alván.—Alavérdi.....	38	CHAP. XV.	
Return to Teláv and Muehrován	39	Biographical Notice of General Yermólof.....	78
A Russian Festival	<i>ib.</i>	His Administration of Georgia.....	82
Return to Tiflís.....	40	His Conduct to the Cau- casians.....	83
An Avalanche.....	<i>ib.</i>	Journal of his Embassy to Persia	85
Guldenstädt's Travels	41	Its Preface.....	87
The Caucasus a fine Field for a Traveller's Researches	42	Mr. Freyganch's Mission to Persia.....	89
The Military Lines of Defence in the Cau- casus.....	46	Russian Policy.....	90
Inhuman Conduct to- ward the Mountain- eers.....	48	Aboul Hassan Khan.....	<i>ib.</i>
New Fortresses in the Caucasus	51	His Opinion of the Rus- sians	<i>ib.</i>
Mortality of the Geor- gian Army	52	Persian Presents to the Emperor Alexander	91
Colonisation in Georgia	53	General Yermólof's De- parture from Tiflís ...	92
Russian Policy	<i>ib.</i>	His Advance to Shirpi- lou.....	<i>ib.</i>
Inroad of the Mountain- eers	54	Georgian Villages	93
Army of the Caucasus and Georgia.....	<i>ib.</i>	Talin.....	<i>ib.</i>
Russian Aggrandisement and Plans.....	55	The Serdar of Erivan...	94
State of Persia.....	58	Eitchmeadzín.....	<i>ib.</i>
Probable Conduct of Russia.....	60	Eriván	95
Invasion of India by Russia	61	Nahitchivan.....	99
Sir R. Wilson's Opinion on this subject	62		

	Page		Page
General Yermólof's Re- veries.....	99	The Grand Vizier Mirza Sheffi.....	136
His Entrance into Ta- breez.....	101	The Tyrant Aga Maho- med.....	137
Persian Court Ceremo- nies.....	<i>ib.</i>	Anecdotes.....	138
Extraordinary Recep- tion of the Russian Embassy.....	105	Property of Mirza Sheffi	139
Review of Persian Troops	107	Courtier Conduct of Ge- neral Yermólof.....	140
General Yermólof's Visit to Abbas Mirza.....	108	Presents of Alexander to the Shach.....	141
Court Deception.....	109	Presentation of the Rus- sian Embassy.....	142
General Yermólof's Self- Importance.....	110	The King of Persia's gracious Conduct.....	143
Character of Mirza Be- zoork.....	111	Presentation of the Pre- sents.....	144
Abbas Mirza Hereditary Prince of Persia.....	113	Their Transport to Te- heran.....	145
The Persian Government	114	The Persian Astrologers	146
Udjaní.....	<i>ib.</i>	General Yermólof's Self- Complacency.....	<i>ib.</i>
The Kyme-Makaum's Son.....	116	Want of Faith in the Persians.....	147
Colonel Johnson.....	117	The Emperor Alexan- der's determination to retain the Persian Provinces.....	<i>ib.</i>
Anecdote.—Avanloog	118	Useless Negotiations...	148
Poisonous Bugs of Miana.....	119	The Shach's Consent to the Terms of Russia	<i>ib.</i>
Fine Bridges.....	123	Reconciliation of the Kyme-Makaum and General Yermólof...	149
Remarks on Persia.....	<i>ib.</i>	Yermólof's Curious Fes- tival.....	150
Nikpé.—Samanarchié...	124	Presents refused by General Yermólof.....	151
Mirza Abdool Wehab...	125	Presents accepted by an English Ambassa- dor.....	152
Discussions between the Persian Minister and General Yermólof.....	126	Treaty of Peace signed between Persia and Russia.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Farewell Audience of the Shach.....	153
		Usual Ceremonies at the Court of Persia.....	<i>ib.</i>

CHAP. XVI.

Arrival of the King of Persia at Sultania.....	131
His Attention to the Russian Embassy.....	133
His Neglect of the Eng- lish.....	134
The Palace of the Shach	<i>ib.</i>
Preparations for the Presentation of the Presents.....	135

	Page		Page
Return of the Russian Embassy to Tabreez	154	Their Hospitality.....	172
Tyrannical Conduct of General Yermólof ...	155	Their Revenge of Blood for Blood.....	173
Russian Embassy reaches Tiflis.....	<i>ib.</i>	Their Polygamy.—Their Marriages.....	174
Views of Tiflis.....	156	Their Religion.....	<i>ib.</i>
German Colonies in Georgia.....	<i>ib.</i>	Their Oaths.....	175
General Appearance of Kachétia.....	157	Death of their Relations	<i>ib.</i>
Collection of Taxes in Georgia.....	158	Their Sepulchres.....	176
Sultry Heat at Tiflis ...	159	Sir R. K. Porter's Account of this Tribe...	<i>ib.</i>
Departure from Tiflis...	<i>ib.</i>		
CHAP. XVII.		CHAP. XVIII.	
Arrival at Khartiskárst	160	Fortresses of the Caucasus.....	179
Departure from Khartiskárst.....	<i>ib.</i>	Warlike Appearance of the Inhabitants.....	180
The Castle of Ananoor	161	Dariél.....	181
Thunder-storm at Passananoor.....	162	Fall of a Rock into the Térek.....	<i>ib.</i>
Departure from Passananoor.....	<i>ib.</i>	New Road.....	<i>ib.</i>
Effects of a Thunder-storm	<i>ib.</i>	Mountain Pass. — Lars	182
Kashaúr. — Kóbi.....	163	Vladikavkáz.....	<i>ib.</i>
Prisoners on their route to Siberia.....	<i>ib.</i>	Care of Travellers.....	183
Kasbék.....	164	Colonel Skvartsóf.....	<i>ib.</i>
Romantic Account by Sir R. K. Porter	<i>ib.</i>	General Del Pozzo.....	184
Anonymous Critique of the Knight's Travels	165	Departure from Vladikavkáz.....	<i>ib.</i>
Author's Opinion of them.....	166	Elizabeth Redoubt. — Adventure.....	185
Divisions of the Mountain Tribes of the Caucasus.....	<i>ib.</i>	Constantine Redoubt...	186
Works respecting them	167	Ferry of the Térek.....	187
Account of the Ossetians	169	Mozdók.....	<i>ib.</i>
Their Robbery.....	171	Accident	188
		Geórgiévsk. — Beshpaghír.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Stávropole.....	189
		Quarantine of Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé	<i>ib.</i>
		Description of it.....	191
		Our Release.....	192
		Honourable and Dishonourable Conduct.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Departure from Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé...	<i>ib.</i>

	Page		Page
Níjni-Yegorlítskoyé.....	193	Account of Platof's Birth	213
The Don. — Aksäi	<i>ib.</i>	Platof's Education	214
Nóvo-Tcherkásk	194	His Genius. — His Amusements.....	215
Visit to General Iloväiskii	<i>ib.</i>	Platof enters the Military Service.....	216
Road to Stáro-Tcherkásk	195	His Departure for the Crimea.....	219
History and Situation of this Town.....	196	His Advancement.....	<i>ib.</i>
Its former Population...	197	His Bravery on the Kallalach	220
Stáro-Tcherkásk absurdly compared to Venice	<i>ib.</i>	Platof sent against Púgatchof and the Mountain Tribes.....	222
Present State of Stáro-Tcherkásk.....	198	He distinguishes himself at Otchakof, Káushánach, and Ismail...	<i>ib.</i>
Its Cathedral and Inundations	<i>ib.</i>	Platof visits Petersburg	224
Its Decline	<i>ib.</i>	Prince Potyémkin.....	225
Return to Nóvo-Tcherkásk	199	Platof's Promotion	<i>ib.</i>
Dinner at General Iloväiskii's.....	<i>ib.</i>	Platof fights in Persia	<i>ib.</i>
Colonel Nozikómof.....	<i>ib.</i>	The Emperor Paul's foolish Conduct	226
The <i>Upravléniyé</i>	200	His Character.....	227
Foundation of Nóvo-Tcherkásk.....	<i>ib.</i>	Platof's Appearance at Court.....	228
Platof's Plan of this Town.....	201	Platof made Atamán of the Kozáks of the Don	229
Its Situation injudicious	<i>ib.</i>	Foundation of Nóvo-Tcherkásk.....	<i>ib.</i>
Description of Nóvo-Tcherkásk	202	Platof's Attachment to old Customs	230
Its Population	<i>ib.</i>	His Distinctions	231
Its Public Buildings.....	203	His Eccentricity.....	232
Remarks on the Kozáks	<i>ib.</i>	Anecdote.....	<i>ib.</i>
Their Military Character.....	205	Platof's Character of Buonaparte	233
		Anecdote.....	<i>ib.</i>
		Platof serves against the Turks.....	234
		Platof's Rewards.....	<i>ib.</i>
		His Operations in 1812	235
		Platof made a Count ...	<i>ib.</i>
		Platof's Addresses to his Soldiers.....	236

CHAP. XIX.

Fame of Platof.....	208
His Life and Combats	209
Mr. Smirnoi's Work.....	210
Platof's Opinions.....	211
General Character of Platof.....	<i>ib.</i>

	Page		Page
Present from the Emperor to Platóf.....	236	Platóf's Religious Principles.....	256
Platóf's Visit to England.....	<i>ib.</i>	Platóf's Weakness.....	257
Platóf's Presents from and to the Prince Regent	237	Curious Anecdote	<i>ib.</i>
The Prince Regent's Portrait.....	238	Platóf's Dislike to Epistolary Correspondence	260
The Sword of the City of London.....	<i>ib.</i>	Anecdote	261
Platóf's Arrival at Petersburg.....	239	Platóf's Kindness and Hospitality to British Travellers.....	262
Platóf sets off for Vienna.....	<i>ib.</i>	His Liberality.....	266
His Return to the Residence.....	<i>ib.</i>	His Style of Living.....	<i>ib.</i>
His Departure from it... ..	<i>ib.</i>	Stories respecting Platóf's Daughter and her Dowry.....	267
His Triumphal Journey	240	Anecdote.....	268
Anecdote	<i>ib.</i>	Platóf's Behaviour in Society.....	<i>ib.</i>
Platóf's Entry into Nóvo-Tcherkásk	241	Platóf always a true Kozák	269
His Conduct.....	<i>ib.</i>	Platóf's Drollery.....	<i>ib.</i>
Labaume's Account of Platóf's Son's Death	242	His Amusements.....	<i>ib.</i>
Rejoicing and Festivals	244	Anecdote.....	270
Bible Society at Nóvo-Tcherkásk.....	245	Platóf's Superstitions	<i>ib.</i>
Improvements at Nóvo-Tcherkásk.....	<i>ib.</i>	His Mode of Life.....	271
Preparations for the Visit of the Emperor	246	His Reception of Guests	272
Visit of the Great Duke Michail.....	247	His Poverty.....	273
Míshkin, Platóf's Estate	<i>ib.</i>	His General Character	<i>ib.</i>
Platóf's Departure for Moscow.....	248	His Portrait and Person.....	<i>ib.</i>
His Death.....	<i>ib.</i>	His Funeral Sermon.....	274
Platóf's Character.—His Failings.....	249	Elegant Extracts.....	<i>ib.</i>
His Monument	250	Platóf's Marriage.....	275
		His Family	276
		His Debts.....	<i>ib.</i>
		His Property.....	277
		Departure from Nóvo-Tcherkásk.....	278
		Naktshiván.....	279
		Description of Taganróg	<i>ib.</i>
		Its Population.....	280
		Its Commerce	281
		Its Quarantine.....	283
		Departure for Níjni-Novgórod.....	284

CHAP. XX.

Conduct of Platóf. — Anecdote.....	253
------------------------------------	-----

	Page		Page
CHAP. XXI.		Its Cathedral. — Its	
Departure from Tagan- róg.....	286	Churches.....	316
<i>Step.</i> — Uspénskoyé.....	<i>ib.</i>	Its Population.....	317
Lugan Iron-Works.....	287	Famous for Cherries... ..	<i>ib.</i>
Arrival at Jeltoyé Sélo.....	288	The River Kliasma.....	318
Anecdote.....	<i>ib.</i>	Súdogda. — Múrom	<i>ib.</i>
Drowning of our Ser- vant	289	Iron-Works at Vixa.....	321
His Funeral.....	290	Trick of Post-Boors.....	323
Village of Jeltoyé Sélo	<i>ib.</i>	Monakóvo.....	324
Fine Country. — Danc- ing.....	291	Roguery of its Smotrí- tel	325
Starobélsk.....	<i>ib.</i>	Boghoródkoyé.....	326
Ostrogójsk.....	292	Arrival at Níjni-Nóvgor- rod.....	<i>ib.</i>
Character of Russian Merchants.....	293	The Vólga. — The Oká	327
Their Method of Bar- gaining.....	294	CHAP. XXII.	
Anecdote.....	296	History of Níjni-Nóvgor- rod.....	330
Premiums to Purchasers	297	Its fine Situation	331
German Colony.....	299	Well adapted for Com- merce.....	332
Voronéje and its History	300	Níjni-Nóvgorod might be the Capital of Rus- sia.....	334
Present State of Voro- néje	301	Divisions of Níjni-Nóvg- gorod.....	<i>ib.</i>
Commerce of Voronéje	302	Its Cathedrals. — Its Churches.....	335
Anecdote	<i>ib.</i>	Its Population.....	336
A Eunuch.....	304	Bazárs at Makárieř	337
Supply of Corn.....	<i>ib.</i>	burned	337
Dr. Clarke's Extrava- gance.....	305	Plan of General Betan- court.....	338
Cause of his Partial Ac- counts	306	Objections to it.....	<i>ib.</i>
Milenets.....	307	Unavoidable Difficulties	339
Zadónsk	308	New Bazárs at Níjni- Nóvgorod.....	342
Yélets.....	309	Dismissal of General Betancourt	343
Yephremof.....	310	Description of the Ba- zárs.....	<i>ib.</i>
Boghoródkoyé.....	<i>ib.</i>	Merchandise at them... ..	347
Túla. — Séripuhof.....	311	Merchandise at them in 1821 and 1823.....	349
Punishment of a Post- Boor.....	312		
Moscow. — Boghoródk	<i>ib.</i>		
Pokróř	313		
History of Vladímir.....	314		
Its Present State	315		

	Page		Page
Merchandise at Maká- riéf in 1813	354	Russian Army's Retreat through Moscow to the Kolómna Road...	379
Amusements at Níjni- Nóvgorod	<i>ib.</i>	Entry of the French into Moscow.....	380
Anecdote. — Lodgings. — Inns.....	355	The Question, Who burned Moscow?.....	<i>ib.</i>
Steam - Boats on the Vólga	356	The Russians them- selves the Incen- diaries	<i>ib.</i>
My Departure in com- pany with Russian Merchants.....	<i>ib.</i>	Cause of their Denial of this Deed.....	381
Goróchovets. — Viasniki	358	Their Avowal of it now	383
Vladímir. — Pékra.....	<i>ib.</i>	Extraordinary Conduct of Count Rostopchín	384
Górenki Botanic Gar- dens, and their Di- rector, Dr. Fischer ...	359	Moscow burned by <i>quelque Personnage</i> <i>à grand Caractère</i>	<i>ib.</i>
Count Razumóvskii.....	361	Conduct of the Emperor Alexander and of Russian Authors.....	386
Górenki going to Ruin..	362	A Mystery.....	387
New Botanic Garden at Petersburgh	<i>ib.</i>	The Emperor or Kutú- sof the Grand Incen- diary of Moscow?...	<i>ib.</i>
The late Count A. K. Rasumóvskii's Affairs embarrassed	363	Effects of the Confla- gration.....	388
The Russian Nobles no- torious for getting in- to Debt.....	364	Retreat of the Russian Army.....	<i>ib.</i>
Anecdote.....	365	Impolitic Conduct of Buonaparte	389
Illustrations.....	368	The Ruin of the French Army.....	<i>ib.</i>
Character of the Rus- sians	370		
Arrival at Moscow	371		
New Facts respecting this City.....	<i>ib.</i>		
The Emperor Alexander displeased with the Author.....	372		
Character of Colonel Boutourlin's Work ...	<i>ib.</i>		
Russian Army retreats to Fili.....	374		
Council of War.....	375		
The Russian and the French Armies.....	377		
Decision of Prince Ku- túsof.....	378		
		CHAP. XXIII.	
		Rostopchín's conduct before the Burning of Moscow	391
		Probability of an Insur- rection of its Inhabit- ants	392
		Boutourlin's Conclusions respecting the Cam- paign of 1812	393

	Page		Page
Conduct of the Emperor		Her Over-action	415
Alexander.....	394	Probable Fate of Russia	416
Conduct of Prince Ku-		Russia the Bug-bear of	
túsof.....	395	Europe.....	418
Conduct of the Russian		The Emperor Paul.....	<i>ib.</i>
Army.....	397	The Emperor Alexander	421
Conduct of its Officers	<i>ib.</i>	The Great Dukes.....	426
Conduct of General Toll	<i>ib.</i>	The Empress.....	427
Reported Plan of the		The Dowager Empress	<i>ib.</i>
Russians false	<i>ib.</i>	Illustrations of the Cha-	
Boutourlin's Patriotism	398	raeter of the Russians	428
Alarm at the Power of		Their Religion.....	430
Russia	399	Anecdotes.....	432
Invasion of Russia in		Civil Administration of	
1812.....	400	Russia	439
Sir R. Wilson's opinion		Its New Organisation...	441
with respect to the		Oppression of the Po-	
Power of Russia.....	401	lice	442
Opinion of Buonaparte	402	Soldier's Quarters.....	444
—— of Mr. Lack		Ranks and Titles of the	
Sczyrma	405	Russians.....	445
—— of M. de Pradt	<i>ib.</i>	Nobles	447
—— of Count Ros-		Clergy. —Merchants.—	
topchín	407	Peasants.....	448
—— of M. Dupin...	<i>ib.</i>	Anecdotes.....	449
—— of an Anony-		Russian Tables.....	453
mous Writer.....	<i>ib.</i>	Climate of Russia.....	455
—— of Colonel Bou-		Ice-Palace.....	<i>ib.</i>
tourlin.....	408	Ice - Dolphins, Cannon,	
—— of the Periodi-		Mortars, &c.....	457
cal Press	<i>ib.</i>	Improvements at Mos-	
—— of the Author...	409	cow.....	459
Russia Accessible, Vul-			
nerable, and even			
Conquerable.....	<i>ib.</i>		
Power and Policy of			
Great Britain	410		
Europe need not be			
alarmed by Russia ...	<i>ib.</i>		
State of Great Britain	412		
Russia requires to be			
watched	413		
Her Army.....	<i>ib.</i>		
Composition of the Rus-			
sian Empire.....	414		

CHAP. XXIV.

Civil and Military Hos-	
pitals in Russia.....	462
Mary's Hospital at Pe-	
tersburgh.....	<i>ib.</i>
Naval Hospitals	<i>ib.</i>
Divisions of the Medical	
Department in Russia	463
Sir Alexander Crichton	<i>ib.</i>
Doctor Leighton.....	<i>ib.</i>

	Page		Page
Sir James Wylie, Bart.	464	New Road between Pe-	
Outlines of his Life.....	465	tersburgh and Moscow	472
Departure from Moscow	471	<i>Diligences</i>	473
The Khersón Gates.....	<i>ib.</i>	Petersburgh.....	<i>ib.</i>
Military Colonisation...	472	Conclusion.....	474

APPENDIX.

No.	Page	No.	Page
I. Respecting Odéssa	475	V. History of the Or-	
II. Mineral Springs of		lof Family.....	498
the Caucasus.....	480	VI. Political Docu-	
III. Poisonous Bugs of		ments.....	505
Miana.....	482	VII. Itinerary	530
IV. The Temple of our			
Saviour on the			
Sparrow-hill, near			
Moscow.....	484		

LIST OF THE VIGNETTES

IN

THE SECOND VOLUME.

No.	CHAPTER XIII.	Page
13.	The Castle of Tiffls.....	1
	CHAP. XIV.	
14.	Gremi Castle and Church.....	34
	CHAP. XV.	
15.	The Town of Teláv.....	77
	CHAP. XVI.	
16.	The Town of Tiffls.....	130
	CHAP. XVII.	
17.	The Castle of Ananoor.....	160
	CHAP. XVIII.	
18.	A Fortified Village near Kazbék.....	178
	CHAP. XIX.	
19.	Míshkin, the Estate of the late Count Platóf.....	207
	CHAP. XX.	
20.	Plan of Taganróg.....	251
	CHAP. XXI.	
21.	A Rural Scene in Russia, Dancing, &c.....	285
	CHAP. XXII.	
22.	Plan of the New Bazár at Níjni-Nóvgorod.....	328
	CHAP. XXIII.	
23.	The Ice-Palace at Petersburg.....	390
	CHAP. XXIV.	
24.	The Hospital of (the Dowager Empress) Mary, at Petersburgh.....	461



CHAPTER XIII.

FOUNDATION OF TIFLÍS UNCERTAIN. — ITS CONNECTION WITH GEORGIA. — HISTORY OF GEORGIA. — ITS CONNECTIONS WITH RUSSIA. — CHURCHES IN GEORGIA. — TOLERATION. — PRODUCTIONS. — TOWNS. — POPULATION. — REVENUE. — ADMINISTRATION. — MEDICAL *UPRAVA*. — CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF THE GEORGIANS. — BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION. — UNCERTAINTY OF PROPERTY. — ATTACKS OF THE LESGHEES. — PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS. — DEPARTURE. — RUSSIANS MUSHROOM-EATERS. — ROAD TO MUCHROVÁN. — DESCRIPTION OF MUCHROVÁN. — THE YÓRA. — RUINS OF A CONVENT. — GAMBÓRA. — HILL OF GAMBÓRA. — DESCRIPTION OF TELÁV. — DEPARTURE. — THE ALASÁN. — YENISÉLI. — GEORGIAN DINNER. — WINE OF KACHÉTIA. — PRINCE GEORGI-ÁDTSOV. — RUSSIAN CAMP. — KVARÉLLI.

As already alluded to, some have pretended to have traced the foundation of Tiflis up to the year 469, and ascribe it to Vachtang, in those days a

sovereign of some consequence, who, by force of arms and repeated victories, acquired dominion over the mountainous regions and the unbounded plains which stretch between the Black and the Caspian Seas. But, with respect to these early periods of history, we have yet much to learn ; and, for 500 years after the assumed foundation of Tiflís in 469, we are presented with a blank or chasm, which is not likely to be filled up. I shall now take notice of Tiflís as connected with Georgia, and as having been the capital of her tsars in periods of greater glory than she can now pretend to, or think of recovering.

The tsar David, surnamed the Restorer, who reigned from the year 1089 to 1130, endeavoured to make the sciences flourish within the walls of Tiflís. He sent twelve young men, of good families, to study at Athens, who returned to their country, and brought with them useful knowledge, and Greek manuscripts, which they translated into their own language. The most laborious and the most learned of their writers was Petrucius, surnamed the Philosopher. Knowledge very soon spread through this country, hitherto barbarous ; and the reign of the Princess Tamar improved those happy dawnings. Many schools were formed, and the number of good books was augmented. The protection which that princess granted to seminaries, and the brilliant acts of her reign, have acquired, with justice to her memory, the title of *great*. Soon

after her death, the famous Tchingis Khan ravaged this unfortunate country. In vain some Georgians endeavoured to preserve the knowledge of science and literature in some isolated convents and strong holds among the mountains, where the manuscripts were concealed ; but, continual wars, civil discord, the yoke of the Mussulmans, whose possessions on all sides surrounded those of Georgia, scarcely left her any communication with Greece, whose tottering throne soon afterwards fell. All these causes replunged Georgia into a state of barbarism, perhaps worse than that from which she had begun to emerge. During their subjection to Persia, the Georgians, especially those of Tifflís, applied themselves to the literature of their conquerors ; but the few amateurs of national literature were confined to monasteries, and only began to flourish under the reign of Heraclius, in consequence of the protection which this sovereign, as well as Antonius, the first *Catholikos*, gave to letters, which they themselves also cultivated. Heraclius founded an office for printing in Georgian characters at Tifflís, an establishment which was increased by the care of Gaius, archbishop of Pénza, who made a present to the nation of a printing-office which he had at Mozdók.

I must refer the reader to consult other sources for the minutiae of the history of Georgia. It cannot be irrelevant to our present subject, however, to give a rapid general-sketch of this country, par-

ticularly of its connection with Russia. In the execution of this design I have profited by Madame Freyganch's labours.

Every nation is ambitious of carrying its genealogy as high as possible. The Georgians pretend to trace theirs to Noah, who, they say, gave this country to his son Shem. It is from Farsis, and after him from Targamos, that the Armenians, Lesghees, Colchians, Mingrelians, and the natives of the Caucasus, derive their origin. In course of time, the Persians seized on Georgia, and kept it, until Alexander the Great, obtaining possession of it by his conquest of Persia, gave the government to Ason. This man was, after the death of Alexander, killed by Pharnabazus, a relation of Darius, who made himself master of Georgia, and became its first king, about 300 years before the Christian æra. From this epoch, they enumerate ninety sovereigns, whose succession extends to our time: among these are Assyrian, Armenian, and Persian princes. The throne of Georgia has been occupied by females also; of whom Tamar, who reigned from 1171 to 1198, has rendered herself famous by victories over the Turks and Persians. She married Bogholyúbskii, a Russian prince, and was succeeded by Rus-Oudan, her daughter, who reigned at the time when Tchingis Khan overran Georgia, which he did upon three different occasions. Afterwards the famous tsar Tamerlane made dreadful havoc in his endeavours to introduce Mahome-

tanism. What, however, proved most prejudicial, was the partition of the country, which many of its sovereigns had the imprudence to make. By it they facilitated the attempts of the Persians and Turks, who continually encroached, making this the theatre of their wars. Alexander I. divided it in 1424 into three principalities, namely, Kartalínia, Kachétia, and Imerétia, with which he endowed his three sons. These provinces fell under the power of numerous princes, whose origin is referred, like that of all the Georgian chiefs, to the three sons of the tsar Alexander.

The fate of Georgia was at length decided by the war of Amurat the third, the Turkish Sultan, against the Persian Schahs, Mahomet Khodabende, Ismael the Third, and Abbas the Great, the rival powers dividing it between them. Mingrélia, Gouriél and Imerétia, submitted to the Turkish yoke ; the remainder, comprising Kachétia, Somhétia, and Gárdaban, fell into the hands of the Persians. This division took place in 1576, under the reign of the first Simon, tsar of Kartalínia. In order to establish a barrier between their possessions and those of Persia, the Turks invited the Tartars, who inhabit the mountains, and profess the same creed with them, to enter Georgia and lay it waste on the side of Persia. These depredations, which harassed the whole country, determined the tsar Alexander II. to implore assistance from Phéodor Ivanovitch, tsar of Moscovy, to whom

an ambassador was sent for this purpose in 1586, beseeching him, for the defence of Georgia, to build a Russian town upon the Tére^k. This treaty placed Georgia under the protection of the Russians, who communicated thereupon with the Schah Abbas. That prince, being at war with Turkey, feared to irritate the tsar, and came into his views. A few years later, George, tsar of Kartalíⁿia, threw himself upon the protection of Russia, where Boris Phedorovítch Godúnof now reigned. From this time Georgia had the support of Russia, which has often saved her from ruin. It should be observed, that when, in 1678, she again solicited protection, it was specified, in the treaty as delivered to the tsarévitch Nicolas, that she placed herself under the dependance of Russia, where many of the Georgian tsarévitches came thereupon to reside.*

While the Turks and the Persians ravaged Georgia, Peter the Great, either wishing to have a share in the spoil, or to check the progress of the other aggressors, caused his troops to take possession of Derbéⁿt and Bakú, which, with the provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad, were afterwards ceded to Russia by treaty. Georgia had again no tranquillity until 1729, when Russia concluded a treaty with Persia. Seven years after this, Schah Nadir, named Tamas Kooli Khan, having mounted the throne of Persia, delivered Karta-

* Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, p. 119.

linia and Kachétia from the Turkish yoke. Russia, on her part, by a treaty in 1732, ceded her possessions between the Térék and the Koor. In 1735, Turkey renouncing all pretensions to Georgia, consented to the occupation of the country by the Persians, after which the Georgians contributed greatly to the success of Nadir Schah.

Taimouras, who became viceroy of Georgia, with his son Heraclius, defended their territories against all their enemies, and even obtained repeated victories over the competitors for the throne of Persia; but, for the sake of increasing their power, they entered into an engagement with the Empress Elizabeth to maintain fidelity to Russia. In consequence of a rupture between Taimouras and Heraclius, in 1760, the latter seized Kartalínia and Kachétia, became very formidable, and, in 1763, fought with the Russians against the Turks. In 1774, peace was concluded between Russia and Turkey; and Kartalínia and Kachétia were declared independent. In 1783, different unsatisfactory reasons were assigned for the cession of both these provinces to Russia. A new war broke out between this power and Turkey; but, at the peace of 1791, the Georgians were declared independent of the Turks. Aga Mahomed Khan, who had ascended the throne of Persia, completed the misfortunes of this people in 1795. By forced marches from Georgia he reached Tiflís, with a numerous army, surprised the tsar Heraclius, who, although above

eighty years old, fought like a hero, and did prodigies of valour, but was only able to save himself and his family by flight. Tiflis was ravaged, burned, and almost entirely demolished. All its principal inhabitants, especially the females, were carried into captivity. The Russian army, under Count Zúbof, entered Georgia, and gained several advantages in 1796; but the Empress Catherine II. died, and the singular Paul recalled the troops.

Heraclius died in 1798, in the thirty-second year of his reign, and the 84th of his age. After his death discord was renewed between the different competitors to the throne, which, by right of primogeniture, belonged to George, oldest son of the last sovereign. Omar, khan of the Avares, made an irruption into the country, and no doubt would have taken advantage of the civil war, so as to have conquered it completely, if the Russian army, which also entered it at the same time, had not dispersed its troops, and re-established general tranquillity.

According to the account of the Russians, George Heracliévitch (the son of Heraclius), feeling his end approaching, and foreseeing the inevitable evils which his death would cause in his unfortunate country, submitted himself, with all the princes of his family, the grandees, and the people, to the Emperor Paul I. who caused this kingdom to be taken possession of in 1801, and which was confirmed by a manifest of Alexander in the same

year. Kartalínia and Kachétia were divided into five districts: three in Kartalínia, *Góri*, *Lóri*, and *Dushét*; and two in Kachétia, *Téláv* and *Signág*.

Georgia Proper, which is called *Grúsia* by the Russians, and *Goorgistan*, or *Koorchistan*, by the Persians, comprehends the province of Kachétia (ancient Albania), of Imeretia (ancient Iberia), and of Kartalínia. Mingrelia (ancient Colchis), and, since 1813, the *Khánats* of Talíshin and Karabágh also belong to Russian Georgia.

In the part of Georgia now subject to Russia, there are no less than 3000 churches, most of them excessively poor, and many of them in ruins. They are chiefly built in the same style of architecture, which is better illustrated by the vignettes than by descriptions.

Toleration, as in Russia, is extended to all nations and all religious creeds, who have even *their own magistrates* among the Russians to settle their disputes, but always under the cognizance of the governor-general.

Although the climate of Georgia is fine, and the country is rich, sending forth its productions almost spontaneously; though its rivers abound in fish, and numerous herds of cattle are fed upon its abundant herbage, yet it does not appear to be very flourishing, if we might judge either by its population, or by the small number of paltry towns which are scattered throughout its territories.

We have seen that Tiflís has long ceased to con-

tain above 20,000 inhabitants ; and it may be questioned whether any of its other towns, within the last hundred years, ever possessed the fourth or fifth part of that number. The present chief towns, besides Tiflís, are Góri, Ananoor, Teláv, and Signág, &c.

Góri is but a small town ; Ananoor is a paltry village, of a few miserable huts, as I have already mentioned ; Teláv is a mean town indeed ; and Signág contains 100 houses, and only 300 or 400 inhabitants.

In Russian Georgia are reckoned 308,000 inhabitants by one account and, by another, which is more accurate, they are 371,200.* They have adopted the manner of life, the costume, and the customs of the Persians, who were their conquerors, and who long held them in subjection. A fourth part of the present population, however, are Armenians.

The revenue of this country is reckoned at 300,000 roubles, which go solely to the support of the administration, and the improvement and renewal of the towns and villages of the country.

Georgia is now under the immediate administration of the military governor-general of “ *Georgia, Astrachan, and Caucasus.*” The form of the admi-

* The population of the south of the Russian empire may be estimated thus : Kozáks of the Don, 250,000 ; Tchernomórskaa Kozáks, 14,500 ; Government of the Caucasus, 122,400, including 25,000 Georgians, Ossetinians, Circassians, &c. ; Georgia, 371,200 ; Mingrelia, 26,000 ; Imeretia, 80,000 ; Lesghistán, 20,000 ; Daghistán, 30,000 ; Shirván, 25,000 ; Khánat of Karabágh, 30,000 ; and that of Talíshin, 30,000.

nistration is similar to that of the governments of Russia. It is under the inspection of a superior Georgian administration, fixed in Tiflis, which is divided into four *expeditions* or departments: 1st, The executive department; 2d, The crown and economical department; 3d, That for criminal affairs; and, 4th, That for civil affairs. Georgian princes and nobles are admitted to the administration as well as Russians. Indeed, some tell us, that the Georgians are governed by their proper laws, and that in their legislation they follow the code of Vachtang, already mentioned. But, at the same time, they inform us, that to the officers of the country, Russians have been joined for the executive department, and that the governor-general has the right to combine the Georgian laws with the Russian penal code, and often to mitigate the sentences.*

* One Russian author, Vsévolojkii, following his countryman, Stehékatoſ, tells us, that “L’empereur a permis que les Georgiens continuassent à se gouverner par leurs propres loix. Ils suivent, pour leur legislation, le code de Vakhtang, un des leurs souverains : mais on a joint aux officiers du pays des Russes pour la partie exécutive et le gouverneur-général a le droit de concilier ces loix avec le code pénal Russe, et souvent à mitiger les sentences.”—*Geographitcheskoyé Slovar’ Rossiiskaho Gosudárstva*, vol. vi. p. 212; and *Dictionnaire Historique-Geographique* of Vsévolojkii, vol. i. p. 193. This chevalier, and real Russian, thus employs much circumlocution with the view of making his readers believe that the Georgians have some share in the administration; but, the fact is, that the Russians are not only for “*la partie exécutive*” — by the way the most important

For the support of the administration in Georgia, were allotted 71,000 roubles, which, I believe, has been augmented to above 100,000 since General Yermólof became governor of this province of the empire.

At Tiflis there is a medical *Uprava*, and in the district towns medical men are stationed.* In the same towns are also commandants, police-masters, cashiers, provincial courts, and other necessary magistracies.

The Iberians, ancestors of the present Georgians, have been celebrated for their valour and conquests, and struggled successfully against the Medes and the Persians†; and Chardin speaks of them as “mutins, legers, et vaillans.” Reineggs relates, “that both the nobles and the peasantry of Georgia are given up to a wretched degree of sloth, appearing to despise all laudable pursuits which require attention or labour; and, amongst others, the cultivation of the earth. But this stubborn indolence is not the natural bias of the Georgian. He is fully aware of his wants, of his miserable poverty, and of the usual means of relieving such a state; but he has no hope in

—but they have complete sway in all cases. The Georgian magistrates are mere automata, who afford a cloak to Russian government, or perhaps misrule.

* Vide Explanation, p. 360. of Vol. I.

† Letters from the Caucasus, p. 119.

applying to the resources apparently open to his industry. Oppression is at the door to weigh down his efforts, or rapacity at hand to seize the product of his labours. He is under the eye and the hand, and the double yoke, first of his own chiefs, and then of the powers beyond them, till the burthen becomes too heavy to be borne erect, and the man falls prostrate—a wretched useless slave. Thus avarice sets bounds to its own extortion, by damming up the sources whence it flows.” It is remarked with great truth by Sir R. K. Porter, that “constant feuds amongst the chiefs themselves, rendered desperate by the total absence of all law or justice; the inroads of the Lesghees, and bloody wars with the Turks and Persians, all combined to drive the great mass of the people into that state of utter despair, which gradually subsides into the sullen contentedness of sloth, ignorance and poverty.” This, as is well said by the same author, “must be the universal situation of every country which has been, for any time, under the subjection, or rather misrule, of a ceaseless change of masters; some, absolutely barbarians, and others who have yet to learn the science of government from Christian laws: and this was the situation of Georgia for a sad succession of times.” This is all very just, and Sir R. K. Porter takes the opportunity of contrasting the former with the present condition of

Georgia under the sway of the autocrat of Russia, in his usual style of complacency toward that great northern power. “But,” says he, “about twenty years ago, it (Georgia) *was received within the lines of the Russian empire*; and the happy effects on the minds of the people, in feeling themselves under a regular government, secure in its natural strength, and dispensing that security to its appendages, are already become very apparent. Every encouragement to industry is held out to them; and none has more persuasion than the laws, which protect men in the possession of the fruits of their labours. The different European governors who have been put at the head of affairs here, since the junction of the province with Russia, have done all in their power to conciliate both nobles and people, *by the administration of an equal justice*, and a gradual amelioration of all those circumstances which had so long disorganised, and rendered poor, savage, and miserable, all ranks of persons. Being now *effectually guarded* from the inroads of the Lesghees, or the more overwhelming incursions of Turks and Persians, the higher orders begin to feel again that they hold a station in their country; and to establish the re-awakened sense in their own minds, and in the respect of the people at large. His Imperial Majesty has conferred orders and medals of distinction on many of the native nobi-

lity, with titles and commissions of military rank ; and, in short, every other excitement to the restoration, or rather civilisation, of the country, that can be offered by a generous sovereign to a brave and confiding people. That they are still brave, when they have any thing beyond mere animal existence to defend, has been made manifest during the last twelve or fourteen years. In the wars of that period, they engaged heart and hand under the banners of Russia ; and their chiefs so distinguished themselves, that many rose to the rank of generals ; still continuing the brave acts by which their new honours were won. Indeed, it is very evident how much easier their new government finds it to arouse the old spirit of Iberian and Albanian courage in the bosoms of their Georgian descendants, than to inspire them with one for traffic and agriculture.” The knight says further, that all will succeed in good time, and that the Armenians set a stimulating example of the ways and means of industry to the Georgians, and show many advantages resulting from their exercise. He also informs us, in his usual complimentary style, that the high reputation as a soldier, which is attached to the character of General Yermólof, and the noble style of his government, not in parade, but in principle, suits well with the naturally independent minds of the people, so long chained to the soil. The marks, he adds, of these evil days, “*now passed away,*

are yet upon the countenances of most of the men : a sort of cloud hangs over their brows, habitual from the gloom that once possessed their souls : but with the growing perceptions of happier times, these shades will disappear, and the brave Georgian look as brightly to the sun as any of his free-born brothers of the mountains.” *

The situation of Georgia, as a separate power, seems not to have been enviable. She was open to the attacks of four powerful enemies, the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, the Turks, the Persians, and the Russians ; and was often placed between two or three painful alternatives, one of which she was obliged to choose. We need not therefore be surprised that now there are few towns in Georgia, and that these few scarcely deserve the appellation. The improvement of the road through the defiles of the Caucasus, and the consequent increased facility of attack, no doubt gave Russia great advantages ; and, by the general turn of political affairs, and her usual cunning policy, that power at length got full possession of the country of the Georgians. In many of the sentiments of Sir R. K. Porter, with respect to the general effects of the Russian government, I perfectly coincide ; but when he talks of “ *the administration of an equal justice,*” he seems either to have very incorrect ideas of the real state of

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. pp. 131-4.

affairs, or to have wished to pay a compliment to a power which he feared to offend. For no man dare speak all the truth, and far less commit it to the press, and afterwards attempt to reside in the dominions of Russia, as has been the case with the flattering fawning knight. If he did so, even in these enlightened days, but for the interference of his government, he assuredly would be sent to inhale “the free air of Siberia,” before being consigned to the mines, or meeting with an insidious death. There is no danger of being contradicted by any person of veracity and impartiality, when I state boldly, that “*equal justice*” is almost totally unknown in the civil, maritime, or military affairs of Russia or her provinces. As in the Krimea, so it is in Georgia, the laws and the persons in authority, as mentioned, are now partly native and partly Russian; an arrangement that causes great difficulties, many of which, however, are perhaps unavoidable. The same grievance has likewise been and is still complained of by the Georgians, as by the Tauridan Tartars *: viz. that their country has so often changed masters, that it is next to impossible to decide to whom estates and other property belong. I was assured that the tribunals at Tiflis were filled with so many papers, ancient and modern, respecting affairs in litigation, as would occupy some years

* Vide p. 341. Vol. I.

merely to read them. This is a great misfortune for the Georgians, but the Russian authorities will turn it to account. They will reap the advantage of it, as the same system of bribery and corruption which I have elsewhere pourtrayed in pretty strong colours *, has spread its pestiferous influence across the Caucasian mountains, and now reigns at Tiflis, and throughout Georgia.

I must also differ in opinion from Sir R. K. Porter, when he states that the Georgians are even now “effectually guarded from the inroads of the Lesghees,” for such is not the case. On the contrary, these savage and predatory people, rushing from the Alpine passes of the Caucasus, continue to make frequent incursions into Kachétia, and often carry off considerable booty, especially cattle, and make their retreat before the Russians are aware of the place of their descent, or, at least, can assemble a force sufficient to justify an attack. The histories of many such affairs were related to us, as we traversed the base of the Caucasus, and we were shown the deep ravines and mountain defiles by which these fierce, and formidable, and brave freebooters, had either made their inroads or secured their retreats.

Colonel Johnson, in reference to the tribes of the Caucasus, and especially to the Georgians, remarks that, “no effectual measures have yet

* The Character of the Russians, p. cxli.

been adopted to civilise these people, and to render them useful subjects of the state to which they belong. The practice lately instituted, of taking some of the young sons of the principal men, to educate them, will no doubt tend greatly to this desirable object. It may be safely assumed, that one main reason which has operated to render the minds of these people unwilling to submit to the laws of their rulers, has been the bad policy of Russia in sending, or rather in exiling to the most distant commands, those of her officers who were most undeserving. This policy has, however, now been changed for a better ; and officers, selected on account of their merit, have been appointed to different stations in Georgia. Another great obstacle to the free intercourse of the Caucasian tribes with Russia, arises from the permanent quarantine regulations. An opinion prevails, that the mountain tribes have the plague perpetually among them. Hence they are allowed no communication with the interior, at least by means of the Russians ; who, to this day, I believe, have few if any of their own trust-worthy people competent to speak either of the languages of these tribes. The ground of this opinion concerning the plague is therefore never called in question ; and these poor people, in mercantile pursuits, suffer so much by detention, exaction, and other grievances at the quarantine stations, that should they be disposed, they could not, without consi-

derable difficulty, under those restraints, take either cattle, honey, butter, hides, furs, *yapoonches*, felts, or any of their merchandise and commodities to Russian markets, or even obtain leave to import to their own mountainous abodes any articles of Russian manufacture for their own use.” *

Other twenty years, however, of subjection, of good government, and of general organisation of the civil and military authorities, may be of great consequence to the Georgians ; who, as the Russians say, are *tied* to them now by their own interests. And even under the yoke of Russia, Georgia may make progress in civilisation, and acquire an additional importance in the rank of nations, if there happen to be placed over her an intelligent, honest, moderate, and vigorous individual, as her military governor. One might almost say as her ruler, for except in the receipt of orders, this post has the appearance, in many respects, of an independent sovereignty.

On the 22d June, after an early dinner at the civil governor's, General Hofen, accompanied by Mr. Gribayédof †, we bade adieu to Tifflis, with

* A Journey from India to England, p. 265.

† The derivation of this name is very simple. It comes from the noun *grib*, a mushroom, and the verb *yest*, to eat ; and therefore signifies *mushroom-eater*. Gribayédof is a very common name ; but as all the Russians, nobles and peasants, males and females, are great mushroom-eaters, we may be

the view of making a short tour in Kachétia. After enjoying the picturesque view of the castle of Tiflís, which is represented at the head of this chapter, we crossed the Koor by the wooden bridge formerly spoken of, and ascended to the mean suburb of Avlabári, by a road cut in the mountain. Passing out at a stone gate, we turned to the west, and pursued our course for some versts, during which we had some good views of the bleak barren hills around Tiflís, rising above each other in a wave-like manner. There is a post road to Muchrován, our destination; but besides it, different other roads conduct to the same place. Having no guide, we lost our way, and did not reach this station till late in the evening. Near Tiflís we remarked many corn-fields, and a good deal of pasture land; but the corn had all been cut, and the greatest part of it carried home. This circumstance, however, plainly showed that the appearance of Tiflís must be lively in the spring. We passed numerous carts of the Georgians, on their way to that capital, with the produce

surprised that it is not still more prevalent. Vide "Remarks on Edible Mushrooms," in the appendix of *The Character of the Russians*, p. 556." The name Bábayédof, vide p. 388. of Vol. I. appears plainly to be derived from *baba*, a grandmother, a midwife, or simply a woman, and *yest*, to eat; but its application I cannot comprehend. It may be connected with some tradition or legend. If we translate it literally, *woman-eater*, it would argue some reference to cannibalism.

of their farms. Our road was over an undulating country, which became more and more interesting as we receded from Tiflís, and to which Nature became more lavish of her bounties. A few versts from Muchrován, we descended into an extensive and fine valley ; and from thence, by a long and steep ascent, we reached the military station, so called, thirty versts from Tiflís, and met with a hearty reception from Colonel Peter Nikolaévitch Yermólof, a cousin of General Yermólof.

Muchrován is beautifully situated on an elevated hill, and while it commands a fine view of a valley on the west, it also presents a number of elevated woody mountains, rising above each other, on the east, and gave a correct idea of the fine scenery, scattered with ruins, among which we were about to proceed. This charming place is the head quarters of a regiment, and a battalion is generally stationed at it. Besides the colonel's, the lieutenant-colonel's, and other officers' houses, we found here barracks, a hospital, and a number of *semláks*, or houses half under ground ; and at a short distance is an old church hewn out of the solid rock, which has been converted into a powder magazine.

In the valley on the west flows the river Yóra, and on its banks is a village of Wurtemburghers, called Sertitchali, who were in a prosperous condition. Thus, wherever we go in Russia, we remark colonies of Germans, —from Archangel to

Tiflís, and from Poland to Kamstchátka,—who, in addition to their habits of industry and their general knowledge, also add that of agriculture; and, in consequence, prove useful to themselves, and still more so to the country, by furnishing many places with necessities and luxuries, and affording practical lessons to the natives, as well as showing them an example of moral conduct. This, however, does not seem to be the case in the Krimea. And, indeed, according to the relation of Mrs. Holderness, there, their conduct and condition is far from respectable.

We were assured that though Muchrován is only thirty versts distant from Tiflís, yet that there is a very material difference of temperature. Indeed it was said, that often while life is almost insupportable at Tiflís, owing to the sultry oppressive atmosphere, at Muchrován it is pleasant though warm. The officers agreed that it was a real punishment to be sent from hence to spend a few days in the Georgian capital.

All the officers of the battalion dined at Colonel Yermólof's, and many histories, with respect to the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, proved the prominent topic of conversation; all of which received the greatest attention.

At five o'clock P. M. on the 23d of June, our party being increased by Colonel Yermólof, Lieutenant-Colonel (Count) Simonitch, and a number of officers, on horseback, while we were in two

calashes, we left Muchrován, and descended a steep hill to the Yóra, which flowed so rapidly, that some dogs, in attempting to swim across it, were carried to a considerable distance in spite of all their efforts. The water did not reach the horses' girths, but the bottom was filled with large stones, so that we expected every moment to be upset.

We passed the ruins of an old castle, and two or three versts beyond them, we reached an ancient monastery. This convent is of considerable extent, and it has a respectable appearance. Its walls are in a ruinous condition. It is now occupied as a station, or place of rest by travellers; and, if one might judge by appearances, also by their cattle. Its principal church is in the same style of architecture as those at Msket and Ananoor.

Pursuing our course to the east, by a winding road, over gentle elevations, through valleys and ravines, across numerous streams and rivulets, and amid fine plantations, wooded hills and mountains, we reached the military station of Gambóra, only two versts distant from a Kozák piquet of the same name. During this ride of twenty-four versts, we saw but very few villages; but ruins of castles and churches were scattered every where. As we got to the station, a cannon was fired, the echo of which among the mountains was the loudest, and the most prolonged, I ever remarked. A rocket was afterwards let off, and

ascended to a great height. This practice is followed every evening, instead of beating a drum, as the signal for the soldiers to take their repose. We were politely received, supped with Lieutenant-Colonel Firsof, and then went to bed.

Gambóra is reckoned a camp, or a military station for a battalion; and, besides tents, many wooden houses have been already erected here. The situation is low, and it is completely concealed by high mountains, clothed, for the most part, with luxuriant wood.

From Gambóra, on the following day, we directed our course to the summit of the hill which has also this name. The ascent begins from the station, and we made a *détour* from the road, accompanied by a single Kozák. We were never obliged to quit our horses, and I should think this mountain does not exceed 1,200 feet in height. It is however the highest hill in this neighbourhood, till we fall in with the great mountain-chain of the Caucasus. The view from it is most magnificent, extensive, and diversified. Mountains, hills, and valleys, finely wooded and watered by many streams and rivers, lay under us; and the course of the Alasán, winding through the vale of Teláv, presented charming scenery. From Gambóra, in clear weather, there is also a good view of the Caucasian Alps; but while we were on its summit, their hoary heads were enveloped in clouds. To enliven the scene, numerous herds

of sheep and cattle were watched by shepherds all round its vicinity.

The Gambóra, besides other plants, is profusely decorated with the beautiful *Pyrethrum Roseum*.

After regaining the great road, which was very bad, we continued our progress, sometimes ascending, at others descending, across numerous streams, through a long and rich valley, whose sides were every where fringed with wood. On emerging from this valley, on our right we remarked the ruins of another ancient monastery, of no very imposing appearance, and after a short ride got to Teláv, and took up our abode in the residence of Major Ilyinskii, the chief of the district of the same name.

There are two roads from the hill of Gambóra to Teláv. On our return we took a different route, through still more romantic and interesting scenery, and often proceeded in the course of the river Tetri-Dskali.

As has been already mentioned, Teláv, miserable as it is, is one of the chief towns of Georgia, even in the present day. It was formerly a place of much more importance, and was one of the royal residences of the tsar Heraclius: a choice which does the sovereign great honour for good taste. Though the chief town of the most populous district in Georgia, it is but a very small place. It is built upon the declivity of a hill, and most of

its houses are concealed among high trees and shrubbery. It contains a long line of shops or *bazárs*, like those at Tiflís, and supplied with the same kinds of merchandise. Its population amounts to nearly 1000 souls. It is rather remarkable on account of having no less than three fortresses, in the largest of which the tsar Heraclius often resided, especially in the summer months.

The royal palace is surrounded by one of the fortresses, and is separated by a partition-wall from a number of other houses, which were inhabited by the nobles of the court. It is now in ruins, and the former audience-chamber is used as a stable. It, no doubt, was reckoned a spacious and noble apartment in more ancient times. Major Ilyinskii has repaired a few low and good vaulted rooms in its under story for his own accommodation, in one of which Heraclius died. The windows of this palace, like those of most of the old edifices which we saw in Georgia, are in the Gothic style, or rather an approach to it, their tops being much wider than is common. Adjoining to this edifice is a low building, which was the court-chapel. It is now in ruins, and its place is supplied by a more modern structure close by it. Behind the fortress is a very strong circular battery, one half of which is tumbled down, and within which lies a large cannon, about twelve feet long, and of very great calibre.

I admired the taste which chose Teláv as a resi-

dence, for a more beautiful and commanding spot I have scarcely ever witnessed. The views from it, when the weather is clear, or generally in the morning and evening, are highly sublime, On the north-west it overlooks the vale of Teláv, through which the Alásan flows. This vale is covered with woods, vineyards, rich pastures, fertile corn-fields, backed by gentle hills, and those by the Caucasus rising in grand amphitheatre and mingling with the clouds.

It extends at least to the distance of fifty or sixty miles to the right and left of the town, and is finely intermixed with rich pasture and corn-fields, which are partitioned by rivulets, trees, and shrubs. It abounds with small villages, full of inhabitants, who form the greatest part of the population of the district of Teláv, which amounts to 34,000 souls.

The mountain, on whose side the town itself stands, as well as those by which it is surrounded on the other sides, are richly covered with luxuriant foliage.

After breakfast, on Sunday the 25th of June, according to appointment, our cavalcade was mustered, and consisted of Count Simonitch, Mr. Gri-bayédof, Major Ilyinskii, with his translator a native prince, Russian officers, Kozáks, Georgians, besides ourselves, amounting to twenty-five individuals, all on horseback, and many of us well armed. Our luggage had been previously sent off under a guard. After descending the hill on which Teláv

is placed, we traversed the fine vale already described, and were met by Prince Georgiádtsof, who, with a number of his people, came purposely to conduct us, and to show us the greatest honour; having the preceding day received notice from Major Ilyinskii of our intended visit. The Alasán always flows with great rapidity, and is only fordable when it has not rained for some days. It was very deep at the time we arrived, but men were stationed to guide us in the shallowest path, and the prince himself preceded the line, to show us the safest ford. We got through without accident, though the horses kept their legs with some difficulty. The passage is highly dangerous, as the only fordable place goes in a zig-zag manner, with which few are completely acquainted, and many lives in consequence are annually lost.

A white church, surrounded by trees, and the ruins of Grémi, described and well represented in next chapter, upon an insulated hill, gave a picturesque effect to the delightful scenery around us, as we entered the village of Yeniséli, which belongs to Prince Georgiádtsof, the houses in which resemble those of Teláv, with the difference of being situated on a plain. Here we dined in a half Asiatic and half European manner. For our party a table was covered, and knives and forks, silver spoons, tumblers, wine-glasses, &c. were provided. In lieu of chairs, long benches were used. Wines, in small earthen jars, and in bottles, were

placed for every guest, and were also handed round in profusion. The dishes consisted of soup strongly seasoned with mint, boiled fish, cutlets with mint sauce, roasted beef, roasted fowls, salad, cucumbers, &c. On a low platform, along the side of the same room, a number of Georgian princes and nobles sat cross-legged, and partook of the same dishes as we did, and they were joined by some of our party. A kind of flat cake, like immense biscuits, served them for plates, and they eat with their fingers in the same way as the Persians. They drank their wine out of a silver ladle, from which it was allowed to trickle into their mouths, and afterwards used immense horns, some of them mounted with silver, and pledged each other to empty them, after the manner which prevailed in our own, as well as in other countries, in more early times.

One of the Georgian nobles gave us a strong proof that he was in the habit of using liberal potations, for he pledged almost every individual in the company to empty the horn with him, and he drank the wine to the last drop. Yet he managed his horse perfectly well afterwards, though a little merry.

Coffee was now served up. While the party was occupied, I sallied out, and passing near the apartments of the Prince's lady, was addressed by an old duenna, in Russian, who introduced me to the Princess and her sister, with whom I had a little conversation. I afterwards conducted our party,

one by one, to this lady, who behaved extremely well, and like a person who had seen something of polished life. The Prince, who had received notice of our visit, met us as we were retiring from his spouse's apartments, and, it was evident, was not well pleased at our curiosity. The whole of the individuals of the cavalcade were now conducted to an out-house, which we were told was the wine-cellar. We looked in vain for the wine, and upon enquiry were informed that it was buried in the earth in enormous-sized jars, much larger than hogsheads or puncheons. Spades were brought, the earth was cleared away, and the lids of two of these jars were opened, and the wine was handed round to the whole party in silver ladles. A number of peasants, then assembled around them, and with little earthen jugs they made ample amends for our deficiency in the drinking way.

The Kachétians make both red and white wine of excellent quality. The red we thought equal to Burgundy, which it greatly resembled.

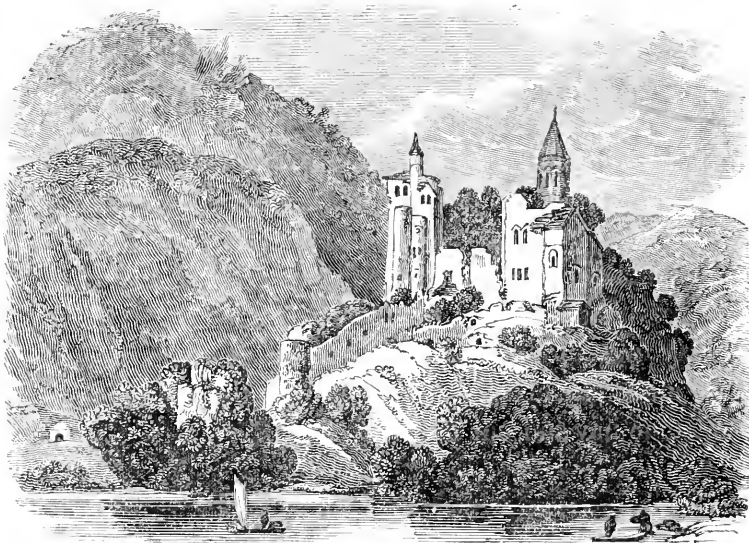
Prince Georgiádtsof's revenues amount only to 4000 silver roubles, or about 16,000 paper roubles of Russia, = nearly £667 sterling. But in a cheap country, and in a fruitful territory, this is enough to enable him to maintain his rank, and to make a considerable appearance among his countrymen. His house, which resembles that of a second class farmer, has a very plain appearance, and is very

shabbily furnished. But more attention is paid here to fine silk dresses, gaudy show, and parade, than to good houses. In this respect the natives resemble many of the Russians, who drive their carriages and four though they have scarcely a room fit to receive a visitor ; and, although they should go from house to house, day after day, to dine with their relations, friends, and acquaintances, knowing that they have but poor fare at home. The Georgians, who do not use carriages, expend their money upon themselves, and upon fine riding-horses and their trappings.

Joined by our host, his brother, and some other nobles, we left Yeniséli, and, after proceeding two versts farther, we arrived at the wicker-work camp of a detachment of Russians, who formed a corps of observation at the base of the Caucasus, ready to act in case of a descent of the Lesghees. We now kept by the base of the mountains, passing through villages surrounded by vineyards, of which Shilda was the largest, crossing innumerable rills and streams, and traversing much interesting woodland. After a ride of eight versts, we reached the border of the plain, and continued our road to Kvaréli. Here there is a square and well built fortress, which had something noble in its appearance from its magnitude, and seemed to date its origin in antiquity from the style of its architecture.

Our cavalcade took up its lodgings for the night

in the ruins of a large house belonging to Prince Tchavtchavádtsof. We ascended by a stair, and then by a ladder, to an open gallery, in which supper was served up to the whole assembly, in the Georgian fashion. Wine circulated freely, and was liberally partaken of by the natives. Some of the cavalcade slept in the gallery alluded to. Our party were lodged in a small miserable room, and we made our beds on the floor, with the assistance of some hay and our *búrchas*.



CHAP. XIV.

DEPARTURE FROM KVARÉLLI.—GRÉMI CASTLE. — SHACKRIÁNI.
 —LALISKÚRI. —GEORGIAN FEMALES. — THE TUSHÍNTSI. —
 ALVÁN.—ALAVÉRDÍ.—RETURN TO TELÁV AND MUCHROVÁN.
 —FESTIVAL.—RETURN TO TIFLÍS.—AN AVALANCHE. — GUL-
 DENSTÄEDT'S TRAVELS.—THE CAUCASUS A FINE FIELD FOR A
 TRAVELLER'S RESEARCHES. — THE MILITARY LINES OF DE-
 FENCE IN THE CAUCASUS.—INHUMAN CONDUCT TOWARD THE
 MOUNTAINEERS. — NEW FORTRESSES. — COLONISATION IN
 GEORGIA.—MORTALITY OF GEORGIAN ARMY. — RUSSIAN
 POLICY. — INROAD OF THE MOUNTAINEERS. — ARMY OF THE
 CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA. — RUSSIAN AGGRANDISEMENT. —
 PLANS FOR ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT.—STATE OF PERSIA.—PRO-
 BABLE CONDUCT OF RUSSIA. — INVASION OF INDIA.— SIR
 ROBERT WILSON'S OPINION. — BUONAPARTE'S OPINION. —
 OPINIONS OF OTHERS. — CONQUEST OF TURKEY. — BUONA-
 PARTE'S OPINION.—POPULARITY OF IN RUSSIA.—THE GREAT
 DUKE CONSTANTINE. — THE ROYAL FAMILY OF GEORGIA. —
 ALEXANDER MIRZA, HEREDITARY PRINCE OF GEORGIA.

ON the 26th June we left Kvarélli, and returned
 one verst by the same road by which we had

reached it. We then directed our course, through the plain of Teláv, to the ruins of Grémi. This ancient fortress occupies an insulated woody hill, as is well seen in the romantic view in the opposite vignette. It includes an old church, built in the same style of architecture as those of Tiflis and Ananoor, and, besides, has a separate belfry. This church is in a ruinous condition, and its interior is in wretched order; but service is regularly performed within its walls. The belfry is now difficult of ascent, but the charming prospect enjoyed from its summit repays the labour. Behind the church are the ruins of another fortress, upon a high mountain, whose oblique strata are well seen through scattered trees, and backed by the lofty range of the Caucasus. A crystal rivulet runs in the valley below, and adds great beauty to the scene.

We were told that León, the tsar of Kachétia, was interred in the church of Grémi.

All around the hill on which the castle is placed, we saw numerous ruins of walls, arches, and *caravanserais*; and, we were informed, that formerly thousands of Jews dwelt here. According to Guldenstäedt, this was the town of Grémi which had numerous churches. *

Passing the village of Nikoläévka, we reached

* Reize durch Russland, und im Caucasischen Gebürge, vol. i. p. 240.

Shackriáni, which belongs to Prince Georgiádtsof, the brother of the Prince at whose house we dined on the preceding day, and who met us there, and conducted us hither. His house was simply enclosed by a high wattled fence, including a large court before it, and had not a more imposing appearance than his brother's. Here we breakfasted. *Vodtki*, boiled and roasted fowls, cucumbers, onions, bread, butter, and cheese, formed the principal part of our meal, of which the whole cavalcade partook, as well as of the wine, which was offered in great profusion, in tumblers, ladles, and pitchers. Pursuing our route, not far from the base of the Caucasus, through most agreeable scenery, we arrived at Sanitóri, the estate of Prince Aválof, where we dined exactly in the same style as on the preceding day.

We had not proceeded many versts on our way, when Laliskúri, a small estate, with an indifferent house upon it, came into view, and we were met by its proprietor, Prince Tchelokáof, who invited us to pay him a visit. We ascended a stair, and were somewhat astonished at being presented to the Princess, a fine woman, with aquiline nose, and most interesting features and demeanour. Like the other Georgian nobles, she was dressed in wide flowing silks; but, instead of wearing the long waist, usual in her country, which altogether spoils the figure, she was dressed in the most approved European fashion. This was the only instance in which we

were allowed to see any of the Georgian ladies openly. At other houses we visited, they were always shut up in their own chambers, which are reckoned sacred. And, as for the common women, they are the most disagreeable I have ever seen. I refer more especially to those at Tiflís, whom there is no difficulty, now-a-days, in seeing. They dress in the most slovenly manner, and, I believe, through a proper want of delicacy, expose the upper part of the body in a very disgusting manner, especially the old women. Their clothes, or rather rags, besides, are generally in a filthy state. In Georgia we certainly saw some of the most beautiful, and some of the most disgusting, females in existence.

Travelling on, we were soon joined by the chief of one of the most savage of the tribes of the Caucasus, the Tushíntsi, whose territories we were now approaching. His name was also Prince Tchelokáof, and he had come some versts to meet us. One of our cavalcade, who had advanced before us, and was very short-sighted, suddenly came upon a party of these ferocious mountaineers, who were watching some property, which they were carrying towards the defiles of the mountains. Whether it was honestly acquired, or the booty of some incursion, it became us not too curiously to enquire. On seeing the intruder, they immediately seized their loaded muskets, and questioned him in a language to which he could make little reply.

Our party coming up, the translator, aware of some misunderstanding, galloped to the Tushíntsi, and gave an explanation which satisfied them. This fact demonstrated that they were not on bad terms either with the Georgians or the Russians, or that they acted politically, knowing that the chief of the district of Teláv was at hand, and had it in his power to have ordered two large packages, which were in sight, to have been seized by our guards.

Just before reaching the resting-place of the Tushíntsi, we passed a beautifully wooded high hill, with the ruins of a castle upon it, with an adjoining church, once a place of some consequence, having been the residence of one of the tsars of Kachétia ; but it is now deserted.

We now turned to the plain of Alván, and passed the ruins of the palace of Leon, just alluded to, said to be a very ancient structure, and it appears to have been of considerable size.

We re-crossed the Alasán ; and, turning to the west, followed its course, and reached the fortress and monastery of Alavérdi. Being in good repair, it affords an excellent specimen of Georgian architecture. We were cordially welcomed to this monastery by Epiphanius, its *archimandrite* ; and a supper, of not less than a dozen dishes, in the Russian style, was presented, and wine served up in profusion. Our own party had a small room allotted for them, while the rest of the cavalcade sought

quarters throughout the apartments of the convent, which were very numerous.

On the 27th June, we amused ourselves in examining Alavérdi, a name which is derived from the Arabic words equal to *Deodonnatus*, or the *Don-Dieu* of the French. The monastery and fortress were built 1200 years ago. Its walls are very high, and of considerable strength. It is situated in an immense plain, as described at Teláv, and is said to be built on buffalo-hides, the situation being marshy. It now contains but few monks. The cathedral church is in the form of a cross, with a cupola nearly in its centre, and its walls are of hewn-stone, which they have had the bad taste to white-wash. Its interior is very mean. The view from its summit, which we gained by passing through a labyrinth of galleries, is very fine.

After breakfast we had a pleasant ride through the valley, and reached Teláv in a very short time, where we passed the remainder of the day. On the 28th June we retraced our way to Muchrován, so as to be present at the name's-day of Colonel Yermólof (St. Peter's) on the 29th, having dined at Gambóra in our way.

As is usual with the Russians, the first part of the day was kept with great solemnity, and the latter with mirth. All the officers of the regiment, as well as all the persons of our cavalcade who remained with us, offered their congratulations in the morning. Divine service was performed in a tent

in a neighbouring valley, which was crowded with officers and men. From the heat of the day, the sun being very powerful, and the blaze of innumerable candles, the church became intolerably hot. I felt almost suffocated; yet the Russians, who are accustomed to breathe extremely rarefied air in their warm chambers, seemed to suffer but little or no inconvenience.

We had an excellent dinner, and among other dishes partook of a small kind of beautiful antelope, here called the *Girán*, which is common among the mountains of Georgia. Ice-creams were served up also, and were highly relished in an oppressively warm afternoon, and showed that the Russians were not inattentive to the luxuries of life here more than in their own country.

In the evening we reached Tiflís, where we passed the following day. While perambulating the town, we were met by a captain of the Russian army, who had been of our party from Mozdók to Vladikavkáz, and who informed us of news which we had heard some talk of at Muchrován; *viz.* that part of the mountain on the east side of the Térek, and near Dariél, had fallen down and completely obstructed the defile of the Caucasus, and that General Wilyemínof had, in consequence, issued orders that nobody should be allowed to depart for the north. This *avalanche*, as they called it, had taken place on the 23d June, only nine days after our passage, so that we had cause to be thank-

ful to Providence that we had escaped, Luckily, when the accident happened, no travellers were near, and no lives were lost. At General Wilje-mínof's, where we dined, we learned that many people had been employed, for ten days, in clearing the passage of the Téreke, and in rendering the road practicable. On mentioning that we had heard that the general had issued an *ukáz* to prevent travellers proceeding through the *Via Caucasia*, he said he would give a *special order* for our passage and accommodation. This I called a *counter-ukáz*, to the no small amusement of the company, and it greatly solaced us. On the same day, informing the commandant of our wish to return to Moscow, and begging him to make all due arrangements, he answered that he had positive orders to allow no person to depart for the Caucasus; but, on being told of the general's orders, the aspect of affairs was changed.

I may here remark, that the traveller in this part of Georgia, should be provided with Guldenstäedt's "*Reise durch Russland, und im Caucasischen Gebürge*;" because, though tediously, and often uselessly minute, it contains much very curious and important information. This author, who belonged to the St. Petersburg Academy, had excellent opportunities of making just and extensive observations in Georgia. After traversing the south of Russia, he reached Astrachán, and then Kislár, on the Téreke, and a frontier town of

which he has given a plan and a detailed description. He made different visits into the north-east parts of the Caucasus, by the course of the Sundja, &c. ; Kislár being his head-quarters. In 1771, he made some trips in the country of the Ossetinians, and to the hot baths on the banks of the Térék, and visited the northern part of the Caucasian mountains, which is inhabited by the Dugores. He then crossed this mountain-chain, with a strong guard of Ossetinians, whom the tsar Heraclius had taken into his pay. On his arrival in Georgia, he was received in the most flattering manner by that sovereign, whom he afterwards accompanied in a campaign along the course of the Koor. At different periods he visited Kachétia, Imerétia, Mingrélia, &c. ; always accompanied by a formidable guard, sometimes consisting of 300 or 400 men. Subsequently, he returned to Russia, visited the baths at the Beshtau, and reached Petersburg.

In these days, when so many gentlemen show a disposition for travelling and adventure, one may be justly surprised that no individual from Great Britain ever has travelled far in Caucasus, or given us a good account of the tribes by which this mountain-chain is inhabited, their customs, manners, laws, &c. The greatest part of what we know of the Caucasus and its inhabitants, as well as of Georgia, has been chiefly derived from the Germans, Gmelin, Guldenstäedt, Pallas,

Reineggs, Bieberstein, Englehardt, Parrot, Häas, Klaproth, &c.

Perhaps there is not a spot upon the globe which would yield such a rich harvest to an adventurous traveller, as Mount Caucasus, provided he devoted a few years to its examination and study, and possessed a general knowledge of the sciences and of human nature, so as to be able to turn every circumstance to good account. But in order to reap all the possible advantages of such a tour and residence among the mountains, a person would require to make considerable preparations. He should secure a collection of plans, maps, engravings, and books, so as to be familiar with what has already been done by others. It would be requisite for him to learn the Tartar; and if he had some knowledge of the Persian and of the Russian, so much the better. The vocabularies of the different languages of the tribes of the mountains, given in Klaproth's "*Voyage au Mont Caucase*," would be found of great utility. If he wished to make meteorological, trigonometrical, or barometrical observations, of course he would carry all his instruments from England. He would do well to reside a year at Tifflís, learning languages, gaining every information from others, and making all due preparations for his journeys. This town, Vladikavkáz, Mozdók, Kislár, or Derbént, might be made, at different times, his head-quarters, to which he could return with the fruits of his excursions.

Whoever undertook such a scheme, would do well to think it a task of three, four, or five years' duration, so as to be able to give a good and faithful account of the geography, topography, and productions of the country, &c.; and of the manners and customs of the various tribes of mountaineers. I should suppose the protection of the Russian government would be readily obtained for such an undertaking. If obtained, then, no doubt, the traveller would be provided with strong escorts, by order of the governor-general of Georgia; and with them he might penetrate the mountains both on the north and south, to a short distance, and so acquire a general knowledge of the people whom he wished to study. But in order to get a complete acquaintance, it would be necessary for him, afterwards, when he could speak Tartar, to go into the interior of the Caucasus, and live among the barbarians. This may appear a strange advice to those unacquainted with the rigid adherence which these demi-savages observe to the laws of hospitality, and the care they take of the stranger who intrusts them with his life. This virtue they call *Kunák*, and he who puts himself under their protection, is safe from outrage: he will be defended by his guide, and will never be allowed to depart without an escort, and being committed to the hands of safe allies. *

* Vide Pallas, vol. ii. p. 138. Letters from the Caucasus, p. 46. Klaproth, vol. i. p. 408.

A good drawer would find infinite occupation for his pencil, not only in sketching the fine Alpine scenery with which he would be continually surrounded; but likewise in representing the natives in their various costumes, both peasants and chiefs. At General Hofén's, at Tiflis, we saw above forty portraits of the tribes of Caucasus, painted in oil colours; and although they were not well executed, yet they gave a good idea of the natives and their costumes, and showed what a good painter might do. From different accounts we received, there is reason to believe that many tribes of the Caucasus are yet unknown, and perhaps have never been seen by an European. Shut up in their inaccessible fastnesses in the interior of the Caucasian Alps, in deep valleys, and in the caverns of the rocks, beyond which they have never wandered, and into which strangers have never penetrated, generation succeeds generation, in all the primitive rudeness of nature.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, who is versed in Persian, knows something of Tartar, and besides, has devoted a number of years to the study of the mountain-tribes, and of the geography of the Caucasus, and the neighbouring countries, has proposed to give up his attention entirely to the natives, and to travel across the mountain-chain in different directions. I am confident that the individual alluded to will be able to communicate

much novel information to the public ; but it will be impossible for him to speak his mind freely, unless he quit the Russian service ; indeed, unless he bid Russia adieu. This gentleman is also very capable of giving some important details respecting the operations of the Russians since their arrival in Georgia ; or rather since this country formed a province of Russia.

Before quitting Tiflis, I shall turn the reader's attention to the plans of Russia, her army, and her politics.

The *Military Line of Defence* on the north of the Caucasus, begins at Tamán, and is composed of the fortresses and redoubts described in our route, as far as Mozdók. As our road did not lead by the base of the mountains between that town and Stávropole, we did not visit a number of other forts, as Protchnoi-Okope, Temnolesk, &c. They add considerably to the strength of the line, which at this part is neither protected by the Kubán nor the Térek. From Mozdók, the line of the Caucasus follows the Térek (on which account it is often called the line of the Térek) to Kislár, and from thence to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The military stations, indicated on my map, along this part of the line, are Kalyugáëvskaya, Istchórskaya, Naúr, Kalínovskaya, Tchérvlenskaya, Stchédriinskaya, Novagládkovskaya, Starogládkovskaya, Kargalínskaya, &c. &c. The length

of the *Caucasian Line* *, from Tamán on the Black Sea, to the shores of the Caspian, is nearly 1,000 versts, or 667 miles. By its fortresses and its guards, it prevents all communication between Asia and Europe, except through those who have regular passports, or by hostile invaders. Along such an extensive line it is next to impossible to prevent the frequent predatory incursions of the mountain tribes, who have an inveterate antipathy to the Russians, and delight in doing them every kind of injury.

The southern line of defence of the Caucasus, runs from the Black Sea through the provinces of Abásii, Mingrélia, Imerétia, Kartalínia, Kachétia, Lesghistán, Shékinskoyé, Shirvan, and Apsheron; or from Súhum-Kalé, on the Euxine, to Bakú on the Caspian; and, like the northern line, it is well guarded. The ferocious tribes, however, of the neighbouring regions, especially the Lesghees, make continual incursions into Georgia, and do great damage, and carry off much booty. They rush like a torrent from the defiles of the Caucasus, seize their prey, and retreat to their fastnesses before any sufficient military force can be brought to act against them.

From Bakú to Derbént and Kislár, by the western shores of the Caspian, another line of

* The line of the Caucasus is very particularly described in the great Geographical Dictionary of Russia.

defence is also formed, although less wanted; and the forts of which scarcely need to be guarded.

Thus the range of the Caucasian mountains is completely surrounded by fortresses and guards, except on that part, by the eastern border of the Euxine, between Súhum-Kalé and Anápa.

The great principle upon which the *Caucaso-Georgian* army has been acting for many years, but especially of late, has been to hem in the mountain barbarians on all sides; and this has been accomplished by means equally unjustifiable in the eyes of God and man. Indeed, the heart revolts with horror at the plans which have been pursued by those who deserve not the name of men, in order, as they emphatically speak, “*to civilise the barbarous mountaineers of the Caucasus.*” Troops surround their villages, the signal is given, and they are soon in a blaze. Then commences the cruel, the bloody, and the murderous attack,—the general massacre. At times all perish, young and old; men, women, and children, between the flames and the sword. I have seen two children of the Lesghee tribe, who were the only survivors of such a scene, and who were saved by an officer who snatched them from death, and is now rearing them, as if they were his own progeny, among the mountains of Georgia. At the house of another officer, another boy, a *Tushints*, (I believe) was often presented to us, as the sole representative of a hamlet now no more. The village

was burned, and its inhabitants immolated. This mode of civilisation, by total extermination, is one peculiar to Russia. I shall not readily forget my sensations on examining a penned map of a part of Georgia, and asking the officer to whom it belonged, "what the numerous red marks, especially in the country of the Lesghees, alluded to," when he triumphantly replied, "these red spots indicate the sites of the villages which we burned after our various victorious engagements with the savage natives."

A very intelligent friend, for whose opinions I have the highest regard, after a perusal of this part of the MS., wrote the following remarks on the margin. As he also travelled in Georgia, I was happy that he did so, as I should rejoice to have an opportunity of correcting any mistaken impressions of my own. "This would imply," says he, "that massacres are of common occurrence. If they are, you should state the instances which induce you to think so."—"I think this is quite as unfair an attack on the Russians as ever was made by Dr. Clarke; and unless you can state very accurately the particular instances on which you found so heavy an accusation, I strongly advise its omission. The only instances I ever heard of were those of retaliation for acts of spoliation, for which the Lesghees or others refused all compensation: a cruel retaliation I grant, but by no means deserving what you say of

it.”—“The same thing was done by the French in the south of Italy, in the villages of the *banditti*; and the severity of the measure was justified by the necessity. Quære, whether this was not the case in the instances you allude to? If, as I suspect, what you here assert is founded upon one or two instances of the destruction of villages with fire and sword, and those *in some degree* justified by the particular circumstances of the case, beware of a charge of exaggeration and unfairness which such a statement as this would fairly incur. At all events, the data do not justify the inference you draw.” I have not altered the text, believing that it, and other similar statements I heard, fully justify my conclusions and severity. The reader will grant, at least, that I have no wish to make a wilful misrepresentation, after the admission of my friend’s remarks into this volume; and future events, I fear, will develop that I am too correct, unless shame should operate upon the Russian government, now that it finds some of its measures widely subjected to public opinion. Meantime, I may add, that the gifted lady who translated Madame Freyganck’s work, adds a note of considerable importance, to the following sentence:—

“The Ossetinians, particularly, are intrepid and hardy as Spartans; it is, therefore, an indispensable policy for Russia to foment divisions among them.” “The *very vigorous* policy of the Russian government,” says the translator, “towards the

various tribes of Caucasus and Georgia, thus partly acknowledged by our fair author, has lately been represented as rivalling that of their Turkish neighbours, in an undaunted freedom from all those scruples, which are the boasted distinction of our own administration.” *

Of late a number of new fortresses have been constructed on the south side of the Caucasian mountains, respecting which I could not obtain any distinct account; and perhaps it may be a part of the policy of the government to conceal from the world what is going on in those regions. General Yermólof's severe policy may suit the ambitious spirit of Russia, but is not calculated to unite the virtues of humanity and bravery; the highest meed of praise a warrior can receive. He may delude himself with the propriety of the most cruel measures to narrow the range of the predatory excursions of the mountain tribes, but he may rest assured, that public opinion will brand his name with infamy for his deeds, as well as that of the monarch who permits them, now that they are fully exposed.” †

I have already alluded to a *caravan* of women who were ordered from Russia to join their husbands in Georgia‡, and we met another on

* Translation of *Lettres sur le Caucase*, &c. p. 66.

† Vide *Courier and Morning Chronicle* of 17th Jan. 1824.

‡ Vide p. 458 of Vol. I.

our return from the south. The mortality of the Russian army in Georgia is enormous; and it is not uncommon for one-third of a regiment to be in the hospitals. Like many other places equally fatal to them, as the Krimea and Moldavia, Georgia has, with justice, been called "*The cemetery of the Russian army*;" for it appears evident, that the descendants of the Scythians, as they boast themselves to be, cannot support a warm climate; and, no doubt, had Paul attempted to carry an army to Persia, and from thence to India, the heat would have proved as disastrous to it, as the northern cold did to the troops of Charles the XIIth, and those of the ex-emperor Napoleon. Intermittent fevers—to which the Russians are subject, and in many places proverbially so, as at Moscow and Géorgiévsk*—carry off the soldiers by hundreds. Marsh *miasmata* and very frequent indulgence in new wine may be reckoned among the chief causes, or at least predisposing causes, of those fevers.

"The views," says Colonel Johnston, "of Russia with regard to Georgia, seem to tend towards establishing it as an *entrepôt* for European commodities; as a mart for the produce of the surrounding countries; and, in particular, for the supply of Persia and Turkey. To prepare for realising these views, men of abilities have been

* Vide p. 419.

employed in traversing the country, and in ascertaining the most eligible lines of communication between Georgia and the Black Sea on one side, and the Caspian on the other ; availing themselves, as far as may be practicable, of the course of the rivers.” * These are laudable objects ; and so far both the government and General Yermólof deserve praise ; but other pursuits seem to be in serious agitation, as we shall see presently.

As General Yermólof apparently wishes, by all possible means, to consolidate a great and permanent Russian force in Georgia, he has ordered the caravans of women alluded to, to be transported hither, for the purpose of raising a new progeny on the spot ; who, in time, may replace their forefathers, and be as hardy as the natives ; thus, as it were, forming a kind of military colonies. †

The highlanders of the Caucasus cannot be ignorant of General Yermólof’s plans ; and it appears that they wish to resist them as far as they can ; but, in England, we hear but little of what passes in those distant and mountainous regions.

The following extract from a letter dated Nuremberg, April 14th, 1824, which has appeared in many of the newspapers of this country, sufficiently establishes the truth of the above remarks.

* A Journey from India to England, p. 248.

† Vide “ An Account of the Organisation, Administration, and Present State of the Military Colonies in Russia.” 1824.

“A statement in the Russian papers has been read with some surprise, that the Emperor Alexander, to reward the bravery which several officers have shown in the actions that have taken place with the Nomad tribes beyond the Cuban and Daglistan, has granted them various honourable distinctions. This is the first time that this war has been heard of in Europe, which seems to have been kept a profound secret. However this be, the cabinet of St. Petersburg must have considered the event as of some importance; since, besides the insignia of different orders which have been given away, swords and sabres mounted with gold have been given, bearing the inscription, ‘To Valour.’ The sword which General Weljaminef III. received, was enriched with diamonds. These marks of honour, which are bestowed only on extraordinary occasions, are not conferred by the chapters of the Russian orders, but immediately by the emperor.”

The Caucasian and Georgian army has been variously estimated. In the first number of the *Westminster Review*, it is stated as low as 60,000, and by the translator of “Letters from the Caucasus,” in a note, p. 64, as high as 130,000 men. During our travels, I had various conversations on this point with different officers, some of whom estimated it at only 60,000, while others assured me that it amounted to above 100,000 soldiers. Perhaps the medium number of 80,000

would be near the reality, and of that number above 50,000 are in Georgia; hence the importance of the other European powers giving serious attention to this quarter of the globe, especially after the open display of the ambition which Russia has made to encroach upon Persia, as in 1812, when she added the *khanats* of Talishin and Karabagh to her territories. As will be seen by a very important document in the next chapter, Russia holds Persia very low in the scale of nations, and is persuaded, that, by a single effort, Tabreez, and probably the whole kingdom, would fall into her power.

Nothing is more evident than the plans of ambition which Russia is calmly and steadfastly pursuing in her southern provinces. Sir R. K. Porter tells us, that she now commands the whole of the north, and the greater part of the western shore of the Caspian. The disadvantage she formerly laboured under, of having no means of introducing her articles of trade, received from China and western Tartary, by any nearer route to the south-western markets of her own empire than *via* Astrachan and Moscow, is now removed, by the judicious and cunning management of the governor-general of Georgia, who, three years ago, entered into a treaty of mutual accommodation with the chiefs of the Turcoman tribes possessing the eastern shores of the Caspian, and whose territories and influence extend to both Bucharías. “As a preliminary to

these, and many other important consequences, Russia was a considerable gainer in extension of territory to the south, by the articles of peace signed in 1813, which gave her the command of several entrances into the kingdom of Persia, on its northern frontier; and, in the event of a struggle for the crown, would enable her ‘to take the gate,’ and decide the conquest according to her own judgment.” *

By two public letters, it is evident that Russia is doing every thing to increase her popularity and connections in the East. I shall quote them both *verbatim* :—

“ *St. Petersburg, June 23, 1824.*

“ His Majesty has recompensed the seven Sultans of the Kirghis tribes, who are here as deputies, for their attachment and fidelity to the Russian government, by giving them gold medals and gilt swords, and conferring on them the eighth rank of nobility.”

“ *St. Petersburg, July 7, 1824.*

“ The seven Sultans, or the Khans of the Kirghis, who have been here as deputies since the month of November, set out yesterday on their return home, accompanied by the officers appointed to attend them, by the Governor-general of West

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. p. 511.

Siberia. During their stay here they resided in a house belonging to the government, and were maintained at its expence. On the 1st of the month they had an audience of Count Nesselrode, Minister of Foreign Affairs, when they received their new code of laws, drawn up in the Russian and Kirghisian languages, which lays down the basis of their future relations to the Russian empire, as a Nomad tribe, tributary to it, and under its protection.”

By the public press, we also remark, that his Imperial Majesty has just been received by the Kalmucks in their *kibitkas* *, and seems to wish to possess their confidence.

From all I have read, heard, and seen of General Yermólof's plans, of course sanctioned by his government, I should suppose that his great objects are, 1st, To have a very powerful and hardy army in the Caucasus and Georgia, to be employed according to circumstances ; 2d, To diminish, by all possible means, the power of the inhabitants of the mountains ; 3d, To extend, in the mean time, the dominions of Georgia by encroachments upon Persia ; 4th, To take advantage of a favourable opportunity to attempt the conquest of Persia. These views will be illustrated in the following chapters. It is merely necessary to remark here, that beyond

* Vide p. 438 of Vol. I.

all question, General Yermólof's measures appear most determined. No doubt Russia expects, that on the death of the present Shach of Persia, there will be a violent and bloody dispute for the crown. We are told by the latest British author, who has been in Persia, that the present heir apparent to this old sceptre of misrule, Abbas Mirza, is fully aware of its defects; and, should he ever sway it, will render the stubborn iron, softened under the father's hand, more malleable in his own. In that case, the benign dispositions, integrity of mind, and happy talents for empire, with which heaven has marked out this extraordinary Asiatic prince, are likely to be assisted by the gradual importation of just European principles, brought by the continual influx, and passing to and fro of the natives of British, Russian, and other Christian governments in this country, all of whom unconsciously prepare the people of Persia, with whom they mingle, to understand the value of equitable laws, and of a sovereign likely to establish them. *

Sir R. K. Porter, after alluding to some improvements made by Abbas Mirza, adds, "The Schah, whose natural dispositions are not less urbane than his son's, approves of whatever he does; and, having pronounced him his heir, contemplates, with a noble complacency, rare in almost any monarch,

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. &c. By Sir R. K. Porter, vol. ii. p. 306.

the hand of his successor sowing the seeds of future power and greatness. But between the death of one Persian monarch, and the accession of another, there is generally so much competition, such civil war, bloodshed, and assassination, that it is possible the demise of Futtch Ali Schah, instead of continuing a happy tranquillity, may again throw open the temple of Janus; Mahmoud Ali Mirza having threatened to dispute the throne with his brother; and, in that case, the issue being doubtful, the now emerging civilisation of the people may again be cast back into all the barbarism of long civil broils.” *

Yet some fear those hopes of the prosperous results of Abbas Mirza's ascending the throne are visionary, and that the Shach, by an act of intended parental munificence, has unwittingly “sown the teeth of the Hydra,” in having established so many of his royal progeny in different parts of the empire, with each his separate court, treasury, and army. Others, again, do not apprehend annoyance to the heir from any of those princes, excepting him, who, from the first, cast down his gauntlet. The list of their governments is variously stated by Colonel Johnson, Sir R. K. Porter, and an anonymous writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* for last August.

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. &c. By Sir R. K. Porter, vol. ii. p. 507.

I shall here copy Sir R. K. Porter's list, and also give it as corrected by the anonymous writer :

Mahmoud Ali Mirza,	Governor	of	Kermanshah.
Abbas Mirza	-	-	- Azerbijan.
Abdoolah Mirza	-	-	- Zenjan.
Houssein Ali Mirza	-	-	- Shiraz.
Ali Nackee Mirza	-	-	- Casvin.
Hassan Ali Mirza	-	-	- Ghilan.
Mahmoud Kouli Mirza	-	-	- Khorasan.
Mahmoud Tuckeh Mirza	-	-	- Boorajird.
Ali Shah Mirza	-	-	- Teheran.
Sheik Ali Mirza	-	-	- Chumeen.

Corrected List.

Mahommed Allee Meerza,	Governor	of	Kermanshah.
Abbas Meerza	-	-	- Azerbyjan.
Abdoolah Meerza	-	-	- Zenjan.
Hoossein Allee Meerza	-	-	- Sheeraz.
Allee Nackee Meerza	-	-	- Casvin.
Hassan Allee Meerza	-	-	- Khorassan.
Mahommed Koolee Meerza	-	-	- Mazanderan.
Mahommed Tukeh Meerza	-	-	- Boorajird.
Allee Shah Meerza	-	-	- Teheran.
Sheik Allee Meerza	-	-	- Chumeen.

Besides these sons, deemed of sufficient age to sustain such high civil authorities, his majesty has many younger, numbering in all thirty-nine. His daughters amount to one hundred and forty.

Russia, with her usual concealed and crafty policy, no doubt, will await the death of the Shach, when the contest between his heir apparent, Abbas Mirza, and the oldest son Mahomed Ali, is likely to be violent, bloody, and protracted. Besides

these two, others of the Shach's sons may make pretensions to the whole, or to a part, of the Persian kingdom. Russia will act here, as she did formerly with respect to the Krimea and Georgia. She will foment all disagreement, and most likely support the weak against the strong for a time, or take part with the most potent, on condition of becoming the cunning protector of Persia, a sure forerunner of a harder grasp at total possession.

Once in possession of Persia, her next plans of mad ambition would extend to India, as well as to Turkey. As for the latter country, it seems likely that a new power will soon be in a state to become its conqueror and its protector, and a Greek Emperor may yet have his residence within the walls of ancient Byzantium.

With respect to the invasion of India, some individuals have been of opinion that it would be a very simple process, either for France, in conjunction with Persia, or for Russia alone to accomplish.

We are told by Sir Robert Wilson, that “ten thousand Kozáks, during Paul's reign, were ordered to join the army destined for the invasion of India. They were actually on the march to the frontiers, when that monarch ceased to exist. Amongst the Kozáks there was no dislike to a service from which they know Thomas Kouli Khan returned with a spoil of nearly sixty millions sterling, and which has been described, with truth, rather as a party of pleasure than an expedition of war; nor could they

dread a want of sustenance through a country where 1,000,000 camels may be procured for forty shillings a-head ; 100lbs. of wheat for fifteen pence ; as much salt for two-pence ; an ox, from 600 cwt. to 800 cwt. for twenty shillings ; and a sheep of 200lbs. for four shillings ; but they dreaded those bad arrangements which impede Russian success, and which, more than the forces of Persia, have hitherto resisted their Asiatic progress.” *

It is reported to have been a part of Buonaparte's own plans to take possession of India ; and, if we can give credit to the following quotations, he thought it would be no difficult affair for Russia to become its conqueror.

Buonaparte says, “ I was beforehand with England, in sending an ambassador to Persia to make interest there. Since that time, your ministers have been *imbéciles* enough to allow the Russians to get four provinces, which increase their territories beyond the mountains. The first year of war that you will have with the Russians, they will take India from you.” † —“ In the evening the Emperor again resumed his geographical observations. He dwelt particularly on Asia, on the situation of Russia, and the facility with which the latter power might make an attempt on India, or even on China, and the alarm which she might, therefore, justly excite in

* Character and Composition of the Russian army, &c. p. 34-5.

† O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile, vol. i. p. 381.

the English. He calculated the number of troops that Russia might employ, their probable point of departure, the route they would be likely to pursue, and the wealth they would obtain in such an enterprise." *

It has been urged in opposition to the foregoing opinions, that though a small and well disciplined army might obtain military possession of Persia, it would not be so easy to retain it for any length of time ; that their magazines could not be replenished ; that the natives, of whom one half have no fixed habitations, would withdraw to a distance from the military positions of the enemy, and that his foraging parties would be invariably swept off by the clouds of irregular cavalry, who live chiefly by plunder, and who are more formidable when broken and dispersed into small parties, than when united in large bodies ; that the strong holds of Persia, which he would necessarily seize, are the provinces of Ghilan and Mazanderaun, which are the most unhealthy ; and it has been concluded there is no doubt that, in the course of twelve months, sickness, famine, and the sword, would destroy any army that France or Russia could send into Persia.

But, supposing Persia to be favourable to the views of the enemy, and even to assist in the invasion of India, it would be necessary, in the first place, to obtain possession of all Khorassan, and

* Memorial de Sainte Hélène, vol. iv. part 7. p.86.

to open a passage to Herat. This is the route that Alexander took, and the only route, indeed, by which an army could have the least chance of entering India, The Great Salt Desert, the marshes, and rugged mountains of Cohestan, the arid and naked plains of Kirman, the moving sands of Mekran, and all the mountains and dreary wastes on each side of the Indus, and as far to the eastward of it as Agimere, render any attempt to march an army through the central provinces of Persia towards the lower part of the Indus utterly impracticable. The return of Alexander from Patula, the modern Tatta, near the mouth of the Indus, to Persepolis, was sufficiently wonderful, but by skirting the coast of Mekran, he avoided the more extensive sandy plains and deserts of the interior. Yet we are told by Plutarch, that his army suffered dreadfully ; “ violent distempers, bad diet, and excessive heats, destroyed multitudes ; but famine made still greater ravages, for it was a barren and uncultivated country ; the natives lived miserably, having nothing to subsist on but a few bad sheep, which feed on the fish thrown up by the sea.” To say nothing of the distance between Tehraun and Delhi, which exceeds 2000 miles ; of the mountains, ravines, unfordable rivers, impenetrable forests, the uncultivated state of the country, the sandy plains, salt lakes, and marshes, unwholesome winds which blow in places for several months in the year, and the scarcity of water on almost the whole line of this march ; to say

nothing of the roving tribes which infest every part of the country through which it would be necessary to pass, — there are several very powerful nations, as the Usbeck Tartars, the Turcomans, the Patans, and, above all, the Affghans and the Seiks, all of which must either be conquered or conciliated — the first of which is not to be expected, the second not to be depended on. For such expeditions Persia is not in a state to engage. She has no magazines, no treasures to support her own armies, far less a foreign corps, which the chiefs of every wandering tribe would be more ready to plunder than to assist. In short, so numerous are the obstacles, that I deem it a delusion to speak of the invasion of India by any foreign power, and more so now than ever, when the system of government in that country is so well organised as to render it completely independent of the native princes, and all their attacks, and to have a considerable army of natives devoted to its cause. *

Some seem to entertain apprehensions from the plans of Persia. A periodical writer, before alluding to the predominance of French influence a few years ago at the court of this country; our embassies to counteract it; our *necessary* support of the Turks; the better organisation and discipline of the native forces under English officers, and formerly other foreigners; the establishment of an

* Quarterly Review, vol. ix. p. 57.

arsenal by Mr. Armstrong (who however left Persia in disgust above two years ago) where brass cannon are cast, shot made, gun-carriages built, and all the apparatus of field and battering artillery completed from their own resources; the impolicy of the English government in not sending an ambassador appointed by the crown, and the rejection of one who set out from Bombay by appointment of the East India Company, makes these remarks :

“ From one of our correspondents we learn that the present Burmese monarch has been recently in Persia; at the court of which country he was well received, and lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy with the Persian king and his ministers. It is confidently said, and generally believed in India, that the aggressions which led to the present war, were but the first step of a concerted plan between the Persians, the Russians, the Nepaulese, and the Burmese, first suggested and matured at the Persian court, for the purpose of drawing off all our strength towards the south-eastern frontier, draining the north-western part of India of our best troops, and making an entry into that part of the British dominions the more easy.” *

A lady, who seems to have a masculine understanding, and whom I have often quoted with pleasure, thinks that the slightest hint of projects

* Oriental Herald for November 1824.

entertained by any foreign power in the direction of our Eastern possessions, is sufficient to excite the jealous feeling of this country. We have various accounts, derived from authentic sources, which decisively prove the joint designs of Buonaparte and his Russian allies against our interests in India: yet the views of those governments, either whilst acting together or independently, have hitherto been thwarted by various circumstances. Among the most important of these should be reckoned our defeat of Tippoo Saib, and the check given by his fall to the intrigues which France had long carried on in that quarter of the world: then the discomfiture of that army which was sent by the Directory to Egypt, and which was stated by Buonaparte to be on the high road to India. To this succeeded the death of the Emperor Paul, who, after he became the ally of France, seems to have entered seriously into the scheme of attacking us in the East; and, finally, the mission of Sir Harford Jones from this country to the court of Persia, by which the plans of Buonaparte, in despatching General Gardanne thither (as he did in 1807), were completely frustrated.

Now, however, although it is not probable that we shall be for some time called upon to contend with any but our *sworn friends*, for the wealth of India, the dangers against which we have guarded

so long, are not diminished by the change in the quarter from whence they may be expected.

Mr. Leckie, who seems to have given this subject more consideration than any other political writer, during some of the most momentous years in the late war (1807, 8, 9, & 10), does not appear to have entertained any serious apprehension on account of the designs of France against our possessions in India; (although, when he wrote, her extensive schemes of policy were woven with the subtlest craft, and her imperial legions led by the spirit of Buonaparte;) if their track were laid through any routes that might be chosen by the way of Turkey and Asia Minor, by that of Syria, or by the eastern shores of the Caspian: the passage of any foes by sea, he, very properly at that time, deemed impracticable. He also considered the march of a Russian army to India, by the route of Bokhara (Boucharia), as impossible, in the actual state of the countries east of the Caspian; yet, he does not deny that, if the Russian government were allowed time to establish military posts along the Oxus, and to secure the friendship of the Tartar chiefs, we might have cause to fear the success of projects thus cautiously concerted. But neither does this writer, nor any other, seem, at that time, to have anticipated the probability of an European army passing through

the Albanian gates and the *Via Caspia*.* At present, there is ample field for speculation, upon the attitude that a Russian army (said to be at this moment 130,000† strong) has shown in its cantonments on the Cyrus (Koor) and Araxes; and the whole of western Europe is more than ever alive to the unceasing yet steady spirit of Russian aggrandisement. Georgia, doubtless, is the proper *point d'appui* for any Russian movement against

* The *Pylæ Albanicæ*, and the *Via Caspia*, are two names for the same pass, that of Derbent. Vide p. 463. Vol. I.

† This estimate of the army of Georgia, made by the intelligent translator of "Letters from the Caucasus," is beyond all doubt extravagant, vide p. 54. of this volume. Russia never had, nor has at this moment, the half of that number of troops cantoned on the Cyrus and the Araxes. By the calculation I have given, in the page just referred to, the Caucaso-Georgian army of Russia only amounts to 80,000; and I think it quite certain, that 50,000 is the utmost total of Russian soldiers now in Georgia. But it must ever be borne in mind, that not more than half of this army is *disposable* for any plans of aggrandisement; the other half being absolutely necessary for the protection of so extensive and so unquiet a frontier, as that of both sides of the Caucasus, against the attacks of the mountaineers. It is not the present condition of Russia which ought to excite either great jealousy or alarm. We must look to her plans as a whole, and not in detail. We must think of the annual augmentation of her already formidable army, in a time of peace, of the improvement she is making in military tactics, of her great political connections and strength, of the facility with which she could cause 200,000 or 300,000 soldiers to pass the defiles of the Caucasus, and of the general system of organisation pursued by General Yermólof.

Persia and India; the tsar, however, is already curbed in his covert projects, both in the West and East, by the mighty power of public opinion: besides, he would not, as did the ancient Alexander, and as Napoleon, in his march to Moscow, (who alone may be compared with the Macedonian conqueror,) leave only Satraps behind him.

These are among the best guarantees for the safety of the Shach, and the integrity, at least from *external* assaults, of our Eastern possessions.

Nevertheless, nothing is left untried by the Russian cabinet to secure all the approaches to central Asia; whilst they study to cultivate the best understanding with the Persian court, where their influence seems to have lately increased, in the same proportion that our own has been on the wane.*

Those who entertain the smallest fear of Russia, of any other power of Europe, or even of Asia, being able to invade India, should read the "Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government," lately published by the Marquis of Hastings, during the period that he filled the office of Governor-General.† If Russia were even in

* Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, 1823; and Note by the Translator, p. 63.

† This was written before the Burmese war began; and, therefore, I have not altered the text: supposing that power will not be able to maintain a contest of long duration.

possession of Persia, in my opinion, she could only think of such a plan, in order to find a sepulchre for her troops. If she employed Russians alone, three-fourths of them would be in their graves before reaching India, and the remainder diseased and unfit to fight. The warm climate would sweep them off by thousands and tens of thousands, and their bones would bleach in the deserts of India; as did those of the French in Russia in 1812. Should she wish to employ Persians along with Russians, their number would be totally inadequate for the purpose of attack, and still less of conquest.

Let us now say a few words respecting the politics of Russia, with regard to the empire of the Turks. Buonaparte says, all Alexander's "thoughts are directed to the conquest of Turkey. We have had many discussions about it; at first I was pleased with his proposals, because I thought it would enlighten the world to drive those brutes, the Turks, out of Europe. But, when I reflected upon the consequences, and saw what a tremendous weight of power it would give to Russia, in consequence of the number of Greeks in the Turkish dominions, who would naturally join the Russians, I refused to consent to it, especially as Alexander wanted to get Constantinople, which I would not allow, as it would have destroyed the equilibrium of power in Europe. I reflected that France would gain Egypt, Syria, and the islands, which would have

been nothing in comparison with what Russia would have obtained. I considered that the barbarians of the north were already too powerful, and probably in the course of time would overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will. Austria already trembles ; Russia and Persia united, Austria fails, and England cannot prevent it. France, under the present family, is nothing ; and the Austrians are so *lâches*, that they will be easily overpowered. *Una nazione a colpo di bastone.** They will offer little resistance to the Russians, who are brave and potent. Russia is the more formidable, because she can never disarm. In Russia, once a soldier always a soldier. Barbarians who, one may say, have no country, and to whom every country is better than the one which gave them birth." The ex-emperor then says, " his memory will be revered in consequence of his having foreseen and endeavoured to put a stop to that which will yet take place. It will be revered when the barbarians of the north possess Europe."†

On the subject of an attack upon Turkey, I have merely to state, that no other measure would be so popular among the military, the nobles, and the peasantry of Russia. It is well known that Constantine, the Great Duke of Russia, and almost the Vice-Roi of Poland,—so frequently accused of

* Means a nation that may be ruled by blows.

† O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile, vol. i. p. 382-3.

illiberality, cruelty, and barbarism, — was thus named, because it was expected that he would reign at Constantinople. God forbid it! Those who have lately been in Poland, or who know the history of that prince, will hold him in detestation. One of his deeds of blacker dye than human is already recorded, and must condemn him in the eyes of the virtuous. It was, as the writer most truly says, a case of the *ne plus ultra* of debauchery and despicable barbarism, which, had I not heard it repeated by those in whom I have confidence, I should have hesitated to believe upon the anonymous authority of an *English Merchant*, who has given the particulars among other Sketches of Russia, written during sixteen years' residence.* But let us hasten from such a horrid deed, by which, it is said, a virtuous lady fell a victim. May the emblem of Paul remember the fate of his extraordinary and unfortunate father, and reform!

I have formerly alluded to the death of the tsar Heraclius, and to that of his successor to the throne, George; and, it may not be misplaced here to inform the reader of the manner in which the royal family of Georgia were disposed of when the crown was yielded to Russia. Eight years ago, when Mr. James was at Petersburg, he attended an annual festival at the Imperial winter palace, and he remarks, in his journal, that the mention of a

* Vide Monthly Magazine, No. 395, for May 1, 1824. p. 296.

certain royal family that swelled the train of the Empress Dowager, may perhaps have created the surprise of some of his readers ; and that he himself, indeed, felt no small astonishment at their first appearance. “Independent of the interest,” says he, “attached to their situation, it was impossible not to notice them from their singularity of air and mien. The princes were handsome men ; but the princesses, though not young, displayed features of unparalleled beauty ; they were dressed with small coifs upon their heads, from which a long white veil, open in front, descended to their feet, lending, by its novel fashion, a new grace to the elegance of their persons.” Unable to withstand, at once, the attacks of his domestic, as well as foreign, enemies, and especially the intrigues of Russia, the tsar George Heracliévitch surrendered his kingdom to Paul, the Emperor of Russia, and handsome appointments at Petersburg were, by stipulation, to be provided in return ; and, in the year 1801, his whole family arrived at Moscow. But it was reserved for the Emperor Alexander to fulfil the contract, which was done as soon as the confused state of things, at the death of the late Emperor, would allow.

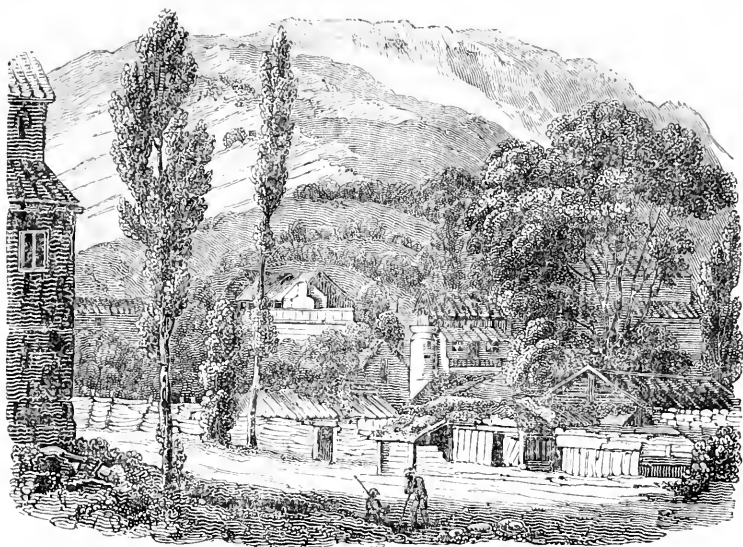
Thus the royal family, except one son, became dependent, and still continue dependent, on Russia ; and, I believe, one or two of the princes hold high ranks in the Imperial army.

Sir R. K. Porter, in describing the *fête* of the

Nowrooze, at Tabreez, informs us, that one object of particular interest was the presence of Alexander Mirza, the fourth son of Heraclius, the late tsar of Georgia, whose bold independence of spirit still resists all terms of amity with Russia, not only having rejected every Imperial honour offered to him, but openly declaring himself irreconcilably hostile to that power's possession of his native country. When Georgia was ceded, he withdrew to Daghistan, and from thence took refuge among the Lesghees, a nation of banditti, who inhabit Leghistan, who sell their service to any body, and take different sides, so that a native sometimes falls by the sword of his brother. When Alexander left the Lesghees, with the greatest difficulty, bravery, and address, he made his way from the fastnesses of their inaccessible country; and, when his road lay by any defended post, he literally opened a path with his sword through Shirvan, till he reached the Persian frontier, and threw himself on the generous faith of Abbas Mirza. "It was impossible," says Sir R. K. Porter, "*to look on this intrepid prince, however wild and obdurate, without interest; without that sort of pity and admiration with which a man might view the royal lion hunted from his hereditary waste, yet still returning to hover near, and roar in proud loneliness his ceaseless threatenings to the human strangers who had disturbed his reign.*"

Of course, Prince Alexander remains under the

protection of Persia, and is ready to join in any plan which might seem to give the smallest hope of Georgia recovering her former rank, and of his becoming her sovereign, as he never yielded his right or title, when she was abandoned by the rest of his family. Neither Russian craft, nor flattery, nor promise, nor policy, has as yet been able to decoy this prince into the snare, and the Georgians preserve and show his portrait with exultation.



CHAP. XV.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF.—HIS ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGIA.—HIS CONDUCT TO THE CAUCASIANS.—THE JOURNAL OF HIS EMBASSY TO PERSIA.—ITS PREFACE.—MR. FREYGANCH'S MISSION TO PERSIA.—RUSSIAN POLICY.—ABOOL, HASSAN KHAN.—HIS OPINION OF THE RUSSIANS.—PRESENTS TO THE EMPEROR.—DEPARTURE OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF FROM TIFLÍS.—ADVANCE TO SHIRPILOU.—GEORGIAN VILLAGES.—TALIN.—THE SERDAR OF ERIVAN.—EITCHMEADZIN.—ERIVAN.—NAHITCHIVAN.—GENERAL YERMÓLOF'S REVERIES.—ENTRANCE INTO TABREEZ.—COURT CEREMONIES.—EXTRAORDINARY RECEPTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY.—REVIEW OF PERSIAN TROOPS.—VISIT TO ABBAS MIRZA.—COURT DECEPTION.—GENERAL YERMÓLOF'S SELF-IMPORTANCE.—CHARACTER OF MIRZA BEZOORK.—ABBAS MIRZA.—PERSIAN GOVERNMENT.—UDJANÍ.—THE KYME-MAKAUM'S SON.—COLONEL JOHNSON.—ANECDOTE.—AVAN-LOOG.—POISONOUS BUGS OF MIANA.—BRIDGES.—REMARKS

ON PERSIA. — NIKPÉ. — SAMANARCHIÉ. — MIRZA ABDOOL WEHAB. — DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE MINISTER AND GENERAL YERMÓLOF.

THE high military character, the important situation, and the political conduct of General Yermólof, as well as the share which he is likely to have in future events on the south of the Caucasus, all conspire to render his biography interesting to the public. I can only pretend, however, to allude to a few of the principal events of his life in this volume.

Alexei Petróvitch Yermólof is descended from a respectable family, who are supposed to be of Tartar origin, and who trace their genealogy to the line of the famous Tchingis Khan. He received a moderately good education, or, at least, what is called so in Russia, and as is the case with all the aspirants after rank and fame in the autocratic empire, he entered the army at an early age, and rose, by length of service and merit, to the eminent rank which he now holds. In the battle of Eylau, though he had but the title of colonel, he received his share of glory.* It was in the campaign of 1812, however, that he chiefly distinguished himself. In the sanguinary and memorable battle of Borodíno he fought like a hero, and especially, when along with General Kutúsof, he supported the division of Paskevits, at the time

* Jisn i Podvighi Grapha Platova, part i. p. 74.

it was nearly discomfited by that of the French under Morand, and the result proved very advantageous. In this battle, he received an honourable wound, and fell, but not for ever, covered with glory *; or at least by what is called glory by military men, as well as by the world in general, but respecting which some entertain a different opinion. †

With Bennigsen, Barclay de Tolli, Osterman, Konovnítsin, and Toll, Yermólof formed the council of war which was assembled by order of Prince Kutúsof, in order to determine the important question, whether Moscow should be defended or deserted after the retreat of the Russian army from Borodíno to its vicinity; the particulars of which, the reader will find when we arrive at that capital.

The distinguished Russian poet Jukóvskii, who accompanied the army from Moscow, in his well known and celebrated poem, “*The Minstrel in*

* Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie, en 1812, par le Colonel Boutourlin, aide-de-camp de S. M. l'Empereur de Russie, p. 331—2, and p. 349. Paris, 1824.

† “I have done violence to my feelings,” says Bowring, “by translating many of the military and warlike productions of the Russian poets, but they will not be without their use. They will serve to show how the feelings of hatred and malevolence are excited, how that *love of outrage* which is called ‘*martial spirit*,’ creeps into the bosom of a people, and corrodes all the mild and all the generous virtues.” Vide Introduction to the second part of “*Specimens of the Russian Poets*,” p. xi.

the Russian Camp,” which was written just before the battle of Tarútino, thus addresses General Yermólof:

“ Hail ! hail ! ye martial leaders all !
Yermólof, valiant Roman !
Friend of the brave, and valour’s wall,
And terror of the foeman.” *

I have recorded the following anecdote of our hero, which greatly redounds to his honour. “ A General, who commanded a corps of artillery stationed at the Imperial head-quarters, had incurred, on some trifling occasion, the serious displeasure of the Emperor Alexander, shortly before the battle of Leipzig. His Majesty very unceremoniously sent one of his aides-de-camp with an order, that this officer should give up his command, repair, within twenty-four hours, to a village at the distance of twenty or thirty miles, and take charge of a regiment stationed there. Surprise, indignation, and fury were successively evinced by the General, but still he obeyed the mandate. He left head-quarters without even a moment’s loss of time,—arrived at his new destination,—examined it,—reviewed the regiment,—and immediately drove back to his former station. At a review of some troops, on the following morning, the Emperor’s eye soon perceived him at the head of his

* Vide the original, or Bowring’s translation in “ *Specimens of the Russian Poets,*” part ii. p. 69.

corps. Astonishment and rage were depicted in the monarch's physiognomy, and he despatched an aid-de-camp to enquire, what the General was doing there, — and why he had left his new station, and dared to disobey his sovereign's order. The General, who is a man of talents, of general information, and of an unconquerable and somewhat ferocious spirit, with energy replied to the aid-de-camp, 'Go back, and tell his Imperial Majesty, that the present time is highly important, and that I feel anxious for the fate of Russia : tell him, that henceforth, I serve, not Alexander, but my country ; and that I am here, where I ought to be, at the head of my troops, ready to sacrifice my life in her cause.' Such an un contemplated and heroic answer, instead of rousing the furious passions of the mind, as might have been expected, were despotism really absolute, had a very opposite effect. The Emperor seemed palsied, replied not a word, and was glad to hush the affair to sleep, lest the General's example should be too generally known, and become a precedent for the future, to the officers of the autocratic army. Before the battle of Mont Martre, the General, who continued in his former command, had a station assigned him, in the middle of danger, on purpose, as it was supposed by some, that his head might be carried away by a cannon-ball, and thus rid the Emperor of a refractory and liberal-minded officer. This gentleman, who fears no danger, rejoiced at

the occasion, fought bravely, and conquered. It redounds to the credit of Alexander, that he called for the General on the field of battle, and bestowed upon him the cordon of St. George. Since this period he has been employed on an important mission ; and at this moment, he holds one of the highest and most responsible offices of the state."

In 1817, for reasons which are soon to be detailed, General Yermólof was appointed governor-general of Georgia, and ambassador to the court of Persia.

Mr. Smirnoi, author of the "*Life and Combats of Platóf*," speaks of Yermólof's administration with his usual complacency and flattery toward his countrymen. "The inhabitants," says he, "of Georgia and other neighbouring governments over which he is placed, prosperous under his wise and vigilant rule, are grateful to the monarch who gave them so worthy a chief." *

I have repeatedly had occasion to allude to the general character of General Yermólof in the course of this work, and though I must disapprove of some of his measures, there seems to be no doubt, that he is a person of great natural and acquired talents, a brave and energetic soldier, and a most active, enterprising, and able governor-general. This is high praise, but his too zealous anticipation of the ambitious schemes of the crown

* "*Jisn i Podvighi*" of Count Platóf, part i. p. 74. Note.

of Russia, his rigorous policy toward the mountaineers, and his cruelty on some occasions already mentioned *, greatly detract from it. May he take warning for the future, and be assured, that good government is always tempered with mercy, and that the epithet of *the humane* ought to be dearer to the bosom of the good than that of *the brave* !

My love of impartiality demands that I should state, that both Colonel Johnson and Sir R. K. Porter have spoken of General Yermólof in very high terms ; and that I have heard some other travellers, who have experienced his hospitality, speak of him with great admiration. Porter alludes to his services offered with the open and kindly heart, “ the disposition that receives a countryman like a friend, and a stranger like a countryman.” And he adds, “ being liberal in his views, no one can be better adapted to the high station he holds in this country. His graciousness secures to him gratitude and confidence from persons of all nations, to whom he is kind and serviceable. He is, in every respect, what the representative of a great empire ought to be ; and, by perfectly understanding the people he is delegated to govern, their natural dispositions, and the contrary habits they have acquired under con-

* Vide p. 49. of this volume.

tradictory oppressions, he manages both with a greatness of aim, *a gentleness in the means* *, and, at the same time, so unswerving a steadiness, that the proud and gloomy Georgians are daily becoming more sensible to the advantage of their own laws being exercised by such a foreign hand. It is natural that the mind should linger after old associations ; should, in remembering times of past distinction under brave and generous princes, be reluctant to part with any existing memorial of such national consequence, be it no more than a name ! But the Georgians, for several generations preceding their union with Russia, had, in retaining this name — that of an independent kingdom, — been actually suffering the utmost miseries of subjugation, from the feebleness of their native rulers, and the terrible evils which poured into their undefended country from the Mahometan powers, and the barbarous hordes of the mountains. In becoming part of Russia, the doors were shut against these oppressors, and the rescued people soon found the substantial superiority of living in prosperity and peace, under the name, and with the rights, of a province attached to so great an empire, to all the vain glories of being called a kingdom ; — to the shade, rather than the substance of majesty, seated in the throne of their past monarchs, while real tyrants, in the shapes of

* Compare p. 49, and 50. of this volume.

Lesghees and other invaders, ravaged the country, and usurped the authorities of the state.”*

Though I differ in some respects from Sir R. K. Porter, yet his observations on this topic are generally correct. If I am less pleased with a few points of General Yermólof's administration, I expose them, not from enmity, but because I regard them as the failings of a great man, which might be amended.

It is now a considerable time since I announced the publication of a manuscript, “*The Journal of General Yermólof's Embassy to Persia, in the Year 1817.*”† Two reasons have led me to keep back this precious document from the public, beyond the intended period; viz. 1st, the wish that the individual who was instrumental in procuring the copy of that journal, which I now possess, should previously be beyond the frontiers of Russian, and even of Continental despotism; and, 2d, the delicacy I felt, as to the propriety of publishing the MS. without the consent of its author.

I hope that I have only to assign my reasons for its present publicity, in order to show that I am fully warranted in my conduct. In the first place then, General Yermólof's journal could scarcely be called *private*, since he allowed some copies to be taken by his friends, from which numerous

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 154.

† Vide Courier and Morning Chronicle, for Jan. 17th, 1824.

others have been made by the officers of the army, and their agents ; so that the MS. is not at all rare in the Russian dominions, and is, to a certain extent, already made public : secondly, many parts of that MS. have already been published by Kotzebue, who was one of the individuals in the train of the ambassador, in his "*Voyage en Perse*:" thirdly, I knew too well, that had I asked permission to publish the journal, from its author, it would not have been granted, however much pleased, perhaps, he may be that it is done without his consent ; but he must show the highest displeasure and indignation at my procedure, in order to please the Russian government : fourthly, its details should be known to Europe, and especially to my countrymen, as they illustrate the politics of Russia, and give some fore-knowledge of the ambitious plans of that country in the north of Asia ; at the same time that they show in what estimation the British are held by some of their present allies.

I shall now proceed with a *translation and abridgment* of the journal in question. The more important points shall be generally given in the author's own words, while those of little consequence shall be comprised in as few lines as possible. In order to render this part of my work more interesting, however, I shall occasionally introduce remarks from Kotzebue, Porter, and Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, as well as

from my own portfolio ; trusting, that thus a number of facts may be assembled together which may throw some light on the measures of aggrandisement which Russia has in view, and may lead to the adoption of means, by other states, to counteract them. *

I shall translate General Yermólof's preface nearly verbatim.

“ The peace concluded with Persia, at the end of the year 1813, put a conclusion to a continued war, which, although it was not dangerous to Russia, yet might have had disagreeable consequences during the invasion of our country by the enemy †, and their occupation of Moscow ; especially if accompanied, at a future period, by any internal commotion in Georgia. The happy revolution of our affairs, the expulsion of the enemy from the frontiers of Russia, their dreadful defeat, and the triumphal march of our forces to the centre of Germany, led the Persians to think, that for their tranquillity it was necessary to seek peace with Russia, rather than to indulge the vain hope of gaining it by force of arms. Persia, after having renounced her rights to some provinces which were joined to ours by conquest as well as by written documents, sent an ambassador extraordinary to Peters-

* Those who are more anxious about a knowledge of Persia, may consult the works of Morier, Malcolm, Ousely, &c., not forgetting Chardin.

† The French, in 1812.

burgh, so as, by petitions and persuasions, to induce the generous *Gosudár*, the Emperor, to consent to the restitution of these provinces. This ambassador arrived during the absence of His Imperial Majesty, who, at the head of his armies beyond the frontiers of Russia, was occupied with the pacification of Europe, who called confusion to order, and who liberated the oppressed from the yoke of Napoleon. After the arrival of the emperor at Petersburg, the Persian ambassador presented the petition of the Shach, and received in answer, that through reciprocity of friendship, I should be sent as ambassador to his Persian Majesty, confidentially charged to communicate the opinions of the Emperor upon the subject in question. It was also notified to him, how agreeable it would be to His Imperial Majesty, in all things, to meet the wishes of the Shach. The ambassador departed from Petersburg, and I soon afterwards followed him. I made a short delay in Georgia, and examined some parts of the frontiers, that it might be known whether it was possible to restore them, in case it should happen that the Persians demanded their exchange."

It may be here remarked, that in the year 1812, Russia was peculiarly anxious to be at peace both with Turkey and Persia; and this object, no doubt, was accomplished by the assistance of the British government, through our ambassadors at the courts of those states. Mr. Freyganck was sent by Russia

on a special mission to the court of Abbas Mirza, to conclude a peace ; and at that time, this gentleman informs us, that Sir Gore Ouseley, who had also arrived from India, at the same destination, was very desirous to further the object of his mission ; “ But,” says he, “ Abbas Mirza being well aware of the French having invaded Russia, felt encouraged by that circumstance to reject every proposition for peace with my government. He was, indeed, decided upon attempting another expedition into Georgia, with hopes of thereby obtaining a more advantageous peace ; and, above all, of acquiring that military glory, of which he is so ambitious. I saw clearly enough that he placed great confidence in his own genius and bravery, as well as in the courage of his sarbazes.” — “ When Abbas Mirza was completely defeated by the Russian general Kotleréffsky, he must have regretted that he had not concluded a treaty upon the terms proposed through myself, and which he was afterwards obliged to accept.”*

From what I have heard, from a political source, I should suppose that the persuasions of Sir Gore Ouseley, in consequence of his instructions, were more powerful than the force of arms, and were the chief means of leading to the conclusion of peace between Persia and Russia in 1813 ; and

* A Journey into Persia, in Letters from the Caucasus, &c. p. 365.

that the provinces, which the former power yielded up to the latter, were only to be held possession of, for a limited time, as a guarantee for the ratification of a future treaty. "This was dangerous policy with the Russians," said a friend, "and both the Persians and the English were *gulled*." These provinces, once under the claws of the Imperial Eagle, were never intended to be restored to Persia; and the general and favourable change in the aspect of the affairs of Russia, soon enabled her to assume a higher, and even a dictatorial tone towards Persia; as we shall see in the course of General Yermólof's journal.

Abool Hassan Khan, the Persian ambassador, a character well known throughout Europe, arrived at Moscow, where he remained a considerable time, in consequence of the Emperor's absence; and where he received the highest attentions from the authorities, and the respectable foreigners of every nation. It was said, however, that he held the Russians, *in toto*, in contempt, and had an unconquerable dislike to them. Indeed, I have been told that, on various occasions, he showed this more openly than seemed consistent with his diplomatic situation; while his partiality for the English was remarkable. He reached Petersburg, where I was settled at the time, and I had an opportunity of seeing the grand procession which took place at the presentation of the presents of the Shach of Persia to the Emperor of Russia. The

chief objects of curiosity were huge elephants with enormous black and red leathern boots, which were made on purpose, in order to preserve their feet from injury by the cold or the snow. Notwithstanding that these clumsy boots, upon no less clumsy feet, presented a large surface; yet, the snow being soft, the animals were impeded in their usual unwieldy motions, and moved most awkwardly along. The presents, consisting of them, horses, shawls, &c., were all received in the imperial palace with great ceremony and pomp; so as, no doubt, that the ambassador and his retinue might return to the East with imposing accounts of the grandeur of the Russian court, and the magnificence of its sovereign. But Abool Hassan Khan was not to be so easily duped. If his opinion may be judged of by his conversations, he left Russia with the same sentiments which he entertained at Moscow more deeply rivetted in his heart. He was well pleased, however, as the object of his mission had failed, that the emperor proposed to send an ambassador to Persia; because, if this had not been done, it was surmised, he might have lost his head.

All the necessary arrangements being made for his departure, General Yermólof, with his retinue, left Tiflis * on the 17th April, (O. S.) 1817, after

* Since the account of Tiflis was printed off, I have seen a statement, by which it appears that the commerce of that town amounts to above 60,000 roubles, of which 28,000 were for *exportation*, and 33,000 for *importation*.

having attended divine service in the cathedral, and received the benediction of the metropolitan. Many of the princes and nobles of Georgia conveyed him out of that town, and some even went as far as Kodi, where he had his quarters for the night.*

I shall not follow the slow advance of the ambassador to Emir-Aivaz, Ach-Kerpi, Achsebejouk, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th. Kotzebue relates, that the scenery near the mountain Achsebejouk was remarkably fine; and that the ambassador, charmed, "*de ce spectacle*," said to the persons who surrounded him; "We admire the extent of this landscape; but it is only a point of the vast empire submitted to the laws of a single man." Our author also discovers that, "*cette idée est vraiment sublime*;" and that in the progress of ages, it will be regarded as a miracle that so many estates have been assembled together. †

The advance of the embassy, from the 20th to the 29th, by the mountain of Bezabdal, Kara-Klissa, Gumri (which lies on the frontiers of Turkey, Persia, and Russia), and Shirpilou-Caravanserai, contains nothing of interest. At the last named place, the General remarks, that it was fortunate that they carried all kinds of provision with them, both for man and horse; because the

* The German word *Nachtlager*, or *Nacht-Quarter*, the French *Gîte*, or *Couchée*, and the Russian *Notchlég*, are very convenient; instead of our circumlocution.

† Voyage en Perse, p. 63.

Persians made no sort of preparation for the embassy; as neither they, nor the Russians, reckoned this region to belong to them. "Here," he adds, "as in many other places, no frontier is indicated."

"At this place there came to me an officer from Kars, who was sent by Ali Pascha with a letter and congratulations at my arrival. Having written a polite answer, and made presents to the messenger, I sent him back on the following day."

In his route, the ambassador speaks of different villages in Georgia, of which a better idea may be got, by the view of Teláv * at the head of this chapter, than by the most minute description.

The ambassador reached Talin on the 30th. This large colony, the first within the Persian limits, was formerly desolated by the forces of Russia. Six versts before arriving here, the general was met by the near relations of the Serdar of Erivan, along with some forces. At their head was Asker-Khan, who had been ambassador at the court of France, during the time of Napoleon. He complimented the general in the name of his sovereign, and informed him that he was the *mehmandar* of the Russian legation. A *mehmandar*, which may be translated *provider*, is an officer of a superior rank, who is charged to receive an ambassador or a noble, and to provide for all his wants. Kotzebue remarks, that it was a great mark of deference on the part of the Shach

* Vide p. 26. of this volume.

of Persia, to give the Russian embassy, as mehmandar, a personage who had been a minister plenipotentiary ; and who had also been a general-in-chief of the Persian army. He likewise assures us, that General Yermólof, full of respect for the age and the high rank of this individual, showed him the greatest attention during his *séjour* in Persia, and never allowed him to fulfil the *soins minutieux* which this office imposes.

“At my first step,” says the General, “on Persian ground, I demanded, that on my entrance into Erivan, the Serdar should come out to meet me. This distinguished grandee, a man who is intimately attached to the Shach, who was esteemed in his younger years for his bravery, and who had been looked up to for a long time only for his riches, certainly did not expect such a proposition ; but I insisted with firmness on its execution.”

On the 1st of May, and at the distance of five versts from Etchmiadzin, the patriarchal seat of Armenia, which contains a large and fine monastery, the ambassador was met by five bishops on horseback ; who, having dismounted, complimented him on his arrival. The patriarch himself rode out more than a verst for the same purpose. “I alighted from my horse, and he did the same :—so little did I keep him under restraint. At the gates of the monastery I found an assembly of the clergy, in their most sumptuous habits, with crosses and images ; and amidst the ringing of bells and the chaunts of singers, I was conducted

to the house appointed for my residence in the monastery. I wished to have gone directly to church, but intentionally did not do so; that I might not be accompanied by crowds of Persians, who had also met me, and who generally show no regard to the sanctity of our temples. I also discovered that many spies were stationed here, so as to observe the actions of the patriarch, and our interview with him. This was the first proof of want of faith towards us, which the Persians did not understand how to conceal."

On the 2d of May, the Persian officers having appointed not to make any halt, the general rode straight to Erivan, and attended divine service, because it was the festival of the Ascension. "The patriarch pronounced an excellent oration, in which he petitioned the blessing of God for success on the mission with which I was charged by the Emperor; and it was remarked by all of us, that when he made mention of the name of His Imperial Majesty, immediately afterwards he loudly repeated the name of the Shach, that the Persians might hear it. With sorrow I observed that the Persian officers asked for seats, that they might sit down during divine service, not regarding that I did not seat myself upon the arm-chair, nor even stood upon the carpet which was destined for me. I ought to remark, that those very officers dare not sit down in the presence of the Serdar of Erivan, unless he gives permission, which hap-

pens but very rarely, and is reckoned the highest favour. Foreigners,—with the exception of the English officers of the *East India Commercial Company*, who sell their not very valuable commodities for great sums of money, and French military vagabonds,—might easily remark, in the Persians, the most deep-rooted villany; and that they are the most complete slaves under the sun.”

On the 3d, the General was met by Hassan Khan, at the head of about 500 Persians and Coordish cavalry. “Shooting commenced, and the Coordes showed themselves much more rapid and skilful than the Persians. I wished to have entered Erivan with some ceremony, but a heavy fall of rain opposed this measure. Not far from the castle a battalion of regular infantry — parade Persian infantry, — or peasants with arms, was stationed. The Serdar himself came out a verst to meet me; and, calling to his assistance that dissimulation which is coeval with a Persian’s birth, he endeavoured as much as possible to conceal his disagreeable feelings.” Kotzebue remarks, “that the inhabitants could not conceal their surprise at seeing so proud a man set out from the fortress and go to meet us. It was a homage which he only renders to the sovereign himself; but the ambassador had insisted upon this part of the ceremonial, *et peur surcroit de contrariété*, the Serdar, perhaps for the first time in his life, *fut trempé par la pluie jusqu’aux os*.”

The brother of the Serdar conducted the em-

bassy to lodgings, specially appointed, and its arrival was celebrated by a salute of artillery.

The Serdar, agreeably to the ambassador's demand, made him the first visit, and, according to Kotzebue, he placed himself upon a chair, *avec assez de gaucherie*, smoked much, spoke little, and scarcely moved the head, but he drank strong liquors copiously, and braved the commandments of the prophet. "That which surprised us was, that the governor said he could not live without the aid of spirituous liquors." He returned in about an hour, and invited all the persons of the embassy to dinner. They dined in Persian style, but had a second repast on their return home.

"They amused us with singing, to which the most unsupportable howling alone could be compared, and with dreadful convulsions and contortions, which the Persians called a dance. They regard this with enthusiasm ; and, young boys who show skilfulness in this mode of dancing, receive their approbation."

On the 6th, "I was received, with my suite, in the garden of the Serdar." After dinner, "the singers and dancers distressed us. We had the band of music of the embassy with us, which highly pleased all present. We treated the Serdar with confections, ice-creams, and strong liquors. Frozen punch, in the form of ice-cream, was adapted for all palates. Out of good humour, we named it a medicated substance for strengthening the stomach.

Here we took farewell of the Serdar, showing the greatest demonstrations of friendship on both sides. This grandee is intimately connected with the Shach. He is reckoned one of the most learned persons in Persia (and, I think, also one of the most sacred); and, according to the understanding of the Persians, this character is not in opposition to the fact, that he can neither read nor write.

“ Before my arrival at Erivan, a report had spread abroad that I had troops in my suite, and the dread of them was general. To foolish Persian credulity did it appear possible that I carried boxes with me, in which soldiers were concealed, and who were to take the castle? My unseen legions consisted of twenty-four infantry, and as many Kozáks; and my regular cavalry was composed of one under-officer of dragoons, whose only occupation was to look after my horse. These are the forces which arrived to alarm the Serdar, the firm prop of the Persian monarchy. Neither Persian pride, nor skill in dissimulation, could conceal the dread which the presence of the Russians excited.

“ On the 7th, Captain Nadzarof, whom I had sent as courier to Constantinople, returned and met me at the village Tcherni, but neither in good time, nor with agreeable intelligence.

“ On the 10th the embassy buried a free servant, who died at Kohik, from being unaccustomed to the climate.” The corpse, according to Kotzebue,

was interred in a deep ditch, and covered over with large stones ; but, at their return, this modest tomb had disappeared, and the body had been disinterred. The Mussuhmans do not allow the body of a Christian to decompose in peace.

At Nahitchivan* the embassy met with Kamborei, the khan of this province, a very merry, and extremely polite old man, who had the misfortune to lose his sight during the reign of the Persian *Wicked One*, Ali Mahomet. He was affected by the particular regard manifested by General Yermólof for his unhappy situation, and uttered bitter complaints against the cruelty of the tyrant. “ The situation of slavery does not remove from man the feeling for affliction. If the severe judgment be sometimes formed, that beneficent Nature assuages the poignancy of distress, by the hope of vengeance, this unhappy individual, already advanced in years, and being removed from those who were faithfully attached to him, cannot have even this consolation. His son is retained by the government as an hostage for his fidelity. What new feelings would a similar *rencontre* excite with men living under a gentle administration, and under cheerful liberty ? Here, with dread, we see the power of sovereigns exceeding its limits in relation to the subjects ; and we behold, with grief, the subjects not understand-

* The Russians always spell this word so. English writers often write it Nackshiván, or Nukshivan.

ing themselves, nor feeling the dignity of man. I congratulate a hundred times the fate of my beloved country, and nothing can efface from my heart the contempt which I felt for the Persian government." This is very extraordinary language from the pen of a native of the despotic northern empire, who seems completely blinded to the true state of his own "beloved country," as also is the case with most of his countrymen. They have the madness to believe that the *Russian monarchy*, as they gently nominate it, has an excellent government. How blind we are when personal vanity comes in the way!

We are led to believe, that, besides the regular Persian soldiers whom the embassy saw on their advance, peasants who had arrived from the neighbourhood for the purpose of making bargains, were seized and armed, so that the strangers might understand "what dreadful forces surround the boundaries of the realms of Persia. The strictest observance of decorum could not conceal my feelings of disdain. I laughed, but not merely because the Persians appeared ridiculous to us."

The General advanced by Galaki Caravanserai, Marande, and Sophian, to the village of Ségilán, where preparations were made for the entrance of the embassy into Tabreez; and, they were informed by their future *mehmandar*, that troops, and various persons of rank, were appointed to meet them. On the following day the embassy made its solemn

entry into that town, amid numerous troops and many cannon. All the tradesmen of the town were said to have been under arms, so as to augment the number, and render the view more imposing. General Yermólof was received in the most handsome style, being met at some distance by Tet Ali Khan, the military governor of the town, and afterwards by the Vizier, who is the son of the Kyme-makaum, Mirza Bezoork, the second person of rank in the kingdom. The heir-presumptive himself, in a very common dress, rode behind the lines *incognito*. Having reached the house of his destination, an hour afterwards Mirza Bezoork sent to ask when he might be conveniently with the general. As he could not be received that day, he arrived on the following morning with his suite; and, after dinner, General Yermólof, with his suite, returned his visit. On the following day his excellency was received by the Abbas Mirza. “Through the *mehmandar* I was informed, in a very delicate manner, of the forms and ceremonies used at the court of Persia; that it was not permitted to enter the room of the heir-presumptive in boots, and that all were obliged to put on *red stockings* (Krasniyé Tchúlki); that I alone could be in the room with the counsellors of the embassy, and that the other officers ought to remain in the court; and of some other equally foolish previous arrangements. In the time of Napoleon, when he sought to do all possible injury to Russia, General Gardanne was

sent by him to Persia, that he might obtain the confidence of the Persians. He therefore acceded to every etiquette, and on him, after the *red cap of liberty*, it was not difficult to put on the red stockings. The English ambassadors, and all persons of rank now residing in Persia, perhaps not with the same views as the French, but that they may strengthen the bond of union for the advantage of commerce, likewise do not make much difficulty with respect to the etiquette of the Persian court, and use the red stockings; and the officers dare not enter Mirza Bezoork's shod in any other manner. But as I arrived here neither with the base feelings of a French spy, nor with the interested views of the clerk (*prikástchik*) of a commercial nation, I did not consent to the use of the red stockings, and the other prescribed conditions; and, on this account, Abbas Mirza, after a long conference with his council, resolved to receive us, not in a room, but in the court, not sitting upon carpets, upon which neither boot nor shoe had ever been permitted to rub, but standing as in common, upon stones, near the bridge, within the court, at the very windows of the palace, and under the portrait of Abbas Mirza's father."

As General Yermólof has made such a mighty affair of the *red stockings* as he calls them, or the *red boots*, or *slippers*, as they are denominated by others, the reader may be curious to know something of this custom at the Persian court. It can-

not be given in better language than that of Mr. Freyganch, who was, at least in some degree, General Yermólof's predecessor. "I may notice here," says he, "that, in the Persian court, they seem unacquainted with the rules of precedence and privilege so scrupulously observed towards diplomatic persons in Europe; and there is one custom which they never forego in favour of the most distinguished rank. It appeared to me very singular, and even the British ambassadors conform to it most strictly. It is required, that on all public audiences, the shoes be taken off, and the Persian slippers substituted for them. Far from affecting thereby any sort of superiority, or requiring an attention to the rule from mere ostentation, the court adheres to this formality, *as being of religious origin*. It is, moreover, *a very ancient custom*, and tends to the preservation of their beautiful carpets, the principal ornaments of Persian houses. I therefore made my appearance before the prince in slippers." *

Colonel Johnson and party, when presented to the heir-presumptive, were dressed in their own full uniform, "but in *red cloth boots*, and over them high-heeled green slippers:" and on a similar occasion, Sir R. K. Porter says, "We then disengaged our feet from our slippers, (*having red*

* A Journey into Persia, in Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, p. 313.

kerseymere socks, a kind of boot without sole under them,) and drew near the place in which he (the Prince Abbas Mirza) sat.”

General Yermólof would probably have acted wisely in following Mr. Freyganch's example in using the *boots*, (which he, for the sake of throwing more ridicule upon the custom, is pleased to call *stockings*,) and saved the disgrace which thence arose to his government, of having had its ambassador received, not in the usual audience chamber, but in an open court. But the general and his suite at first took very different views of the matter, and made more of this exemption from compliance to a long-continued custom, than many would do of a victory. On another occasion, for example, we are informed by Mr. Kotzebue, and apparently with much self-congratulation, that “*telle est la délicatesse du prince héréditaire, qu'il ne permet pas que les officiers Anglais foulent ses tapis autrement qu'avec des chaussures légères de marroquin à la botte du pays ; tandis que nos bottes à talons ferrés y faisoient un vacarme affreux. C'étoit une exception bien flatteuse pour la personne de l'ambassadeur, autant que pour sa suite. N'oublions pas, non plus, que le seul aspect d'hommes bottés suffit pour choquer les regards et révolter l'orgueil de la nation entière. Un changement de chaussure, aussi insignifiant par lui-même, a déjà fait rompre des négociations au Japan et au Chine.*” *

* Voyage en Perse, p. 143.

The ambassador gives a particular account of their progress to the said open court, which is unimportant. Here they saw “a man in ordinary red clothes without ornaments, seated behind a curtain,” whom no one would have taken for the heir-presumptive. “But the master of the ceremonies and his adjutant speedily began to take off their slippers, and to bow nearly to the ground. I did not stop, and without taking off my hat, continued to move forward. In the middle of the court they overtook us, and again commenced their salutations.” The rest of the progress of the ceremony is of little interest. Till they drew near the heir-presumptive, “all was risible and foolish, but at his presence all became tranquil.”

Abbas Mirza was reared amidst luxury and prodigality, which he “*swallowed*” with his mother’s milk, and he has had but woful examples of sovereignty in some of the predecessors of his father. “As the heir-presumptive of the throne, he has very extensive powers, which he little abuses. He is generally attached to the customs of Europe, and seeks every means of illumination. To these qualities, ever since his youngest years, he has joined a very captivating exterior. He received us in a very gay manner, and spoke with each of the suite very affably. Having remained about an hour, and got out from behind the screen, we immediately put on our hats, but the master of the ceremonies and his adjutant began their re-

treat according to the former order, *i. e.* bowing at the same places, with this only difference, that on their way back, every one seized his slippers, and hastened to put them on, or carried them triumphantly in his hands.

“To many, as well as to myself, the reception in the court seemed extraordinary, but the Persians endeavoured to represent it as a particular proof of such respect as had never before been shown to any ambassador. They told us that the heir-apparent never received any body otherwise than sitting, and on this occasion he stood, but not even upon the carpet.” Who could have supposed that General Yermólof and all his suite should have been “*so gulled*” by the Persians. But the truth is, that the *victory over the red stockings* seems to have blinded them all to every other sentiment; and, while they were vain enough to show how highly they were flattered by the exemption, others were enjoying the laugh at their expense, and at the ingenuity of the Persian trick of receiving his imperial majesty’s ambassador *out of doors* upon such a grand occasion.

On the following day, agreeably to the invitation of Abbas Mirza, General Yermólof accompanied his royal highness to the suburbs of Tabreez to see the troops. “In the streets were ranged the Persian and the Coordish cavalry, which afterwards followed us to the field. Not far from the town, we found the artillery ready for exercise, but

without horses. Abbas Mirza begged me to examine it, and added, that the Russians excited in him the envy of artillery. We praised his design, and the good example that he had chosen for imitation, because the English artillery is well known for its superiority.

“The Persian and the Coordish cavalry were drawn up in separate lines. From among the Coords were selected divisions, and they fell upon each other and began to fire. This people manage their horses with peculiar ease. Not one of the Persians rode out to show himself, on account of the superiority of the Coords in all things. The artillery fired against a mark, and very well.”

On another occasion Abbas Mirza begged General Yermólof and his suite to come to his garden. They were received in a summer-house, in which it had been intended to regale them with tea. The Prince proposed to the general that all his suite should go into another room, where a repast was prepared for them. He said he should go with them. Abbas Mirza then retained the whole party with himself, but instead of tea, he gave them a little *sherbet*, “and certainly because he wished to drink it himself.”

“All our horses were behind the garden wall, and only that of Abbas Mirza was led to him. One of my officers made a signal to my servant, and behind the horse of Abbas Mirza, my horse showed itself, a circumstance which appeared very

strange to the Persians ; but nevertheless we rode from the garden together.

“ No opportunities, no circumstances, present themselves, in which the Persians do not deem it necessary to demonstrate their pride ; and I can imagine their surprise, when, in return, they are treated with still a greater degree of pride, and even contempt. In such a manner did I conduct myself towards them.”

On the following morning the Vizier, and all the most distinguished persons, accompanied with their suites, made their visit to General Yermólof.

The General alludes to the English officers beating the Persian troops with their fists — blows which he thinks may yet be repaid in case of a change of government. He also describes his visit to the Vizier's, — the only place he went to, though he received many invitations, — the exhibition of fine fire-works, prepared by French and Italian refugees, &c. &c.

“ An officer arrived from Teheran, with intelligence from the Grand Vizier, that after the marriage of two of his sons, the Shach would set out for Sul-tania, his summer palace. By him I also received an invitation to go there, if I could not arrive at Teheran in time for the weddings. It was difficult to succeed in this, and therefore it was arranged that the journey should be performed leisurely, and it was resolved to quit Tabreez.”

The Kyme-makaum, the nearest and the most

confidential personage attached to Abbas Mirza, as well as the Prince himself, keenly endeavoured to persuade the ambassador to remain a while at his country castle, called Udjani, and assigned different reasons with respect to the General's comfort for pressing this plan upon him. For two days, negotiations were continued about this business, when the extreme anxiety manifested for his delay, led him to suppose that they had some concealed design. "I therefore," says Yermólof, "told them determinately, that, without fail, I should set off, and that I had reasons for so doing. To oppose me they could not; to stop me they dared not.

"The day before my departure, Abbas Mirza sent to ask me to ride out of town with him. I excused myself, because I was to depart on the following day; and said, that to-day I intended to take care of my eyes, which pained me, and therefore that I could not have the pleasure of seeing him. I begged leave, however, to send one of my officers to present my grateful acknowledgments to the heir-presumptive for his gracious and kind reception, and his attention. I added, that I ought to have had a farewell audience; but, as I had not been received by him in a convenient manner in the court, I did not reckon it necessary." The General now began to see the errors of his first impressions. His unexpected answer to the Prince's offer, *touched* the Kyme-makaun, and was followed

by long-continued explanations. The Prince's minister endeavoured to convince the ambassador that the reception in the court was the highest testimony of regard which had hitherto been shown to any ambassador, and that former ambassadors had put on the red slippers if they wished to be received in the audience-room. "I ordered him to be told, that *I could not be put in comparison with others*, because I had not arrived for my own advantage, and that he ought to understand *that I was the ambassador of the most powerful nation of the world*; and, besides, was their neighbour, whose friendly intercourse might be of use to Persia."

The General, therefore, prayed the Kyme-makaum, — if the *ceremony of the red stockings, and such-like*, must be rigidly adhered to, as the basis of friendship, — that he would inform the Shach that he would not put on those stockings; and that he might not perform a useless journey, he should await an answer upon the road, and, if necessary, should return to Russia. This unlooked-for answer threw the Kyme-makaum into a panic. The General received an answer from the Prince, stating, that he did not desire to see him, and that on the following morning he would receive his officer. The ambassador told Mr. Sókolof to repeat the same things to Abbas Mirza as he had done to the Kyme-makaum; but he himself left Tabreez at sunrise.

Nothing can be more contradictory than the character of Mirza Bezoork, the Kyme-makaum, as

given by different writers. Sir R. Porter, in speaking of him, says, “ This really noble Persian is a man of a spare habit, about fifty years of age, with a languid but expressive countenance, bespeaking goodness and penetration, and, when occasion calls for it, an energy in every feature that testifies the activity of a minister, in every way worthy the trust devolved on him by his royal master. True national policy is yet an infant science in this empire. But Mirza Bezoork is one instance of considerable maturity in the knowledge of government, of the power, happiness, and grandeur, which arise from its just administration. The most disinterested liberality, with regard to his own personal advantage, and an expansion of view in the fulfilment of his office, proceeding from the cultivation of his mind, make him a very superior person, and above most of his compeers, valuable for his counsels to a Prince, whose own dispositions seem so well inclined to lead, or to follow any good purpose for his country.” *

In the translation of *Letters from the Caucasus*, is the following note : — “ With respect to Mirza Bezoork, the veteran minister of the court of Tabriz, it ought to be added, that his integrity and his abilities are equally admirable.” †

On the contrary, Kotzebue says, that “ Mirza

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 236.

† Vide p. 316.

Béjourk est un homme très fin, qui contrefait la dévotion, et souffre volontiers qu'on lui donne le titre de *Dervish*. Son avarice et ses exactions mécontentent le peuple, qui le déteste aussi cordialement qu'il bénit le gouvernement du prince." And, in another place, he states, that " ce ministre n'est qu'un grossier personnage et un vieil hypocrite." *

General Yermólof goes farther, and asserts, that he is a man well known for his subtlety, who allows himself to be called a *dervish* twenty times in a quarter of an hour's conversation, and who pretends not to have any of the passions of a mortal, that he is equal-minded to all worldly honours, and a stranger to all vain desires. " Yet this anchorite," he adds, " occupies the second place in the government, and is ready to replace the Grand Vizier of the Shach; this stranger to passion, — this just man, who seeks heaven by fasting and prayer, — through the weakness of human nature, in reality had, and now has, a seraglio, and has already buried fifteen of his children. He called his son to the rank of Vizier without his having merited it by any service, and is now preparing his own place for him. But, on all occasions he has followed the system of holding honours in contempt, and titles as vanity.

" The Vizier is a young man, who has received

* Voyage en Perse, pp. 129. 146.

his appointment merely through the interest of his father, to whose care was entrusted the youth of Abbas Mirza.”

This minister has preserved great influence over his royal pupil, and, indeed, if the master is to be judged of by the prince, he deserves great credit. At this moment there is not a prince, even in Europe, who seems more anxious to civilise and enlighten his nation than Abbas Mirza. He is truly the patron of arts and sciences, and learning of every kind; and, should his succession to the throne not be accompanied by intestine broils and confusion, he may prove to Persia what Peter the Great was to Russia, and add glory to the name of man. All writers and travellers speak of him in the most flattering terms, as well as General Yermólof and those of his suite, both with regard to his manly appearance and noble conduct, his talents and goodness of heart.

What a contrast between Abbas Mirza, the heir-presumptive of Persia, and Constantine, the apparent successor to the throne of Russia! How different is their conduct, when partly under restraint, and partly as independent sovereigns? Should they come to the thrones of their countries, Persia may be blessed beyond anticipation, while Russia may see Paul II. under the fine sounding and classic name of Constantine; but assuredly not in sheep's clothing.

General Yermólof alludes to the high influence

of the English at the Persian court, to his guard of honour, and to those in attendance who knew Russian and were placed around him as spies ; and then adds, that he could never propose to ride out of Tabreez without his design being known to Abbas Mirza, who always proposed to accompany him. Therefore, to avoid observation, though suffering much from ennui, he remained at home. “ In a word, every step of the Persians was a testimony of their mistrust in us, and every action manifested the design to conceal from our view the weakness, the poverty, and the villany of the government, while, by a deceitful exterior, they endeavoured to *ravish* our esteem.”

General Yermólof embraced an opportunity, by an officer returning to 'Teheran, to inform the Grand Vizier, by way of precaution, that he would not submit to be treated after the above manner, which he esteemed remote from friendly dispositions, and would thence adopt another line of conduct.

In his journey the ambassador reached Mac-mitch, which is surrounded by other villages, and by fine forests, in consequence of a custom of their inhabitants, that at the birth of every male child fifty or more trees are planted, which subsequently belong to him, This example is worthy of imitation in other countries where wood is scarce and valuable.

The description of Udjani, the summer resi-

dence of Abbas Mirza, which was reached on the 28th of May, and which did not please the embassy, possesses no interest. It is remarked, that four small villages are seen from this castle, whose inhabitants are in abject poverty, because they are on the great road, in consequence of which they must supply the government officers with provisions, and attend to all their wants. This seems surprising to General Yermólof, who surely forgets the many similar sources of oppression in Russia, which I have animadverted upon in various parts of these volumes.

Two paintings, which were seen at Udjani, are particularly described; the one in which Abbas Mirza presents his regularly trained forces to the Shach; and the other, a victory gained by the Persians over the Russians, which draws forth indignation and laconic remarks from the General, who could not conceive when or where the combat took place. In speaking of the conquering chief, he will not allow that it was "the Shach, who never left his *harem*, which is crowded with beauties and children;" nor Abbas Mirza, who "never conducted his troops to victory," and "the fame of whose combats, *after a defeat*, belonged to his fleet horse, which saved its master by rapid flight." — "The hero who was crowned with fame, is the Englishman, Lindsay, a major in the army of the East India *Commercial* Company," who is satirically compared to Jupiter. In one engagement,

we are told, that Abbas Mirza saved himself by flight ; and that only a single division of his army remained unvanquished, *which consisted of his wives*, because precaution had removed them in good time. After some other suppositions and similar observations, the general discovers that the painting represented the defeat of a battalion of the Trinity regiment of infantry, of 300 men, who were surrounded by the Persian army, and who made a desperate resistance.

With the portraits of Napoleon and Alexander, General Yermólof is not better pleased, and he ascribes them to the imagination of the painter.

The ambassador is sometimes amusing amid his dry though interesting details. After speaking of the young son of Kyme-makaum, who, when about seventeen years of age, married one of the daughters of the Shach, and afterwards received lessons, not only in the higher branches of education, but also *in reading and writing*, — he adds, “ At his age a wife is not always the best guide to wisdom.” In another place he expresses an idea, that all *court people*, however much they differ in morals or actions, should compose one tribe, who should always be alone ; as the difference of their sentiments is only in the degree of the finesse of villany.

We find the embassy, after its advance, in an encampment at Sengilabat, on the 6th of June, where it was determined to await the conclusion

of the feast of the Ramadan. Here were also Colonel Johnson and Capt. Salter, who were on their way from India to London. General Yermólof speaks of the Colonel “as a learned man, and impartial in his opinions;” who “was surprised at the poverty, and the small population of Persia; and whose remarks, respecting the morals of the natives, are extremely interesting, and completely coincide” with his own.* It is implied, that Colonel Johnson’s impressions were not at all favourable to the Persians, and it is stated that his conduct seems to have been different from that of our countrymen in the Persian service, “who are prodigal of all possible baseness for their own advantage; and the measure of whose flattery is proportioned to their augmented payment for dishonesty.” Hear this, ye Britons, with indignation! From a Russian, who can bear it? Yet it ought to be treated with silent contempt.

Colonel Johnson speaks in the highest manner of General Yermólof, and of his conduct and hospitality; and I believe, from various accounts, with good cause. In General Yermólof’s journal, however, some illiberal remarks escape his pen.

Another account of the ambassador’s is very amusing. Mr. ——— arrived from India, “who had been a resident at one of the Mahratta govern-

* Vide “Journey from India to London,” which was published afterwards by the Colonel, for his own statements.

ments," and who, after having passed fourteen years in that country, was returning home "with much riches, acquired by his civil and diplomatic occupations." The general here takes occasion to allude to "the manner in which these gentlemen *steal* in India, become rich in a short time, and set out for England; while a military man must serve at least fifteen years there before he can save as much money as will pay his passage home." And this is given upon an Englishman's authority, whose name I shall not mention, to avoid offence.

On the 19th, the embassy had reached Versagam, where it was joined by Mr. Mazárovitch, from Teheran, who brought a letter from Mirza Abdool Wehab, a minister who possesses the complete confidence of the Shach, and is reckoned the best informed of the nobles. On the 23d, it had its station at Avanloog, "where it was impossible to remain, in consequence of swarms of bugs, which are well known for their dreadful poison." It soon reached Miana, now become famous as the capital of these singular insects. General Yermólof remarks, it is singular that their bites are not attended with danger to the inhabitants, while it is not an uncommon occurrence for strangers to die from them. "The servant of an English officer, and one of our Kozáks, who were a convoy, could not resist the effects of their poison. The Persians cure themselves from the effects of this poison by the strictest forbearance from every kind of nourishment for

the space of forty days ; using nothing during that period, except water with sugar * ; but still it occurs, that though they recover from the first effects of the poison, they are ever afterwards troubled with cramps and contractions of all their members. This method of cure is adopted, certainly because the Persians, on account of their stupidity, have never tried any other.”

The Miana Bug, of late years, has made so much noise, that it deserves the attention equally of the naturalist and the physician. Although I regard many of the stories respecting this formidable insect as somewhat overcharged, yet there seems to be no doubt, from the concurring testimony of travellers, that its bite sometimes proves mortal. The time at which death takes place, however, is very differently stated, as may be remarked in the following quotations, all of which appear to have been taken from oral communications, and neither of which is, perhaps, altogether correct.

Kotzebue says, that the Miana bug “is larger than the European bug, and is of a grey colour, approaching to black, and covered on the back by a multitude of red spots. It conceals itself in the walls, and prefers them in proportion to their long standing. It is among them that these insects are

* The General either did not know, or had forgot, that sugar is highly nutritious. Dissolved in water, however, it would make but poor fare for a succession of forty days.

found in abundance, and that their sting is the most dangerous. They never show themselves during day, and though they fear the light, yet that of lamps or candles does not cause them to fly. They have infested Miana since time immemorial; and have spread themselves to the environs, where, however, they are somewhat less dangerous. In winter they remain torpid, in the holes of old walls; and, similar to that of all venomous animals, their poison is more active during the great heats of summer. It ought to be remarked, with reference to this subject, that the Persian houses are not built of brick; but especially at Miana, and in all the villages, they are formed of hardened masses of clay mixed with cut straw. That which is marvellous, even unique, with regard to the bite of these bugs is, that they do not attack the natives; or, at least, the bite which they inflict upon them, is not followed by more serious consequences than that of the European bugs. But they make a cruel attack upon foreigners who have the misfortune to pass a night at Miana; *and they often cause death in less than twenty-four hours.* I heard of two such examples. All the English of Tabreez declared that they had lost one of their servants at Miana, who was attacked by those terrible insects. He soon experienced a violent heat of the whole body, fell into a species of delirium, and at length expired in the midst of dreadful convulsions. I have received

another account, not less worthy of credit, from Baron Wrede, who served a long time with distinction in Georgia; and who, some years ago, was sent as ambassador to Persia. When he proceeded to Miana, the season was far advanced; and, believing that he had nothing to fear from the bugs, he passed the night there, but took the precaution to keep a lighted candle in his room. He experienced no bad consequences; but a Kozák of his escort, on the following morning, had a black spot upon his foot, became delirious at times, and at length had paroxysms of madness. The inhabitants recommended a remedy which is used in a similar case: that is, to take the skin of a bullock, and envelop the foot of the sick person in it a while. Recourse was had to this measure, but it was of no use, and the poor Kozák died in agony. It is said that this plan generally succeeds; but it is necessary that the patient should take nothing but sugar, and water, and honey, for forty days. As I have already said, the natives of Miana take these insects into their hands without danger.”* Kotzebue well exclaims, “What a happiness is it that these formidable insects do not attach themselves to clothes, for they would thus soon be propagated throughout Persia;” and he might have added, throughout the world.

It appears that while the embassy was at Miana,

* Voyage en Perse, p. 180

many of its members slept badly for fear of the bugs; and that the apothecary, under the influence of the same passion, walked about the whole night.

Sir R. K. Porter informs us, that Miana and the adjacent villages are infested with a kind of small but poisonous bug, which it has been found impossible to eradicate. "It breeds," says he, "in myriads, in all the old houses, and may be seen creeping over every part of their walls, of the size and shape of the bugs in Europe, only a little flatter, and in colour of a bright red. Its bite is mortal, producing death *at the expiration of eight or nine months*. All strangers, not merely foreigners, but persons not usually inhabiting the town or its vicinity, are liable to be thus poisoned; while the people themselves, and the adjacent peasantry, are either never bitten, or, if so, the consequences are not more baneful to them than the sting of the least noxious insect. The fatal effect of this bug, however, upon strangers, being known as an absolute fact, every precaution is taken accordingly by native and foreign travellers."*

A gentleman who is now in London, having brought some of the Miana bugs to Moscow, in the spring of 1823, made a present of one to Professor Fischer, in whose cabinet I saw it. It was this gentleman's intention to give every detail

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c. vol. i. p. 263.

respecting the bugs in question, in the second volume of his “Entomology of the Russian Empire ;” or as my learned friend, who assuredly is too fond of new terms, calls it, the “Entomographia de la Russie :” a splendid and valuable work. I am in expectation of being able to give some further information about this real *bugbear* of Asia in the Appendix.

Miana is famous for its carpets, which are made of camel hair, and combine a variety of beautiful colours.

On the 25th, seventeen versts beyond Miana, the embassy crossed a river, which is of considerable breadth during an inundation, by a bridge twenty-three arshins in length, which was erected in the time of the Sophies, and of which Kotzebue takes no notice, and passed the night at Djamalabad. Three or four versts beyond this bridge lies the chain of the Kaplanta hills, the ascent of which is difficult, and the descent of which, extending to about seven versts, ends abruptly at the river Kisil-Osoun, across which is built a fine bridge of three arches, of an extremely light and agreeable appearance; and which, as far as I can judge by the view of it in Kotzebue’s “*Voyage en Perse*,” does the architect much credit.

Here the ambassador notices the remains of a fine paved road, which was formed in the time of the Shach, Abbas Mirza the Great; and he contrasts the remains of times gone by, with the

productions of the present. The ruling monarch, and the founder of the dynasty, Aga Mahomed Khan, are compared to the Jews, who might have taken an *arend* (a lease) of badly administered and unfortunate Persia. “ All the present royal residences (*palatniki*) of Persia consist in some small palaces, in which are concealed an incredible number of wives and mistresses. They greatly resemble our workhouses, and only differ from them in this, that in them the females are locked up to prevent seduction, while, in ours, they are reformed from vice.”

The embassy advanced by Sardjam to Nikpé, where it was met by Abdool Mirza, one of the sons of the Shach; and who administers the territory in which it is situated. On the 30th of June it reached Sanjan, where that prince has his residence, and who received the general and his suite with all possible politeness and attention. According to the ambassador's way of thinking, this was done because he had been curiously treated at Tabreez, that it might be reported how well he was treated here, and that he knew how to be grateful. The mehmandar asked permission to depart before the embassy; because, according to Persian divination, it was a lucky day; but General Yermólof retained him on purpose that he might be chagrined for his ignorance.

On the 5th July, the embassy encamped at the forest of Samanarchié twelve versts from Sultania,

where Mirza Abdool Wehab, the minister and the favourite of the Shach, was awaiting it. Mr. Mazárovitch went and explained, that for General Yermólof's *rencontre*, no ceremony was necessary. Here they found a much better camp than they had hitherto had, and a guard of regular troops was always stationed around them, who were attached to the Shach, and are called the Djan-bazi; or, as some have it, the Djam-Bauze.

Abdool Wehab made the ambassador a visit, which he returned on the following day. Persian politeness and compliments were shown by the minister, which the general despaired of being able to equal, though he purposely uttered many *belles paroles*. He had been previously informed, that Abdool Wehab was authorised by the Shach to open the preliminaries, so that, by the time of His Majesty's arrival, as much information as possible might be obtained from him. But the ambassador made a pretence of slight indisposition, and for some days avoided frequent meetings. This measure only seems to have increased the impatience of the minister to commence negotiations before the arrival of the Grand Vizier, Mirza Sheffi. Taking advantage of his acquaintance with Mr. Mazárovitch, he invited him to his house, and thus discovered that the Shach remained in full assurance, agreeably to the representation of his ambassador at Petersburg, that all the territory occupied by Russia would be restored, and that

Karabágh especially would be demanded. As Mr. Mazárovitch had no authority, he could say nothing determinate upon these subjects ; but according to his own views, he very clearly combated the sayings of the minister. He represented the power of Russia—her political situation — her friendship with all her neighbours — and alluded to her acquisitions from Turkey, even in the year of the French invasion, 1812 ; and then demanded, if he thought she would now consent to any restitution, and especially of a country which she most willingly protected with her great power. The “ minister, the grandee, the favourite, and the best informed person in Persia,” by no means comprehended this reasoning, and at different times sounded Mr. Mazárovitch as to the hope of Karabágh being restored. “ He said, that in case of refusal, a war might follow ; he boasted like a Persian, and what is more, like a slave and a courtier, of the forces and the means of Persia. He added that the Georgians, and the mountaineers in Daghistán governed by Russia, were heartily devoted to the Persian government, which had an *envy* for all the territory to the gates of Tiflís. So much for the knowledge of the Persian minister respecting Russia, her means, and her power. They suppose we are no more dangerous neighbours than the Tichmentsi and the Avgantsi, especially since the English have organised some regular forces and artillery for them.”

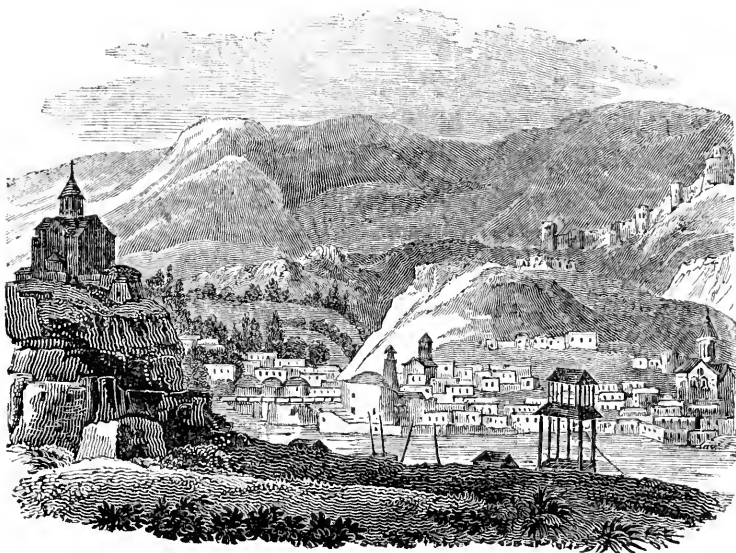
On the 9th, Abdool Wehab through Mr. Mazárovitch, sent his credentials from the Shach, which authorised him to commence negotiations with the ambassador, and soon afterwards he followed himself. "I informed him that not yet having had an audience with the Shach, I could not negotiate with any body; but that knowing him to be a distinguished individual, I could not deprive myself of the pleasure of his conversation." An explanation of four hours' duration followed, when General Yermólof informed the minister, that he had not come to Persia to seek the friendship of the Shach for his sovereign by the sacrifice of provinces, whose inhabitants flew to the protection of Russia, and whose allegiance he valued; and after assigning many reasons, or pretences, he ended by telling him finally, that it was impossible to cede any territories to the Shach. The discussions were carried on with frankness and all possible moderation on both sides; and after separation, the General returned the unopened credentials of Abdool Wehab.

After the above interview, the Minister and the General saw each other not less than ten or twelve times, and the same subject always occupied their attention. Mirza Abdool Wehab stated, that without the restitution of the territories, he suspected the General would not be able to maintain the bonds of friendship with Persia, and that the Shach would be chagrined by a refusal to do so, as he

had so long expected that measure. General Yermólof replied, that the Emperor, in consequence of his regard for the Shach, would be extremely sorry at any rupture, because he seriously wished to preserve his friendship, while at the same time he ought to protect those tribes committed to his care. For his part, the General stated, that he knew his duty in taking care of the dignity of his sovereign, and of Russia, and added, "if in the reception by the Shach I remark coldness, and if, in the negotiations with whoever is appointed to confer with me respecting affairs, I observe an intention of violating the peace, I should not suffer such conduct, and I myself would declare war, and demand the territory to the Araxes." The General then entered into an explanation of his plans for the capture of the said territory, which seems to have produced no serious impression on Mirza Abdool Wehab. He therefore adds, so as to alarm him seriously, "I am sorry that you reckon this rodomontade, but I could fix the day when the Russian troops should be at Tabreez; indeed, I only wish that you would give the word, that you would await me there for an interview. I also added, that war would be unfortunate for Persia, and would have distressing consequences, and that it might be followed by intestine broils, and the overthrow of the present dynasty." After various discussions, which sometimes endured even above four hours, the General

declared that Russia would not yield up any territory, and urged numerous reasons for his conduct.

Prince Bokovitch, who had been sent with a letter to the *Saddar Aza*, Mirza Sheffi, returned with an answer that the Shach without fail would arrive at Sultania on the 20th July, and his entrance into the capital is noticed in next chapter.



CHAP. XVI.

ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF PERSIA AT SULTANIA. — HIS ATTENTION TO THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY. — HIS NEGLECT OF THE ENGLISH. — THE PALACE OF THE SHACH. — PREPARATIONS FOR THE PRESENTATION OF THE AMBASSADOR. — THE GRAND VIZIER MIRZA SHEFFI. — THE TYRANT AGA MAHOMED. — ANECDOTES. — PROPERTY OF MIRZA SHEFFI. — COURTIER-CONDUCT OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF. — PRESENTS OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER TO THE KING OF PERSIA. — PRESENTATION OF THE EMBASSY. — THE KING'S GRACIOUS CONDUCT. — PRESENTATION OF THE PRESENTS. — THEIR TRANSPORT TO TEHERAN, AND THE ASTROLOGERS. — GENERAL YERMÓLOF'S SELF-COMPLACENCY. — WANT OF FAITH IN THE PERSIANS. — ALEXANDER'S DETERMINATION TO RETAIN THE PERSIAN PROVINCES. — USELESS NEGOTIATIONS. — THE SHACH'S CONSENT. — RECONCILIATION OF THE KYME-MAKAUM AND THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR. — CURIOUS FESTIVAL OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF. — PRESENTS REFUSED BY HIS EXCELLENCY. —

PRESENTS ACCEPTED BY AN ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.—TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED BETWEEN PERSIA AND RUSSIA.—FAREWELL AUDIENCE OF THE SHACH.—USUAL CEREMONIES.—RETURN OF THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY TO TABREEZ.—TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF GENERAL YERMÓLOF AT TABREEZ.—THE EMBASSY REACHES TIFLÍS.—VIEWS OF TIFLÍS.—GENERAL APPEARANCE OF KACHÉTIA.—COLLECTION OF TAXES IN GEORGIA.—SULTRY HEAT AT TIFLÍS.—DEPARTURE.

As the Shach of Persia travelled by short journeys, and was to arrive at Sultania on the day fixed by his astrologers, which was somewhat distant, the Russian embassy was detained about twenty days, notwithstanding the extraordinary importance and honour with which General Yermólof thinks he was every where treated. During this period the Russians suffered much from the heat of the climate, which amounted daily to 30° of Reaumur. They were also excessively troubled with clouds of dust, in which they were at times completely enveloped. Their joy was therefore so much the greater, when a salute of artillery on the 20th July announced the near approach of the sovereign; and many of the officers of the embassy went to see the ceremony, as well as the ambassador himself.

Troops of infantry lined the way for the extent of a mile from the castle, between which the cavalcade defiled in the following order:—an elephant bearing a rich canopy upon its back; fifty camels carrying musicians, whose heads were surmounted by red caps, and whose instruments were

long trumpets and kettle-drums ; four hundred camels, which transported small one-pounder cannon, called *zemboures*, which are attached to the back of the animal, and turn upon a pivot, and from which a volley was fired ; eighteen cannon ; twenty led horses very richly caparisoned ; and forty out-runners, the oddly-coloured feathers of whose bonnets were formed into a crown.

The Shach, dressed in a very simple manner, was mounted on horseback. According to Yermólof, the legs, tail, and mane of his grey steed were embellished with orange-coloured paint ; and Kotzebue says, “ le cheval étoit tout resplendissant de pierreries.” Near the Shach was Mirza Sheffi, the Saddar Aza, alone ; and now and then his oldest son Mahomed Ali, or his son-in-law and first adjutant, Alajar-Khan, rode up to him. No other individual approached His Majesty, and Mahomed Ali, who had preceded his father at the head of fifteen thousand cavalry, and seventeen of the king’s other sons, superbly habited, and all mounted upon beautiful horses, followed their royal father, while a corps of cavalry closed the procession. In this manner the Shach arrived at the small, dirty, and clay-built palace, before which, in place of a garden, are rows of trees with a muddy stinking rivulet running among them, and a basin of rude stones, whose green-coloured water did not bespeak its good quality.

When the Shach was near the palace, according

to the custom of the country, a camel was immolated. The Shach quitted his horse, when fifty small cannon were fired, and the bloody head of the animal was placed at the sovereign's feet.

The Shach having remarked some of the officers of the embassy, and the ambassador *incognito*, who were uncovered, raising himself upon his stirrups, he saluted them by frequently repeating *Koschskéldi*, i. e. You are welcome. This circumstance is said to have astonished all; and the Persians again deceived the Russians by telling them, that hitherto their monarch had never granted such an honour to any individual, and that no person had ever seen him raise himself in his stirrups. The French translator of Kotzebue, with great truth remarks, the Russians never neglect the most trifling occasion of making known the honours which their ambassadors receive, *et qu'ils prétendent avoir été refusés aux légations précédentes*; and although he could not see that General Gardanne and the English ambassadors could have desired more ceremony, yet General Yermólof was of a very different way of thinking. The following remark will excite the laugh of every individual at all acquainted with the affairs of Persia, in allusion to the above conduct of the king.

“The Persians and I,” says Yermólof, “believed this a rarity, because, at the same time, the English *Chargé d'affaires*, who had been at this court seven years, together with some officers of the

mission, though they had alighted from their horses, and made the lowest reverences, yet did not attract the smallest attention from the Shach."

A second salute of artillery announced that the Shach had entered the palace, when the troops dispersed. In this palace live the wives and the concubines of the king; among the latter were many dancers, who amuse His Majesty in the *harem*. In a camp at a short distance were stationed his sons, who were permitted to have their *seraglios* with them till the arrival of their royal father.

Led by curiosity, the General visited the palace, which he found so small, "that in it was not a room for every day of the week, that one of the apartments was disgustingly dirty, and that in the best apartments were partitions covered with mats, such as are used to cover hay."

After the king had been six days at Sultania, he is said to have been surprised that the ambassador remained at Samanarchié; and, it is concluded, that he was ignorant of the fact, that his minister had not appointed rooms and other conveniencies for the embassy, the expences of which, nevertheless, were thrown upon the nobles.

Between the palace and the place for the encampment of the embassy, an immense space was destined. Merchants, from the environs, had received orders to go to Sultania, and near the camp a large bazár was formed.

On the 26th the Shach sent an officer, named the

Safer Khan, to conduct the embassy to Sultania. The order of the procession is described by Kotzebue. In their progress thither they were much troubled with dust, which was greatly augmented when the *Valli*, or Prince of Kourdistan, at the head of some thousand Coordes, joined, and then preceded it, as a mark of honour. "Such ceremony was never allowed to the Tsars of Georgia when they were subject to Persia."

"Like elephants, which in Russia attract the curiosity of the common people, so I entered the camp, followed by an immense crowd, and was soon afterwards visited by the most distinguished personages, who came to congratulate me on my arrival, and who sent me a great quantity of fruit and confections. In Persia cucumbers are esteemed a valuable present, and beans are a rarity. Such dainties were sent us every day, and often with the reckoning that the servants would receive more for them than their intrinsic value. The Shach himself sent nothing better, except at times some wild fowl, which were shot by himself, that he might show his peculiar benevolence and favour." But, it seems, these royal presents cost dear, as they were always overpaid to the officer who accompanied them; and, besides, some money was given to be divided among the servants. "Foreigners may escape from this tax; but, when the Shach bestows similar favours upon the nobles, he also informs them what sums they ought to give

their bearers. Through extreme avarice, he sometimes receives these sums, or they are reckoned as part of the salaries of those who are honoured with them.

General Yermólof visited Mirza Sheffi, the Grand Vizier, also called *Saddar Asa*, who is about eighty years of age, during more than forty of which he has performed the duties of his present office, having held it during the reigns of three sovereigns. According to Kotzebue, he is a little man, whose voice is weak, and even sepulchral; but who had his share of vanity, used *du blanc et du rouge*, and even affected vivacity in his demeanour. Although overloaded with affairs, he assured the officers of the embassy, that under a prince, such as the present Shach, the ministry was only a *bagatelle*, and that his old age was not overcharged by it. During the infernal administration of Ali Mahomed Khan, he was oftener than once subjected to punishment, and in the school of adversity he learned lessons of wisdom which enabled him to support even injustice with an equal mind, and to disappoint the intrigues of those who formed schemes for his ruin. He is reckoned one of the most interesting characters in Persia, and many anecdotes and stories are related of him, two of which may be noticed.

In the reign of Aga Mahomed Khan, the predecessor of the present sovereign, who was a eunuch, Mirza Sheffi experienced every kind of

opposition and disgust, so that, spite of his love for his country, he was at different times upon the point of *begging his resignation*. Aga Mahomed had been the victim of the most shameful treatment in his youth, because it was intended to prevent his ascent to the throne. Putting himself, however, at the head of an intrepid and devoted party, he assumed the sovereign power, which he could not maintain, except by unheard-of cruelty. These circumstances generated in his breast a general hatred of the human race. Given up to the most extraordinary caprice, sometimes he had belief in every body, sometimes he had confidence in none, not even in himself. He also became the victim of drunkenness ; and, in his sober moments, he often regretted the orders he had issued when in a state of insensibility. It is also said, that he sometimes shed bitter tears for the fate of his favourites whom he had immolated the preceding night. Endowed with a martial spirit, often excited to fury, he dreamt of nothing but war and battles. Misfortune drove him to the greatest extremes, and at length that fate, which generally awaits all unbounded tyrants — all cruel and bloody despots — laid him prostrate in the dust. The severity of his punishment, had he been conscious of it, was augmented by the fact that he fell by his own guards.

It is impossible not to admire the means by which, through the goodness of Providence, the most des-

potic sovereign is ruled or moderated by his subjects—the most overbearing lord of the soil by his slaves—and the rich by the poor. That direful passion, revenge, on some occasions, seems a virtue, and is of such a potent nature, as to fear no danger, and to brave death. It tends to maintain a certain equilibrium, in every state of society, between all ranks of its members. It is true, that human nature often suffers much and suffers long; but when an opportunity offers, even the weak become strong, and revenge has its victory. Ye despots and tyrants think of this, and of the fate of your predecessors in all ages and in all countries, and reform, or tremble, for an untimely death most likely awaits you.

Mirza Sheffi was daily in the cabinet of the Shach, and was obliged to write to his dictation. When the king was in a bad humour, he tormented this minister in every manner. One day the sovereign, forgetting himself, loaded him with reproaches, and ordered him to take a note of them. He therefore dictated the most offensive accusations against himself. According to the impetuous monarch, his minister was an ambitious person, who sought an opportunity to deceive him, who allowed him no repose, and who took pleasure in distressing him, and preventing his sleep. The minister wrote tranquilly, without allowing himself to be put out of countenance by the torrent of invectives. Furious at seeing him calm, the prince threw his cushion

at his head, then his pipe enriched with diamonds, and every thing else within his reach, and at length fired a pistol at him. The ball passed through the beard of the Vizier, and broke his shoulder-bone. He fell, bathed in blood, and the cruel monarch went to sleep.

The cure of Mirza Sheffi was not accomplished before six months, during which time he did not appear at court. The Shach did not once deign to enquire respecting him; and when he heard of his convalescence, he remitted to him the helm of affairs.

On another occasion the prince caused the fatal noose to be put on Mirza Sheffi's neck, but, by good fortune, the minister presented a copy of the Koran, which he always carried with him, and this book served him as his safeguard.

“The Grand Vizier having lost all his sons, seemed to be in despair that he would have no kindred to whom he could leave his noble property in heritage. He is rich through extreme avarice; and yet he continues, by every means, to increase his wealth; formerly the French, but now the English, make him presents, so as to have success in their affairs. Still the Shach has found the means of getting part of the Grand Vizier's effects, even during his life, by the marriage of one of his sons to his daughter. Although only ten years of age, it is already two years since she lost her *promised (affiancé)* but as

the Shach has seventy sons, she will have no difficulty in choosing another husband.”

The old Vizier paid Persian politeness to General Yermólof, who found himself, in all civility, bound to repay it. That he might show some address*, he began by showing surprise at his great offices and virtues, and the old man received his caresses as sincere. “ I formed ‘an acquaintance with him. I begged his instructions as those of an experienced and sagacious man, and assured him, that being taught by him, I could not show a greater mark of attachment than to give him the name of father, and, like an obedient son, by acting toward him with frankness on all occasions and in all affairs.—I returned to him as to a father, but when it was necessary to produce something new, or to alarm him, then preserving all filial respect, I assumed the place of an ambassador. I showed myself to this *Ægis* only on the most urgent occasions, and always returned with triumph.”

The Grand Vizier made a visit to General Yermólof, after which he, as well as the principal officers, went to examine the presents which were designed for the Shach; and which, according to Kotzebue’s enumeration and valuation, were most magnificent. They consisted of sets of beautiful crystal and china, vases, telescopes, gold snuff-

* Vide p. 147. of this volume.

boxes, immense-sized looking-glasses, jewels, watches, furs, &c. Among the latter the above-named author says, there were two sable dresses, “*deux fourures de martre zebeline*,” each of which was valued at thirty thousand roubles.* According to Kotzebue, Asiatics as they were, the visitors were struck with inexpressible astonishment, and could only articulate the monosyllables pah! pah! and houp! houp!

“With much self-complacency,” says General Yermólof, “the Shach gave me the first audience in a tent, which was erected in a court near the palace. The ceremony for me was different from that which had been in use on all similar occasions. All preceding foreign ambassadors had put on *red stockings* †, and were conducted without slippers. I entered in ordinary boots, and was received with peculiar regard.”

All preparations had been made for the ceremony, after considerable negotiations about etiquette, which were at length arranged with much trifling, and, according to the ambassador, “as he desired.”

The forces being properly disposed, General Yermólof received Mahomed Khan, the second aide-de-camp, who was accompanied by a number of officers, in his principal tent, after which they pro-

* Voyage en Perse, p. 218. and The Character of the Russians, &c. p. 281.

† Vide p. 347. of this volume.

ceeded to the castle. The tent of the Shach was erected in the second court, in which the monarch gave audience. But the ambassador was complimented by the first adjutant-general and son-in-law of the Shach, named Alajar Khan, at the exit of the first court, where tea, coffee, and the kalioon were presented. That officer, after leaving the tent, soon returned, and announced that the Shach was ready to receive the ambassador, who accordingly advanced, accompanied only by two counsellors of the mission, one of whom carried the letter of the Emperor upon a gold plate. The ambassador himself remitted the letter to the Shach, and at the same time pronounced the following speech: "The Emperor of Russia, my powerful monarch, firm in his principles as in his sentiments, professes high esteem for the person of Your Majesty, and for the glory which surrounds it. He desires to consolidate for ever the peace which he has concluded with Persia, and which is the happiness of Your Majesty. I reckon myself happy in having been chosen to be the bearer of these vows to Your Majesty. God is witness of his good intentions with respect to Persia." This specious and courtier-like harangue was translated into the Turkish language, which the Shach speaks very well, by Mr. Negri.

"The Prince," says Kotzebue, "asked the ambassador to be seated, an honour which no European had ever received;" and, he adds, "nous

y avons ajouté l'innovation hardie de parôître en bottes."

After waiting about a quarter of an hour under the first tent, the officers were conducted to the audience. The adjutant-general took off his slippers, but they only saluted the monarch. He introduced them in the following terms: "The officers of the Russian embassy desire to have the honour to approach the dust of the feet of Your Majesty: they await your orders." The Shach turned towards them, and cried *Koschkeldi, Koschkeldi*; i. e. You are welcome! After they had taken off their hats and had entered below the tent, the ambassador rose, and begged permission of the Shach to introduce them individually, to which he consented. He behaved to all of them in the most affable and agreeable manner; "but in his conversations with some of them he did not understand how to conceal his extreme pride, which did not appear a good omen for my affairs; in this, however, I was much mistaken."

Kotzebue gives the particulars of this audience, to which the reader is referred. On one point, however, I shall not hesitate about quoting both him and General Yermólof. "Feth-Ali-Shach," says Kotzebue, "is of a middle stature; he has large and quick eyes, and a majestic brow; all the lower part of his face is concealed by his long beard, which nearly descends to his knees.* The *beauty*

* See an excellent portrait of the King of Persia, in Sir R. K. Porter's Travels. Frontispiece, vol. i.

of this beard is celebrated throughout Persia, and the subjects are in the custom of invoking it in their most solemn oaths.” *

When visiting the palace, General Yermólof saw two portraits of the King of Persia, one of which he afterwards found was destined for the emperor, and the other for himself; and he remarked, that both of them were painted in the “most humble manner, and showed that the Shach’s pretensions consist in this, that his long beard should be painted still longer than it is in reality; that his eyes were the very blackest, when they are not so,” &c.

“At the conclusion of the audience,” says Kotzebue, “the prime minister entered the tent and seated himself near us. The Shach, in a loud voice, said all kinds of flattering things with respect to the ambassador, and particularly praised the politeness of the General, who rose up every time he addressed the monarch.” †

According to Yermólof’s account, the impatience of the Shach to see the presents destined for him, and respecting which he had heard much to excite his curiosity, induced him to give the ambassador another audience. But Kotzebue says, “That he might not give himself too much up to profane pleasures, during the Ramadan, the King of Persia did not wish to see the presents before the expiration of the fast.”

* Voyage en Perse, p. 233.

† Ibid. p. 235.

On the 3d of August, the ceremony of their presentation took place, and, as usual, the General finds that he was treated in a very flattering manner ; for, “ contrary to general custom, the Shach received them himself.” He is said to have been *ravished* by them, especially by the large looking-glasses, and the crystal. The furs, already noticed, were so beautiful, that the Persians thought they were painted ; but the ambassador protested against this, and said that the Emperor Alexander had chosen them with his own hands. At these last words the Russians make the King to say, very awkwardly, while pressing his hand upon the furs, “ May my hand repose upon the same place which the powerful Emperor of Russia has touched ! My friendship is pure and sincere ; it will endure for ever.” *

The Shach ordered his minister to send a courier to Teheran without delay, so as to order a particular part of the palace to be reserved for the presents ; and added, that if they got safe to that capital, a thousand tomauns should be the reward of such news ; but, that if the smallest thing were lost, he who neglected his duty should answer for his fault with his head. This is related so by Kotzebue, who seems to make the Shach say any thing he pleases, and to utter speeches which do the monarch no credit. It must be added, however,

* Voyage en Perse, p. 241.

that this author does not seem to err in this intentionally, for he every where speaks of the King of Persia, his talents, and conduct, and wisdom, in terms of the highest admiration.

The King occupied the evening in exhibiting the imperial presents to sixty of his wives, and on the following day they were packed up, so as to be sent to Teheran. But when all was ready, his astrologers stated that it was necessary to wait three times twenty-four hours for a favourable constellation, and, when the day arrived which was fixed upon by their calculations, they required that the presents should at first follow a route quite opposite to that of Teheran, because, as they maintained, the propitious stars took that direction.

General Yermólof speaks in the most complaisant style, with respect to the Shach's attachment to him; and Kotzebue relates, that this ambassador had frequent interviews with the King, who was so highly pleased with him, that he absolutely wished to retain him at his court, and pressed him to ask permission from the Emperor Alexander to do so. What, have the General and his flatterer forgot the Persian politeness, which they frequently ridicule!

Having delivered the presents both to the Shach and to the nobles, General Yermólof told Mirza Sheffi, that it was necessary to begin business; and it was agreed that the communication between them should be upon paper, because it had been found by the ambassador's predecessors "that the

Persians neither reckon it a shame nor a dishonour to deny that which they had said in public, or upon oath." Although the General had no great pretensions to be a courtier, upon which his character did not depend, yet, as a heavy responsibility lay upon him, he wrote all the letters himself to the minister, in which he explained that his grand object was to make known the design of the Russian government to retain all the provinces whose restitution Persia so powerfully entreated. This information seems to have made a very strong sensation at the court, and no one, according to representation, was likely to choose to make it known to the King. The General had already given such a statement to Mirza Abdool Wehab, during his residence at Simanarchié, who, like Mirza Bezoork, pretended that he dared not communicate it to his sovereign. To release him of this difficulty, the ambassador promised that he would inform the Shach himself. But this was what the Persian ministry dreaded, and fearing that he really sought an opportunity of making such a communication, they told him that they had to make a proposition without the knowledge of the Shach; that it would be but an act of justice that Russia should restore the provinces in question, or at least, part of them. "I told them," says the General, "for the last time, that I myself, as commander-in-chief in Georgia, upon whom devolved the care of the frontier, had informed the Emperor that it

was not possible to make the smallest cession, and that this sovereign gave me leave to speak in his name. I remarked, that this answer was received as somewhat definitive, for the same demand was afterwards but feebly repeated." At one of the conferences the conversation turned upon Mirza Bezoork. He was no friend to Russia, and had excited the enmity of General Yermólof, who informed both the Grand Vizier and Mirza Abdool Wehab that the malice of the Kyme-makaum at the court of Tabreez might have direful consequences; and that this low villain might be the cause of the rupture of the friendship between Russia and Persia, and of years of tears. An ambassador was despatched to Petersburg, and in the meantime dinners and amusements followed, which are described by Kotzebue, as well as in the journal of General Yermólof, but which need not be noticed here.

On the 16th of August, the ambassador received a paper from Mirza Sheffi, by which it appeared that the Shach put more value upon the friendship of Alexander than upon the provinces whose restitution he had so earnestly desired. This determination was opposed by some of the ministers, but the eldest son of the king, Mahomed Ali Mirza, was also for peace; and, according to General Yermólof's opinion, he was of his royal father's opinion for his own advantage. During a war with Russia, the appointed heir-presumptive, Abbas Mirza,

between whom and Mahomed Ali there is eternal enmity, has much greater trust confided to him, demands more money, and maintains more troops than in time of peace; and that prince well knows that when he shall be obliged to fight for the succession, these forces will be turned against him.

At length the Shach himself orally communicated his consent to the retention of the provinces by Russia, but the ministers wished to make the ambassador feel "that this was a peculiar mark of the Shach's kindness," an act which was not wished to be so understood. By the entreaties of Mirza Sheffi and Mirza Abdool Wehab, General Yermólof consented to put an end to the discontentment between himself and Mirza Bezoork. Accordingly, Mirza Sheffi invited the ambassador to his house, where was the Kyme-makaum, who was previously warned, and who was ready to forget the past and to be a friend. "We consented," says the General, "without explanation, and assured each other of friendship which never could have place in our breasts." On both sides were the same kind of feelings, and the same measure of faith: to all promises were given the most seemly exterior. The Shach was highly pleased at this circumstance, because "he was sorry that the Kyme-makaum had given me cause for discontentment, and regretted that I treated him like *canaille*." Visits were interchanged, and the ambassador and the Kyme-makaum saw each other daily as friends.

General Yermólof received numerous invitations, which he refused. Along with his suite he dined at Mirza Sheffi's, and at Nizam ut Doulut's, the grand treasurer of the kingdom, governor of Ispahan, and one of the richest individuals in the country. At the adjutant-general's, Alajar Khan; at the Valli's, the Prince of Coordistan, who is a vassal of the king of Persia; and at Mirza Abdool Wehab's, they drank tea.

Wishing to give a general fête before his departure, the General ordered preparations to be made, and thought he might ask whom he pleased to be present. But the proposed festival, on the contrary, became a state affair. The Grand Vizier made a report respecting it, for the king's examination. The Shach allowed that it should take place; but of the list of individuals whom it was intended to invite, some names were erased, on account of the inequality of their rank with that of others, and some, because they could not be present in the same room; so that in place of forty or fifty persons, whose names were in the list, there were only ten or twelve individuals chosen. The highest of the clergy were then consulted as to this point; whether, according to the Koran, it was permitted to visit an infidel? "The Mussulmans cannot use food which is prepared by Christians, and therefore it was impossible that they could come to me; but the fear that a refusal would cause my displeasure, induced the

assembly of the clergy to send a number of their servants, who should carve the meats, prepare tea, &c.; and so the feast took place." It appears, however, that all were much restrained by their doubts or their principles; though, "at the conclusion of the festival, not one whole dish remained upon the table." Every individual chose that whose exterior pleased him, and asked the General to order it to be conveyed to his house. This puts me in mind of the practice in Russia of pocketing the fruit, confections, &c., after dinner, which is done in the most open manner, even in the highest houses.

When at the house of Nizam ut Doulut, General Yermólof was treated with the highest respect; and the host, after examining a finger of his left hand, put an excessively large ring upon it. The General withdrew his hand, and informed him, that such presents, and given in such a manner, he did not receive; and that on the morrow he would more conveniently tell him why. The landlord considered this as the greatest affront; and indeed, during dinner, he proposed, if the General would not have the ring, to give him a very precious stone: but he "kept himself aloof, and threatened an interruption of friendship if he persisted in his conduct." This account is followed by an anecdote for the English.

"The Grand Vizier, Mirza Sheffi, presented a

ring to one of the English ambassadors, and the Englishman did not put him to shame by its refusal; certainly having regard to the intrinsic value of the stone.”—“It would be agreeable to me, at least, that the Persians did not estimate my conduct by my own interest; especially as they relate, that this English ambassador, without shame, carried presents with him of great value. On the following day, the Grand Vizier, Mirza Sheffi, also sent me pearls in a present; but, in the same manner, I refused them.”

A treaty of peace between Russia and Persia was concluded and signed on the 27th of August, and the 29th was fixed for the departure of the embassy.

It is the custom in Persia, that ambassadors, or individuals of consequence who have been introduced at the court, receive a robe of honour, in which they show themselves at the farewell audience. “General Yermólof,” says Kotzebue, “declared that he would not submit to this ceremonial, and that a Russian would offend his sovereign if he put on another dress above his uniform. The King admitted this excuse, and made in our favour this first, and perhaps last, derogation from etiquette:” he, however, sent the cloth necessary for making such dresses.

At the farewell audience, the royal presents were received by every one of the embassy according to his rank. The decoration of the first class of the order of the Lion and the Sun was bestowed upon

General Yermólof; and that of the second and third orders upon other individuals. The officers do not seem to have been much pleased with their treatment on this occasion; for Kotzebue states, that with the exception of the two counsellors of the embassy, who were a little better treated, each of them received nothing else than a shawl, and two pieces of brocade. He says the shawls were mostly pierced by holes *et couverts de reprises*, and wishes that his Persian majesty would avert the tricks of those of his house who cause a shawl to pass, perhaps, through four or five hands, before it arrives at the happy mortal who ought to preserve so precious a morsel. I shall not follow the embassy on its return to Tabreez, where General Yermólof was received in the kindest manner, and treated with much attention; he and his friend, the Kyme-makaum, sometimes behaving as if they were really reconciled to each other; at other times, upon the point of a quarrel. Abbas Mirza conducted himself with the utmost prudence, dignity and condescension. Dinners, fireworks, and other amusements were given to the embassy, as well as singing-parties, which might better have been dispensed with; as the vocal powers of the natives seem to have had no charms for the Russians. Indeed, when at Zenjan, on his return, the ambassador, after speaking of the music of his band in terms of high approbation, adds: “The sounds of sweet harmonious music had never

gladdened the ears of the Persians ; among whose instruments, the bagpipe and the cymbal might occupy an important place.” But they prefer the trumpet and the tambarine. “Their elegance in singing, consists in a dreadful yell, and the wildest mutations of the voice. — Such music even is the Shach’s.” Yet the Persians, “to whom the bray of an ass is no disagreeable sound,” asked the ambassador, “if there was as much skill and sensibility in the Russian music?”

At Tabreez, according to the MSS. it was with great difficulty that peace was preserved ; for the embassy had scarcely arrived before a quarrel took place. Mr. Mirshé, a French officer, who called himself a colonel of Napoleon’s guards, and a chevalier of the Legion of Honour, would not permit the musicians to take up their quarters in a house destined for them. According to Yermólof, he not only endeavoured to drive them away by bawling, but even struck one of them two blows with his sabre. General Yermólof sent to inform Abbas Mirza of the affair, and to demand satisfaction. The Prince immediately sent an officer to assure the General that the Frenchman should be punished ; but when the ambassador asked leave to be a witness of the action, he perceived that there was a design to deceive him. Perhaps forgetting his proper place, or acting *à la Russe*, the General immediately sent his adjutant and six grenadiers to take the delinquent under

arrest; and if they did not find him at home, to wait for him. Those musicians whom he had struck were ordered, besides, to employ the castigation of the *pleti*, or whips.* When Mr. Mirshé arrived at his quarters, he wished to defend his conduct by new impertinences, but a gentle blow laid him prostrate. His clothes were then opened, and the flagellation was effectually bestowed. His sabre, which had been taken from him, was sent by the General to Abbas Mirza; thereby signifying that it was to be hoped he would not have such a rascal in his service. The answer was, that he should be chased away from the town. The sabre, however, was not received; because, foreseeing the future, Abbas Mirza locked himself up in the *harem*; so that the messenger could not be admitted. That prudent prince, however, by this conduct, showed his evident and well-merited displeasure at the illegal, dictatorial, and even tyrannical proceeding of General Yermólof. It was an act worthy of a tyrant, after the gentle procedure of Abbas Mirza; and is no doubt well-remembered. The journal of the ambassador, from Tabreez to Tiflís, contains little that is worthy of translation; and, besides, it is time for us to abandon him to the politicians of Europe and Asia, and to return to our travels.

During our residence at Tiflís, our time was

* Vide p. 104. of Vol. I.

occupied in visiting every object of interest, and taking views of the town, one of which heads the present chapter. * We also went to see an adjoining German colony, previous to noticing which I shall add a few general remarks.

The colonies of Wirtemburghers have received every encouragement from General Yermólof, and are settled in various parts of Georgia upon lands which have been assigned them. † Houses have been built for them, and they have been provided both with cattle and seed, as well as assisted with money. It is said that they have greatly improved the state of agriculture, and every kind of rural and industrious employment. They bring butter, cheese, vegetables, and even beer to the market at Tiflís.

The colony in the suburbs of Tiflís, which we visited, seemed to be in a prosperous condition. There a Frenchman also resided, who was famous as a cook, and who furnished an excellent dinner and good wines, by order of a gentleman who invited us to a party. These Germans are reported to show their gratitude to the Russian government by their docility and their industry. Notwithstanding the dreary appearance of the neighbourhood of Tiflís, it is said that the soil is very rich, and that it is sufficient to graze its surface and to throw in the seeds, which yield thirty for one.

* Vide p. 513. Vol. I.

† P. 22. Vol. II.

This fertility is assigned as one of the causes of the idleness of the natives.

Having finished our trip in Georgia, we could well appreciate the general accuracy of Sir R. Porter, who speaks of the extreme beauty of the valleys of Kachétia, of its hills and mountains clothed with the finest woods, of its gardens which yield fruits of the choicest flavour, and its vineyards which produce the most delicious grapes. He justly adds, that Kachétian wines, both red and white, have always been esteemed for softness, lightness, and delicacy of taste, beyond those of any other district in the province of Georgia. “The valleys of Kachétia are abundant in hemp, flax, rice, millet, barley, and wheat;” and they may almost be said to grow spontaneously. Pheasants, many kinds of wild fowl, antelopes, deer, sheep, and all sorts of domestic cattle, enrich these luxuriantly pastured vales. The rivers, too, add their tribute of plenty to the ample stores of nature. Many of the treasures of the mineral world may be found in the hearts of its mountains, and the climate is delightful. “Indeed, heaven seems to have drawn to this happy spot the essence of all that is necessary to the wants of man. But, alas, the man who has been placed in this earthly paradise to keep, to dress, and to enjoy it, has neither the will to separate the weed from the good herb, nor the taste to feel that it is sweeter than his neighbour’s. Sunk in apathy, he cares not whether rain

or sunshine descend on the ground ; abandoned to indolence, it is all one to him, whether his food be the bramble or the grape ; and for personal comfort, the styè would afford as pleasant a pillow as a bed of flowers ; such is the present Kachétian.” From this statement we may remark the sad deterioration of character in the Kachétians, compared to their ancestors, the renowned Albanians.

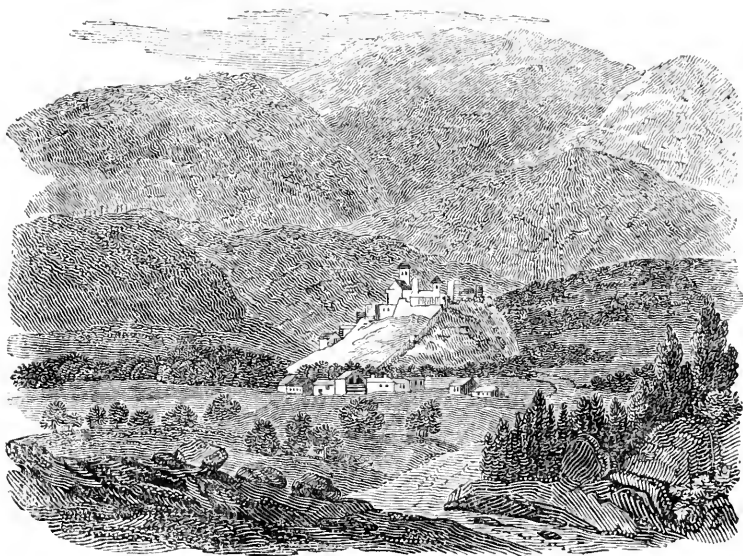
Speaking of Georgia, Kotzebue informs us, with respect to the collection of the revenue, that, in the month of November, the governor usually traverses (*parcourt*) the frontiers, and visits the different khans subject to pay tribute to Russia ; that the chiefs have the custom of making considerable presents, which cannot be refused without offending them ; and that the General has found the means of accepting of these gifts *sans leurs causer trop de préjudice*. He has begged the khans not to give him any thing but sheep, which constitute their principal riches, and he sends these animals to the regiments. Small flocks are formed of them, which it is not difficult to support, as the meadows yield plenty of pasture during the whole year. *

The 1st and 2d of July we passed at Tiflis in the most disagreeable manner ; for, although the temperature did not exceed 86° and 90° Fahrenheit in the shade, there was an oppressive sul-

* Voyage en Perse, p. 52.

triness in the atmosphere which almost made life a burden. We had been lucky enough to get a very large room at an Armenian's, in which we opened all the windows, and created a circulation of air as far as that was practicable in a still day. We also sprinkled the floor with water, and used ablutions with water and vinegar, notwithstanding which we were excessively restless, hot, and uncomfortable. As the degree of heat was not very great, I am inclined to attribute these effects to a particular local state of the air, which may arise from the nature of the vicinity of Tiflís and its situation in a narrow valley, as well as from that condition of the atmosphere which often precedes a thunder-storm, and which is generally attended by a degree of oppression that temperature alone does not explain.

A thunder-storm in the evening, which was accompanied and followed by much rain, had but a transient effect upon the air, for we passed a restless night, and the following day, the 2d, proved equally disagreeable; so that we were glad to escape from Tiflís in the evening; having previously obtained our orders and letters for those who were to assist us in passing the Caucasus.



CHAP. XVII.

ARRIVAL AT KHARTISKÁRST. — DEPARTURE FROM IT. — ANAN-
NOOR. — THUNDER-STORM AT PASSANANNOOR. — DEPARTURE.
— EFFECTS OF A STORM. — KASHAÚR. — KÓBI. — PRISONERS ON
THEIR ROUTE TO SIBERIA. — KASBÉK. — ROMANTIC ACCOUNT
IN SIR R. K. PORTER'S TRAVELS. — ANONYMOUS CRITIQUE OF
THEM. — AUTHOR'S OPINION. — DIVISIONS OF THE MOUNTAIN
TRIBES OF THE CAUCASUS. — WORKS RESPECTING THEM. —
ACCOUNT OF THE OSSETINIANS. — THEIR ROBBERY. — HOSPI-
TALITY. — REVENGE OF BLOOD FOR BLOOD. — POLYGAMY. —
MARRIAGE. — RELIGION. — OATHS. — DEATH OF THEIR RELA-
TIONS. — THEIR SEPULCHRES. — PORTER'S ACCOUNT OF THE
OSSETINIANS.

IN the evening of the 2d of July, we reached
Khartiskárst, and found a wonderful and most

agreeable change in our sensations, compared to what we had experienced at Tiflis. We passed the night most delightfully upon our *burchás* and boards, in one of two new houses which have lately been erected for the convenience of travellers, and a great convenience they proved to us.

On the 3d July we left Khartiskárst at six o'clock in the morning, and, after a charming ride, reached Passananoor in the evening. We dined at Ananoor, and rejoiced that we had no occasion to enter its miserable quarantine on our return. The vignette which adorns the head of the present chapter, gives an excellent view of the castle of Ananoor, which includes a church.*

The weather had been fine but warm. Rain commenced in the evening, and a thunder-storm followed, and continued all night. The reader will recollect the position of Passananoor, encircled by lofty mountains, which, however beautiful in fine weather, now fearfully increased the horror of the storm. Thunder rolled, and was reverberated by the rocks; flashes of lightning followed each other in rapid succession, and were immediately succeeded by extremely loud claps, by one of which our loose shutter fell down and somewhat alarmed us. The rain, which fell in torrents, soon penetrated the wooden house in which we slept, and some of our party were obliged to remove their

* Vide p. 490 of Vol. I.

burchá-beds to another part of the room, to avoid the wet which fell upon them. In the morning, when daylight dawned upon us, Passananor appeared one of the most gloomy abodes we had ever seen, Our accommodations, too, had been but very indifferent, our beds consisting of hay and our *burchás*, upon the bare floor.

At six o'clock of the 4th, the weather being fair, and the sky clear, we left our quarters; but we had not proceeded far when the thunder-storm was renewed, accompanied by heavy showers; and, but for our *burchás*, we should have been very uncomfortable: even with them, we were drenched through, except about the shoulders. The rivulets and streams we had formerly crossed were now become torrents, and, carrying down stones and earth from the mountains, forcing before them the foundations of bridges, and making new channels on all sides, they completely destroyed the road, which we in many places could neither trace nor follow. Since the same destruction regularly takes place after every violent storm, or heavy shower, the trouble of keeping the road in tolerable order may be easily conceived; but the soldiers at the stations, besides others in the vicinity, are employed for the purpose, and of course the expense to the crown is little or nothing, while the men's health is improved by the exercise. Before we reached the bottom of the hill of Kashaúr, the weather became fair, and the sky clear, so that the snowy summits of the

Caucasian ridge were seen to great advantage. As we ascended the steep hill, however, clouds formed below us in the valley, and were gradually elevated. They soon enveloped the whole horizon in a very thick fog, which was followed by rain. We made a visit to the officer at Kashaúr, who was very kind to us, and at whose house we breakfasted. We set off, with fair weather, for Kazbék. From the northern extremity of the vale of Passananoor, or the southern foot of the hill of Kashaúr, to Kazbék, is by far the most mountainous, and the most difficult part of the passage of the Caucasus. Having reached Kóbi we found it equally as miserable as at our previous visit; but, as we had taken the precaution of providing some stores, we got a dinner without being dependent upon its resources.

Soon after leaving Kashaúr, we came up with three prisoners, who were conducted by a military guard and an officer to Kóbi. They were on their way from Tiflís to Siberia, but the officers could not inform us of the crimes for which their hard sentence had been received. His duty, like that of the rest of the officers, was merely to accompany them a single station, to lodge them safely, and to take a certificate from his successor in the charge that all was in due order. One of them was a Mahometan Tartar, the other two were Russians. The feet of all were in irons, and though it was summer, they were seated on rude low sledges, like small cars, drawn each by a couple of oxen. On

arriving at Kóbi, the Tartar was conducted, under a guard, to an adjoining stream, where, after several ablutions, he performed his devotions, apparently with much earnestness.

With a few showers we reached Kazbék in the evening. The mountain of the same name was completely uncovered, the sky clear and serene, so that it was seen to great advantage.* In passing through the mountains to-day, the air was not only fresh but even slightly cold, and formed a wonderful contrast in temperature to that of Tiflis.

We lodged in the house of Madame Kazbék, and slept on feather-beds; an indulgence dearly purchased with its concomitant annoyances. We did not see that lady, who rarely shows herself to strangers, though, by her orders†, the rites of hospitality are performed to all respectable travellers.

Sir R. K. Porter gives a very romantic account of his reception at this place. He tells us, that in one corner of the quadrangle formed by Madame Kazbék's house, "are a suite of excellent rooms, set apart for the reception of travellers of distinction. I had been honoured in being ushered into these apartments as soon as I arrived, and I was greeted by a little boy, about twelve years old, the son and representative of the late General-in-chief,

* The reader will find a particular account of this mountain in *Reise in die Krym und den Kaukasus* von Moris von Engelhardt und Friederich Parrot, M. D. part i. p. 192.

† Vide p. 475. Vol. I.

who performed the hospitable duties of the house with the grace of one twice his age. His mother, the mistress of the mansion, did not make her appearance, being unwell; but she had ordered refreshment to be spread for me, which consisted of dried fish, some small pieces of roast meat, excellent bread and butter, and, after all, some as excellent coffee. Two of my fellow-travellers partook of this repast, and were as amused as myself with the discordant aspects and *devoirs* of our attendants, their assassin-like looks and garb giving them more the appearance of banditti than that of serving men, for they were all armed, and had their breast-pouches filled with cartridges. Indeed it could not but cross me, once or twice, that they might eventually prove as savage as they seemed. For it was not improbable that these very people, who were now so obsequiously providing for my wants, might, on our advance to Kóbi, if I gave them opportunity, waylay and rob, if not absolutely murder me: a mode of farewell, to recently welcomed guests, not very uncommon amongst these rapacious mountaineers. In their opinions, within the gate, and without it, makes all the difference in the rites of hospitality, and, therefore, in the bonds of faith between host and traveller.”* A very ingenious but severe critic has remarked, that Sir R. K. Porter, “in his attempts to *work up* many passages to some-

* Travels in Persia and Georgia, vol. i. p. 76.

thing much *finer* than was at all necessary or fitting, has given not only very highly coloured, but even very inaccurate representations of the objects which he describes, and has cast over his whole production an air of fiction—of romance—from which there is not enough of solid truth to redeem it.” * It must be admitted, that there is too much truth in these observations ; but, at the same time, in all candour, it ought to be allowed, that the Knight’s travels contain a good deal of information, and that the plates, which are no doubt the offspring of much labour and assiduity, greatly enhance their value.

Before quitting the Caucasus, I shall embrace the opportunity of introducing a few general observations, which may be of use to future travellers.

Different divisions of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus have been proposed so as to assist in their examination and history. Guldenstäedt, one of the earliest learned travellers, who devoted much attention to this subject, has divided them into classes, as Georgians, Basianas, Abasians, Circasians (or rather Tcherkess), Ossetinians, Kisti, &c. and these classes into tribes. † Pallas, wishing to improve upon his predecessor, adopts a different division ‡, and adds numerous observations with

* Blackwood’s Magazine, No. XCI. p. 140.

† Reise durch Russland und im Caucasischen Gebürge, vol. i. pp. 459-502.

‡ Pallas’s Second Journey, &c.

respect to the customs and manners of the tribes, on which points Guldenstäedt is deficient in information. His statements, however, chiefly respect the inhabitants of the north side of the Caucasus.

A gentleman, well acquainted with the tribes of the Caucasus, is of opinion that they might be arranged under the six following classes, which include many species and varieties, *viz.* the Circassians — the Lesghies — the Ossetinians — the Kisti — the Georgians — and the Tartars.

It is matter of regret, that notwithstanding the labours of a number of travellers, our ignorance of the inhabitants of the Caucasus should still be so great. Tooke's works give but a very imperfect account of these people. But there are two works, in the English language, which contain a good deal of information with respect to them; neither of which is very well known. One of them is "*Ellis's Memoirs of the Natives of the Caucasus*," principally compiled from the work of Guldenstäedt, already referred to; and the second is entitled, "*A General Historical and Topographical Description of Mount Caucasus*," translated from the works of Dr. Reineggs, and Marshal Bieberstein.* The last work, which I first saw in Georgia, contains a great many interesting details, but unfortunately they are thrown together in great confusion. The most important work which has issued from

* London. 2 vols. Printed for C. Taylor, Hatton Garden, &c.

the press, of late years, with respect to the mountain tribes in question, and especially with respect to their languages and dialects, is unquestionably the "*Voyage au Caucase et en Georgie*," of Klaproth. But it is so abundant in long discussions about languages, dialects, derivations of words, &c. as to be little liked by the general reader. In the "*Letters from the Caucasus, &c.*" and in Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, we find a number of very interesting observations, many of them, however, taken from Pallas. In the "*Great Geographical Dictionary of Russia*," or Vsévolojkii's "*Dictionnaire Historique-Géographique*," scarcely any information is to be found; and the Russian geographer, Yablóvskii, seems to know but little about the Caucasus or Georgia.

Though all the works referred to, as well as others, of which I have formerly spoken, be deficient in any thing like a complete account of the mountaineers, yet they pave the way for the investigations of some learned individual, who, after giving up a few years to travelling in the Caucasus, and the study of languages and dialects, and the acquisition of accurate knowledge, might produce a most interesting work, replete with novelty. To such an individual the vocabularies of the languages used by the Caucasians, in Guldenstäedt's, Pallas's, and Klaproth's Travels, will be found of the greatest utility.

The following account of the Ossi, Ossetes, or

Ossetinians, whose territories we again reached at Kazbék, is chiefly taken from Klaproth, and is by far the best I have met with. It is partly composed from his own observations, and is partly a compilation.

According to Pallas, the Ossetinians, who call themselves Ir, and Irones, from the name of their country, Ironistan, form a peculiar tribe, who altogether dwell among the high mountains, and whose "frontiers stretch, on the west, to Urup ; on the east, to the Térék, on the northern part of the Caucasian mountains ; on the west to Rion or the Phasis of the ancients, and, on the east to the Arágua, in their southern part."

Klaproth thinks that the Ossetinians are one of the most remarkable tribes of Mount Caucasus, who differ from all the rest, both in their language and their physiognomy, though they resemble them in their rude manners and their inclination to robbery. He treats at great length of the origin of this people, whom he regards "*comme étant les Sarmates-Mèdes des anciens, et comme les Alanes et les Asses du moyen age.*"

The Ossetinians were formerly governed by their princes, and inhabited the plains of the Great and the Little Kabarda, and part of the borders of the Caucasus ; and, after many changes and commotions in that neighbourhood, at length took up their present residence. For an account of their history, through a long succession of years, the

reader may be referred to Klaproth's work. I only mean to allude to their present condition.

The Ossetinians are well made, strong, and generally of a middle stature. They are principally distinguished by their physiognomy, which greatly resembles that of Europeans. Blue eyes, and fair or red hair, are very common among them. Few of them have the hair altogether black. They are a healthy and prolific race. The women are generally little, and not pretty. Their faces are round, and their noses flat. They are robust ; and labour and frugal nourishment render them still stronger. Those of the territory of Tagaour form an exception to this description, by their beauty and their slender figure. They resemble the Georgians, with whom their ancestors may have intermarried.

The Ossetinians dress and arm themselves after the manner of the Circassians, and rapine is their favourite occupation, as well as of the greater part of their neighbours. Young people prove their dexterity by theft, and robbery establishes their reputation : when they have committed homicide, they acquire the celebrity of a hero. They vaunt of their roguery, and they boast of assassination, or of having vengeance satiated by blood.

All the Ossetinians do not pillage in the same manner. In the valley of the Térék, and in general upon the road from Mozdók to Tiflis, they do not make regular attacks, but twenty or thirty conceal themselves in the woods, or behind

the rocks, where they wait for travellers. Each of them chooses his man, at whom he fires. Having good fusils, they rarely miss. When they have killed the greatest part of an escort, they seize the effects, and divide the spoil. The division, however, is not always made without disputes, or without effusion of blood.

When the Ossetinians set out to pillage the villages of the Circassians, they adopt the following method, so as to carry off horses, horned cattle, and sometimes even the inhabitants. From a dozen to twenty form a band, and on a wet and stormy night, they go to these villages on foot, and while part of them keep guard before the houses, and present their guns at the doors, so as to prevent the inhabitants from coming out, the rest empty the stables and cow-houses, and steal every thing they can lay hold of. This being done, they return with their booty with all possible speed. The Ossetinians, who dwell between the Terek and the Fiag, reach the habitations of the Balkars and the Tcheghems, by passes in the snow mountains, only known to themselves, and carry off all that comes in their way, and especially young girls. They keep their booty, or sell it to their neighbours, according to circumstances.

When the Ossetinians rest their guns upon something, or when they are seated on the earth, they fire well, and never miss their aim; but they are very slow in loading. When on horseback

they are obliged to alight, either to charge or to force home the ball. When they fire, they take care to choose some hiding-place, and do not waste their ammunition until they think themselves sure of their end. Their mode of defence is singular. They place themselves at some steps from one another, and each defends himself. When a retreat is resolved upon, the most advanced fires his gun, and withdraws behind the rest to load it again, until they reach some mountain-path which is well known to them, and then they make their escape.

Although the Ossetinians be such determined robbers, they, as well as all the other tribes of the Caucasus, have the strictest regard to the laws of hospitality, (called *Koonák*, as formerly mentioned,) and scarcely an example has occurred in which they have been violated. If any one is guilty of such a crime, the whole village assembles to judge him. He is almost always condemned to be precipitated, his hands and feet being bound together, from the top of a rock into a river.

A stranger, who arrives at an Ossetinian village, is sure of being well treated during his stay; all his wants are attended to; he is treated in every way as a relative. But if he leave the village without an escort, he runs the risk of being pillaged by the same men whose hospitality he had shared the preceding evening. This people have a saying that, "He whom we meet in the way is given

us by God!" If the prisoner has the means, he may purchase his liberty by a sum of money, or by an equivalent in arms or cattle. The bargain concluded, he is under the safeguard of their hospitality; and the village in which he had been taken, is always obliged to defend him.

The Ossetinians do not treat their prisoners badly, except when they endeavour to escape.

When a stranger arrives at the house of an Ossetinian, the landlord hastens to kill a sheep, to have it roasted, and served up whole. While he eats, the master of the house generally remains near the door with a stick in his hand, and does not partake of the repast. He would sacrifice all to defend his guest, and to avenge any outrage upon him; he would have no repose till he had killed his murderer. That vengeance which demands blood for blood, and which, generally, prevails throughout the Caucasus, is carried to the highest degree by the Ossetinians. When an Ossetinian has avenged the death of one of his parents, or of his guest, he betakes himself to his grave, and announces with a loud voice that he has killed the murderer, and avenged the death of the deceased. This kind of vengeance is hereditary; it even descends from the grandfather to the grandson, and is often the cause of hostilities among the villages. Although it could not be entirely abolished, this custom is sometimes suspended for a time by presents made to the offended party.

The murderer takes refuge in a fortified tower, where, along with some of his associates, he defends himself against the attacks of the relatives of him who has been killed. From thence he sends to the *Elder* of the village, who assembles the relations, and persuades them to conclude a treaty of peace with their adversaries. By it the murderer is bound to give a certain number of sheep or oxen to those offended; and they are bound, on oath, to leave him tranquil during the time of the treaty. This treaty is sometimes renewed by mutual consent.

Few examples of polygamy are met with among the Ossetinians. The rich, whether Mahometans or Christians, are the only individuals who have two, and sometimes three, wives.

When an Ossetinian wishes to marry, he sends one of his relations or friends to the father, to ask his daughter of him. If the parties agree about the dowry, which generally consists of fire-arms, sabres, poniards, cattle, &c., a feast of three days' duration follows.

The Ossetinians are very strict respecting virginity, but after marriage it is reckoned honourable for a woman to have a number of lovers.

The religion of the Ossetinians is the same as among all the mountain tribes. It is a singular *mélange* of Mahometanism, Christianity, and ancient superstitions. It is evident that the Osse-

tinians give considerable attention, even yet, to some of the festivities of the Christian church.

The oaths of the Ossetinians are very singular. When they are accused of theft, they generally swear by a dog, a cat, or the dead. The accused with a dog, runs throughout the village, and cries with a loud voice, "I am about to kill this dog." After which, the real thief generally avows his fault, because it is believed, that to participate in the death of a dog would lead to misfortune. It often happens, that he who takes an oath cuts off the head of a cat, or hangs a dog, saying that the animal will avenge itself of the perjured person, by scratching, biting, and tormenting the guilty. Whoever suspects one of his neighbours to have stolen, conducts him to the place where his relations are interred; and the accused placing himself near the tomb of his father, mother, or brother, cries out, "If I have stolen, I wish to serve as a horse in the other world to my father, my mother, or my brother; but if I am innocent, may that punishment fall upon the guilty."

When an Ossetinian dies, all his relations assemble. The men uncover the head and the hips, and lash themselves till blood appears, and the women scratch their faces, bite their arms, and cry in a dreadful manner. The wife of the deceased ought to be more violent than the rest, and to abstain for a year from all kinds of meat and other things prohibited during the fast. Generally, her

husband's brother espouses her, even when he has another wife, with the view of preserving the property in the family.

Every family has its own sepulchre, which, among some tribes, is an immense square building, with a very narrow entrance. Two men enter it, drawing after them the body of the deceased, stretched upon planks. When it is entirely consumed, they mix the bones with those of others of the family.*

Many of the above observations are as applicable to a number of the other tribes of the Caucasus, as to the Ossetinians. Indeed, I strongly suspect, that no author has ever had the requisite knowledge to enable him completely to distinguish the peculiar customs and manners even of the principal races.

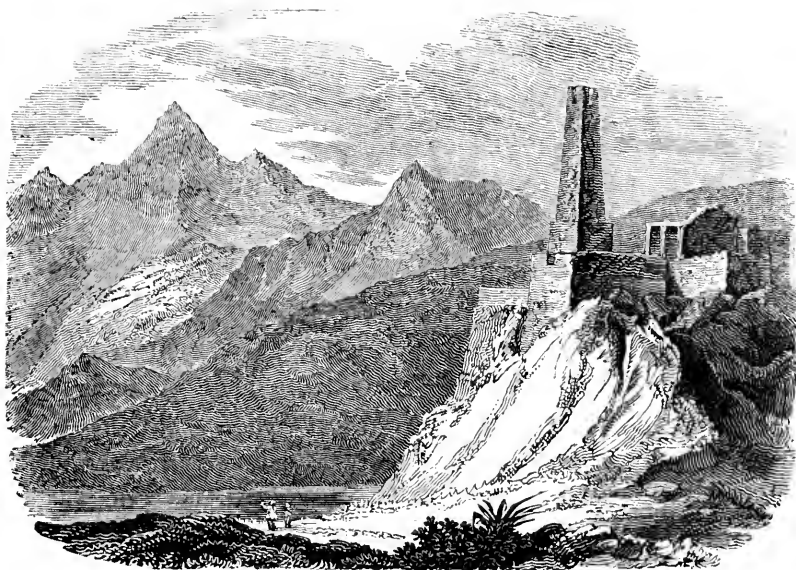
With a few remarks from Sir R. K. Porter respecting the Ossetinians, which differ but little from the foregoing statements, I shall conclude this chapter.

“The natives in this neighbourhood, (Kazbék,) are of the Ossi tribe; a people of mixed persuasions, Christian, Mahometan, and pagan. The village of Kasbeck, as well as a few others in its immediate vicinity, is inhabited by Christians professing the same faith and observances as the Georgians.” — “It is said, that the present race

* Vide Voyage au Caucase et en Georgie, vol. ii. p. 223.

of Ossi Christians are amongst the most civilised of the mountaineers. This may be ; but, in spite of their better faith, and better laws, they are occasionally not less expert at robbery and murder, than their brethren of Mahometan and heathen creeds. The men are strong, active, and well made, with dark complexions, and a peculiarly lowering look, an aspect more accordant with the latter part of their character, than that of their pretensions to piety, and its consequent blameless life.

“ The Ossetinians are habited in the manner of the Circassians, and never appear without the common weapon of the country, a dagger in their girdle. Its form is broad near the handle, tapering down to a long point, the whole being about eighteen inches in length. In short, there is a general appearance of offence and defence in every thing we see, which must always be the case as we retrograde nearer to man in a state of nature, where the law of force has not yet given place to the law of reason : every body is armed, every house is a sort of little fortress.”



CHAP. XVIII.

FORTRESSES OF THE CAUCASUS. — WARLIKE APPEARANCE OF THE INHABITANTS. — DARIÉL. — FALL OF ROCK INTO THE TÉREK. — NEW ROAD. — MOUNTAIN PASS. — LARS. — VLADIKAVKÁZ. — CARE OF TRAVELLERS. — COLONEL SKVARTSÓF. — GENERAL DEL POZZO. — DEPARTURE. — ELIZABETH REDOUBT. — ADVENTURE. — CONSTANTINE REDOUBT. — FERRY OF THE TÉREK. — MOZDÓK. — ACCIDENT. — GÉORGIÉVSK. — BESH-PAGHÍR. — STÁVROPOLE. — QUARANTINE OF SRÉDNOYÉ-YEGORLÍTSKOYÉ. — ITS DESCRIPTION. — RELEASE. — HONOURABLE AND DISHONOURABLE CONDUCT. — DEPARTURE. — NIJNI-YEGORLÍTSKOYÉ. — THE DON. — AKSĀI. — NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — VISIT TO GENERAL ILOVĀISKII. — ROAD TO STÁRO-TCHERKÁSK. — HISTORY AND SITUATION OF THIS TOWN. — ITS FORMER POPULATION. — ABSURDLY COMPARED TO VENICE. — ITS PRESENT STATE. — ITS CATHEDRAL AND INUNDATIONS. — ITS DECLINE. — RETURN TO NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — DINNER AT GENERAL

ILOVÁISKII'S.—COLONEL NOZIKÓMOF.—THE *UPRAVLÉNIYE*.—
 FOUNDATION OF NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — PLATÓF'S PLAN. — SI-
 TUATION OF NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK INJUDICIOUS. — DESCRIPTION
 OF NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — ITS POPULATION. — PUBLIC BUILD-
 INGS. — GENERAL REMARKS RESPECTING THE KOZÁKS. —
 THEIR MILITARY CHARACTER.

I HAVE frequently had occasion to allude to the general warlike appearance which prevails in the Caucasus. There, indeed, almost every village may be said to be fortified, having a court with high stone walls, from which arises a tower, generally of a tapering square form. To these forts the inhabitants were wont to betake themselves for refuge, in former times, when divisions and warfare were more frequent among the mountain tribes than at present. They still remain as the safeguards of the more accessible parts of the Caucasus, and some of them are kept in good repair. In case of an attack by a regular army, they would only be of momentary use, and the natives, no doubt, would then desert them, and trust alone for safety, to the fastnesses of the surrounding mountains. In order that the reader may have an accurate idea of these fortified villages, I have caused a view of one of them to be placed at the commencement of the present chapter. It was taken near Kazbék, and well illustrates the nature of the alpine scenery by which that place is surrounded.

Another circumstance is very striking to the

traveller. Among the mountains of the Caucasus, as well as in the adjoining plains on the north, and in Georgia on the south, every individual is armed when he quits his habitation. Even boys are furnished with daggers and swords, the use of which they are taught, at a very early age, so as to be prepared for offence or defence. Pistols and muskets are carried, at all times, by every man in the regions alluded to. They are even the accompaniments of those at the plough, in the farm-yard, or employed in other rural or domestic affairs. Almost every traveller we meet, whatever be his rank, description, or country, is accoutred as if he were in active service, or as if the country was in a state of warfare. These appearances produce very unsocial feelings, and cause the stranger to such customs to look upon every individual he sees with suspicion, and even with jealousy. Here, of course, every man must be on the alert, and look to his own safety. I shall never forget the strange impression made upon my mind, on meeting a *mohla* — clothed in scarlet and with a white turban upon his head, — and his servant, with daggers in their girdles, and guns slung across their backs in one of the defiles of Georgia. But I must return to our journey.

The morning of the 5th July was very fresh, and in the night we had felt cold. We left Kazbék, and with a few trifling showers reached the fortress of Dariél. The commandant, to whom we had

despatched a letter from General Wilyemínof the preceding evening, though it had been received only about an hour before our arrival, had made preparations for us. He gave us twenty workmen, and ten soldiers as a guard. After proceeding about a verst, we were obliged to dismount and walk. We crossed a temporary bridge from the west to the east bank of the Térek, and the workmen transported our luggage, for the horses could proceed no farther. We now approached the *avalanche*, or rather land-slip formerly alluded to *, an enormous quantity of fragments of rock, large and small, which had fallen from the adjoining mountain on the 23d June, and blocked up the Térek so that it rose many feet above its usual level. By this accident the bed of the river was permanently raised to a considerable height, and the arched way blasted and cut out of the solid rock on its west side, and which is said to have cost ten years' labour, was completely under water. † Under the directions of a Russian major and engineer, who gave us every information, a new road was making on the east bank of the Térek, it being calculated that the trouble of doing so would be infinitely less than to clear away the rocks and stones, so as to restore the river to its former level. Nearly 300 men were daily employed for this purpose, which was soon completed,

* Vide Vol. I. p. 503.

† Ibid, p. 470.

and the temporary bridge by which we regained the west bank of the Térek, as well as the other above mentioned, I understand has been since replaced by a permanent bridge.

On the west side of the river there is, however, another pass to Dariél, but it is extremely difficult and no less than three or four hours are said to be requisite for advancing between two and three versts. The ascent is gained in some places by climbing, and in others by the assistance of ropes. Horses occasionally pass by this road, but the experiment is not made without danger. A few days before our arrival, one was killed on the spot, in consequence of having tumbled down the precipice.

In consequence of previous orders, we were met by horses from Lars, which place we soon reached, accompanied by ten soldiers and two Kozáks. After our departure from Lars, leaving the soldiers with our servant and the luggage, we rode on with the two Kozáks, against the rules of travelling in these districts. We were stopped at Maksímkina, and the officer stationed there said he would report us for going without a convoy; but we got off, and reached Vladikavkáz in safety.

At first we could not conceive the extreme earnestness of the officers that we should be so well guarded; but we afterwards learned, that they are responsible for all travellers on their portion of the way assigned to conduct them, and that for care-

lessness in the execution of this duty, or want of conformity to the laws, some of them had been reduced to the ranks.

Having no wish to repeat a three days' march from Vladikavkáz to Mozdók, we made arrangements with Colonel Skvartsóf, and a particular escort was ordered for us. That gentleman was busily occupied in carrying into execution some of the plans of General Yermólof, to reduce the neighbouring mountain tribes to greater tranquillity; and his severe measures were said to have been attended with considerable success. The Colonel has been stationed many years in the regions of the Caucasus, and must have a considerable knowledge of the duties which his important station requires, though not equal to that of his predecessor, General del Pozzo, who resided for a long time at Vladikavkáz, and whose history is extremely interesting. Though an Italian by birth, he passed the greatest part of his manhood in the Russian service. To his knowledge and activity, Russia is chiefly indebted for the security with which she now holds the key of this part of Asia. He understood the country well, and the people who inhabit it. He selected the best stations for a commanding line of military posts. This intimate acquaintance with the different tribes was of great use. Having been in secret communication with certain natives in each district, he was enabled, by their information, to frustrate schemes

of intended warfare or depredation ; and often to come at the knowledge of the existence and places of captivity of unfortunate travellers, who had become their prisoners. These latter advantages were dearly purchased by the General, who himself was taken by the Tchitchéntsi, and remained nearly a year their prisoner* ; during which period he endured many hardships.

On the 6th of July, at four o'clock in the morning, the infantry appeared, and were despatched before us. We took possession of our carriages again, and, escorted by a party of Kozáks, we proceeded at a quick trot, and soon came up with the infantry. A gun, which had been sent for from the next station, met us, and joined the convoy. We proceeded about ten versts at a slow pace, when we left the infantry and cannon to come up at leisure, while we continued our route more rapidly with a Kozák guard, and reached the redoubt of Elizabeth. There we dined in the same good rooms which we had formerly occupied. A *convoy billet* was presented for our signature, stating that we had reached the station in safety, with a guard of a staff-captain, two under officers, one drummer, forty soldiers, fifteen Kozáks, and a cannon. The truth is, that we had not above half that number of infantry,

* Vide Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, and Letters from the Caucasus.

and only about ten Kozáks; but such is the universal practice in Russia. Our guard were highly pleased at receiving a ten-rouble note to be divided among them as drink-money.

We sent off the new convoy from Elizabeth redoubt, and followed it after a short repose. At the foot of the hills, while we were walking with the officer at the head of the guard, one of the Kozáks came galloping up, and with a serious face informed us, that there were a number of horsemen upon the hills, and that he suspected they were enemies. The officer mounted his horse; the convoy was ordered to halt; and a general bustle ensued. We betook ourselves to our carriages, to look for such arms as we had, though far from desirous of an opportunity to make use of them. Some of the Kozáks were despatched to make a *reconnoissance*; a signal was made—by riding from right to left in a semicircle,—which being answered, it was found that the horsemen were Kozáks returning to Elizabeth redoubt.*

We never quitted the convoy to-day, because, in ascending the range of hills spoken of on our advance†, the carriages sometimes required the assistance of the soldiers. As we reached its sum-

* Sir R. K. Porter alludes to a similar adventure. It may be questioned whether there may not be some plan in these manœuvres, so as to augment the fear of passing through the Caucasus.

† Vide Vol. I. p. 461.

mit, a thunder-storm took place, with heavy rain, and continued till we arrived at the fort of Constantine in the evening, where we enjoyed a good supper in our wretched quarters, into which numerous streams poured on all sides. The officer who had been with us, was extremely civil, and showed a considerable degree of intelligence. He was particularly anxious to have a map of the Caucasus and Georgia, which we could not give him, as our own were still necessary. It might excite surprise that each of the stations was not supplied with such a map, for the sake of the officers.

On the 7th of July, a similar convoy having preceded us, we left Constantine fort, at half past five in the morning; and, having come up with them, we continued together till we had crossed the mountains; when the young officer reluctantly consented to allow us to proceed at a trot to Alexander's redoubt, which we did not enter, but proceeded directly to the Térék. One of the carriages having crossed the ferry, the other was detained two hours, in consequence of the men not having secured the rope when we reached the opposite side. The ferry-boat and rowers, with our servant and carriage, were carried away by the rapidity of the Térék. We ourselves had landed, and it was not with pleasant emotions we beheld them sailing between Europe and Asia. After descending to some distance, by the efforts

of the rowers, they reached a sand-bank, and we procured assistance and oxen, which dragged up the ferry-boat to the landing-place.

The ferry of the Terek is the most difficult and dangerous I ever saw; owing to the depth, the breadth, and the rapidity of the river. But I presume it is now better regulated, as we saw an immense cable which was to be placed across the river, by which the ferry-boats were to be directed in future, and similar accidents would thus be prevented. The horses being put to, we passed the quarantine, having been informed that it was unnecessary to remain there, as it was matter of notoriety that there was no pestilential disease in the south. We got to Mozdók, and employed the remainder of the day in making arrangements and laying in stores of provisions. We also received back our *podorójnés*, which we had left with Colonel Kotíref, and an order for a Kozák guard.

On the 8th of July we left Mozdók, at four o'clock in the morning. As it had rained a great deal in the night, the road was very heavy, and we retraced our route much less speedily than we had advanced. During the last station, one of our horses dropped down, and the coachman remained behind to take care of it; but our servant took his place, and we reached the Podkúma. We remarked that this broad river was very large in consequence of the rain; and that oxen, yoked

in *telégas* and led by a man on horseback, swam through it. The postilion, who pretended he knew the fordable part of the Podkúma and its sand-banks, proceeded but a short way, when the carriage stuck fast in a deep hole, and leaned so much to one side as to threaten an overturn. During the efforts made to extricate us, the pole was broken, and also the harness. Two Kozáks came to our assistance, and we escaped by the window and got upon horseback. About fifteen soldiers waded to us, and two fresh horses were brought, by whose combined assistance the carriage reached the other side, when we drove to our old lodgings in Géorgiévsk.

On the 10th of July we left Géorgiévsk, at five o'clock in the morning. This was one of the most disagreeable days' journeys which we had. A gentleman's carriages, which required twelve horses, preceded us, so that at a number of the stations there were none left for us. At Alexandrié we were detained two hours and obliged to hire. At Alexandrovsk we paid double fare, to get a-head of the gentleman alluded to; and on reaching Beshpaghir, at half past nine in the evening, we were compelled to make up our minds to sleeping in the carriage, in consequence of the deceit and roguery of the post-master; who, it was evident, would not give us horses before the morning.

The inhabitants in this part of the government

of the Caucasus, are mostly Russians from the governments of Koursk and Kharkof. *

On the 11th of July we breakfasted at Stávropole, whence we were to travel over a route new to us, toward Moscow. The road, during the first station from this town to Moskóvskaya, is a good deal up and down hill, but after that village, it runs over nearly a dead flat, or immense *step*, all the way to Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé. The eye wanders over unbounded pastures, among which, hay-stacks, and corn-fields, indicate the neighbourhood of a village. Upon the whole it is an uninteresting and naked country. The soil is good, however, and, were there hands to cultivate it, would yield fine crops.

Dónskoi, and Bezopásnoi, are very large villages, and some of the other stations are of considerable size. Their excellent and gaudy churches cheer the heart amid the bleakness of nature.

Having travelled all night, we reached the quarantine of Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 12th of July.

In consequence of not having taken a certificate at the quarantine of Mozdók, or from the *Gorodnítskii* of Gèorgiévsk or Stávropole, although we had a letter from the police-master of Gèorgiévsk, contrary to our expectations, we were

* Lettres écrites dans un Voyage de Moscow au Caucase, by Kimmel, p. 38.

obliged to enter the quarantine. We proposed to send a courier to the *Atamán* of the Don Kozáks, in whose territories we now were, and for whom we had letters; but the officers of the establishment thought it would be a more speedy way of arranging our affair, to send to the *Gorodnútchii* of Stávropole. A Kozák was accordingly despatched, and we had nearly three days to spend at this miserable place; a title it has received from all travellers, and which it well merits, notwithstanding the improvements made within the last few years.

The situation of this quarantine is the worst imaginable, in the middle of a perfect marsh, especially in wet weather, as was the case during our residence. It is overgrown with long rank grass, and a profusion of weeds. The rivulet, Yegorlík, is often stagnant, and owes its name to the disagreeable odour which it emits.* It seems the most likely place possible for catching an intermittent fever, and the attention of the Russian government ought to be called to its real demerits. The water there is so bad as to produce disease, and the physician attached to the establishment assured us, that he sent twenty versts for all that used in his family.

The quarantine occupies some acres of land,

* The river may well be called the *Vanutchoi Yegorlík*, or Stinking Yegorlík.

and is surrounded by an earthen rampart and a deep ditch. A few years ago, a dozen new wooden houses, all one story in height, were erected, each of which is divided into two dwellings. Each dwelling contains two rooms, with a stove between them, besides an antechamber, with a large oven, which may serve as a kitchen. Each of these houses is surrounded by a ditch, and has a kind of garden, or rather waste ground, around it. The storehouses, fumigation-rooms, &c., occupy another part of the enclosure; and the houses of the chief, the commissary, the physician, &c., are at some distance. From the merchant who supplies the quarantine we received good articles, though rather at a high price, as was to be expected.

In reading, writing, and conversation, we had here sufficient occupation; and at the same time a short interval of leisure from our fatiguing journey.

Having obtained permission, I sallied one day from the quarantine, and reached the adjoining church and village, neither of which are of great importance. The wooden church is founded upon a green hill, like a tumulus rising out of the plain, and commands an extensive view.

On the 14th of July, our messenger arrived in the afternoon with a certificate, said to be from the *Gorodnitchii* of Stávropole, that no pestilential disease prevailed in the countries through which we had travelled.

Besides the inconvenience and loss of time caused by nearly three days' residence at the quarantine, the expenses of the messenger amounted to seventy-five roubles. This may prove a useful hint to future travellers to furnish themselves with certificates in coming from the southern provinces of Asia, either at Mozdók, Gèorgiévsk, or Stávropole.

The news of liberty instantly spread cheerfulness through the party; all hands were at work in packing up, and horses were easily procured. We settled our accounts, and found the *commisary* as unwilling to accept of a present for his obliging conduct, as he had been determined in refusing the bribe we offered at our arrival, to induce him to allow us to proceed on our route. I rejoice in making such an assertion. Another individual, however, was less ceremonious. As he had boasted his honourable conduct and incapability of corruption, we did not wish to offend him by a present. Finding himself thus treated, he asked me to speak with him; and, under a very poor pretence, prayed for assistance, which was immediately granted him.

At eight o'clock in the evening of the 14th of July, we crossed the Yegorlík, by a small bridge, and were fairly *en route*. The road was heavy, the horses bad, the night dark, and the coachman a stupid fellow. We soon lost our way in the fields, and the carriage stuck fast in a hole.

We were obliged to alight, and assist in extricating it, and then, by groping about, to search for the road. Having at length succeeded, we walked to the station called Nijni-Yegorlítskoyé. A courier, with four *telégas*, had just arrived there, who was on his way to Tifflis with stores and property for General Yermólof. He required twelve horses; and, of course, was served before us: so that we were detained some time. We travelled all night, and in the evening of the 15th, reached Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

The road from Srédnoyé-Yegorlítskoyé to the banks of the Don is mostly *step*, with considerable undulations of surface however, and for the most part fruitful. Many of the villages on the post-road, and in the neighbouring country, are small. They are called *stanítsas*, and are inhabited by the Don Kozáks.

The banks of the Don afforded us some fine views; and being covered by numerous villas and country houses, gardens and plantations, formed a delightful contrast to the desolate country and monotonous plains through which we had passed from Beshpaghír. We crossed the Don (nearly a quarter of a mile in breadth,) by means of an excellent floating bridge, and soon reached Aksäi.

Aksäi, though it bears the name of a Kozák *stanítsa*, or village, in reality is more worthy the name of town than many places which have such an appellation in Russia. It is situated upon the

declivity of a hill; and in the spring, when the Don overflows its banks and is ten miles in breadth, it must have a magnificent appearance at a distance. Its streets are extremely irregular, but it contains a number of excellent houses, many of them built of brick, after the style of those in the chief towns in the empire.

In Aksäi are a number of merchants, who carry on an active commerce upon the Don, particularly in dried fish, which are disposed of at an exceedingly low price, and are afterwards transported by that river to different parts of the empire. The Don, as is well known, is most prolific in fish of various kinds, which are seldom found any where in such perfection.*

The road from Aksäi to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, is through a hilly country, in a great measure destitute of wood, but abounding in pastures and corn-fields, with a few scattered villages. The Don forms, as it were, the line of demarcation between the northern hilly country, and the southern *steps*.

We took up our quarters for the night at Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

On the 16th July we breakfasted at a very early hour, and then proceeded to the house of the Atamán of the Don Kozáks, General Ilováiskii.†

* Vide Clarke's Travels, p.274. where a number of them are enumerated.

† General Ilováiskii, as well as his five brothers, and other members of the family, were extremely active during the French

After the death of Platóf, his Excellency A. K. Denisof was nominated his successor ; but he held the situation only for a very short time, and was succeeded by the present Atamán.

General Ilováiskii's house stands on the banks of the Touslof, in what may be reckoned a pretty situation in a country nearly destitute of wood and romantic scenery. It is a building of a very respectable appearance. On entering the hall we found a number of officers, and of the functionaries of the town, including the police-master, assembled for the purpose of complimenting their chief, and of arranging their affairs. One of the Atamán's adjutants took our letters of introduction, and announced our arrival to the Atamán, who gave us a most polite reception. After a good deal of conversation, we rose with a view to depart, perceiving that he was busily employed. We had spoken of going to Stáro-Tcherkásk, and he immediately ordered an equipage to be prepared for us. At the same time, he invited us to dinner on our return.

We descended the hill on which Nóvo-Tcherkásk stands, crossed the Aksäi by a good wooden bridge, and soon reached Míshkin, the estate of the late Count Platóf, which is described and represented in the next chapter.

campaign, and some of them highly distinguished themselves. The Atamán acquired many laurels by his bravery.

After passing Míshkin, the road made many windings to and from the banks of the Aksăi, on account of deep marshes. We found it tolerably good, the summer being far advanced, but in the spring and autumn, as it leads over a dead flat, it must be almost impassable, except in *telégas*, or on horseback.

We soon reached Stáro-Tcherkásk, and were kindly received by the good old mother of General Ilovăiskii, to whom we were recommended.

Tcherkásk, now called *Stáro-Tcherkásk* (*i. e.* Old Tcherkásk) in contra-distinction to *Nóvo-Tcherkásk* (*i. e.* New Tcherkásk), which is described hereafter, was once a place of great importance.* It was the capital of the Kozáks of the Don, and the residence of their Atamán, the chief *dépôt* of their military stores, and the place of safety in which all their property was collected in time of war. It was also the seat of their government, and the palladium of their liberty.

Stáro-Tcherkásk was founded in the year 1570, and formed of eleven *stanítsas*. It lies on the right bank of the Don, and is surrounded by a small river, named Vassiltevka, which, leaving a branch of the Don, called Aksăi, again joins this river not far from Stáro-Tcherkásk, so that this town is partly insulated. From its low marshy situation it is very

* To prevent all confusion, I shall always use the appellations Stáro-Tcherkásk, and Nóvo-Tcherkásk.—Vide Note, p. 210. of this Vol. Note.

unhealthy, and is every year inundated, so that the lower story of the houses is filled with water, and the inhabitants visit each other in boats. This inundation takes place at the beginning of April, and continues till the end of June.

About twenty years ago, the number of inhabitants of Stáro-Tcherkásk amounted to 10,000 souls, and some say to 15,000; but it is now wonderfully diminished.

Dr. Clarke has given a very interesting account of Stáro-Tcherkásk, illustrated by a view of the approach to this capital, and another of its interior during an inundation. This author tells us, that Stáro-Tcherkásk, “although not so grand as Venice, somewhat resembles that city.” Dr. Kimmel also says, “Le vieux Tcherkask sous bien des rapports, mérite le titre de Venise d’Asie.” And the author of *Letters from the Caucasus* states, “that Stáro-Tcherkásk is another Venice.” Though I have never seen Venice, I know it pretty well from numerous plates and descriptions; and I can scarcely conceive how any comparison could be made between it and the former paltry capital of the Don Kozáks. A mean town, completely inundated, can only have a resemblance to a magnificent city every where intersected by fine canals, in the simple circumstance of boats being every where seen with the inhabitants passing and re-passing among the houses.

The glory of Stáro-Tcherkásk is now past, and

its fame eclipsed by that of Nóvo-Tcherkásk. At present its inhabitants do not exceed 2000 in number. It contains a few good houses, but whole streets present nothing but irregularity, meanness, and dirt. The few remaining churches, some of them with golden domes, are the only objects which give life to the view. Among these is the old cathedral, which, as is shown by a Slavonic inscription in one of its galleries, was founded in 1706, and finished in 1719, and dedicated to the Trinity. It is built after the model of the Russian cathedrals ; its screen is one of the richest I have seen, and the holy doors are of beautifully worked silver. Sometimes the Don inundates its foundation, rising twelve, fifteen, or more feet above its usual level. On one of the corners of this edifice is a brass plate, indicating the height to which the water reached at different epochs. Great floods took place in 1720, 1740, 1760, and 1786 ; in the last year about three feet of the wall was under water.

All the authorities, the tribunals, and the government of the country of the Don Kózáks, have been transported from Stáro-Tcherkásk to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, so that while the former town is going to ruin, the latter is augmenting its edifices and its population, and daily becoming of more importance.

On our return to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, we found the Atamán engaged in a party at *boston* with some officers of high rank, and were introduced to his

lady. During conversation the party was joined by a number more officers, and dinner was then served up in good style, in a handsome apartment. Among other wines, that of the Don, which was very old, was much liked by all present. Having drank coffee, and signified our wish to depart, we were informed that a calash and four was at our disposal.

General Ilováiskii is a polished gentleman, whose manners are pleasing and elegant. He does not speak French, and has less of French manners than many other officers who were in the last campaign. He has acquired a little German, but our conversation was all in Russian. His kindness demands our gratitude.

At the Atamán's we got acquainted with Colonel Nozikómoſ, who for many years was intimately attached to Count Platóf, and who spoke of him with the utmost enthusiasm. We followed the Colonel to his fine house in Alexander's *Plóstchad*, or place, and he treated us with some delightful Don wine, which had been in his cellar for many years.

After visiting different objects of curiosity, Colonel Nozikómoſ next carried us to the *Upravléníyé*, or general administration, a large new plain edifice. In this building are assembled the offices of all the chief functionaries of the country of the Don Kozáks. In the council-room, where the Atamán and head-court have their meetings, are

contained the national regalia. Among these we remarked the standard and mace of the Atamán; letters patent and standards, from the Emperor Alexander, splendidly adorned, which were sent as testimonials of the service of the Kozáks in various engagements; autograph copies of Platóf's addresses to his army; and especially an address to his own regiment, &c.

In the above edifice is also the chancery, which consists of three *expeditions*, or departments; the military, the civil, and the economical. The names of the two first explain themselves; to the latter belongs all that respects taxes and accounts. *

In consequence of the unhealthy situation of Stáro-Tcherkásk, and the inconvenience, damage, and loss of lives consequent upon its annual inundation, about the year 1807, the government decided to build a new town, and to transport the inhabitants of the old one to it. Many plans were proposed to His Imperial Majesty Alexander, who finally approved that of Count Platóf; according to which the town has been built, under the management of an Italian architect named Rusca. † The inhabitants, by habit, had become insensible of the dangers which threatened them at Stáro-Tcherkásk, and for the best of reasons were extremely

* Great Dictionary of the Russian Empire, vol. vii. p. 82.

† Plans of the principal edifices are contained in Mr. Rusca's work, which is entitled, *Recueil des Desseins des Differens Bâtimens, à Saint Petersbourg*, 2 vols. fol. St. Petersburg. 1810.

averse to remove from the banks of the Don, which afforded the means of carrying on an extensive commerce.

Nóvo-Tcherkásk is situated upon a hill, upon the right bank of the Aksäi, and on the borders of a small river which disembogues into it, called Touslof.* It is fifteen or sixteen versts distant from Stáro-Tcherkásk. It commands a view of an extensive plain watered by the Don and the Aksäi, as well as of the towns of Stáro-Tcherkásk, Aksäi, Rostóf, and Naktshiván. It is in contemplation to cut a canal to the Don, so as to facilitate the communications, and admit of supplies, as provisions, comparatively speaking, are dearer than they were at the old town. The inhabitants both of Stáro-Tcherkásk and Nóvo-Tcherkásk, regret, and apparently with much reason, that the seat of their government was not transported to Aksäi. The removal of the population of Stáro-Tcherkásk from the banks of so important a river as the Don to the interior of the country, showed but little judgment in Platóf, and I am surprised that the Russian government should not have negatived his proposal. It ought to have been remembered, that a large navigable river is one of the first sources of wealth to every town, by the facilities which it affords for supplies of provisions and other necessities, as well as to trade in general. There

* Part of this town is seen in the Vignette to next chapter.

can be no doubt that the new town ought to have been built on the Don, in one of the many fine and elevated situations which present themselves, and which are exempt at all times from inundations. But the present NÓVO-Tcherkásk was the favourite object of Count Platóf, who in his life overcame all difficulties, and hurried on its establishment.

NÓVO-Tcherkásk extends nearly five versts in length, and has a handsome appearance. At the extremities of its principal street, which is extremely broad, are erected elegant triumphal gates of hewn stone, noticed hereafter. All the streets are in straight lines, but are neither paved nor lighted. One part of the town lies upon the declivity of the hill, but the finest is upon its summit. The houses are far apart from each other, mostly built of wood, but a number also of brick. The churches are constructed of wood, and the foundation of a large stone cathedral has been some years laid. A large place, called Alexander's *Plóstchad*, is surrounded by some good buildings, and here the foundation of a palace, which Platóf had destined for himself, is also remarked.

In the year 1812, the number of inhabitants of NÓVO-Tcherkásk amounted to 2000 or 2,500; but, in 1822, if the master of police informed us correctly, it had increased to no less than 8000 souls. Perhaps, however, 5000 or 6000, may be a calculation nearer the truth, as there was evidently a

disposition among the inhabitants, and persons in office, to represent this town in the most prosperous condition. The greater part of the inhabitants are Kozáks; but the Tartars, who formerly inhabited Stáro-Tcherkásk, were transported hither, and have a suburb for themselves, and a mosque for their service. There are also a few Kalmucks here.

At Nóvo-Tcherkásk there is a gymnasium, in which are taught the Latin, German, and French languages, history, geography, mathematics, philosophy, &c.; the *Upravléniyé*, already noticed; an hospital, which is said to contain 120 beds; an apothecary-shop, which belongs to the crown; and an arsenal; all deserving attention.

The Kozáks profess the same religion, and speak the same language, as the Russians. There are many Roskólniks among them, who have a peculiar accent in their pronunciation. The customs and government, however, of the country of the Donites, differ greatly from those of the Russians. The Kozáks are all free; they know not the distinction of lord and slave. They are a pastoral people, and their chief riches consist in their cattle and their horses. On the Don they are also great fishers, and carry on a considerable traffic. It is only of late years that some of the rich Kozáks have received slaves from the Emperor, or have bought them, to till their lands. The Kozáks are not good agriculturists. They cultivate the vine, especially near Stáro-Tcherkásk from which they

make both red and white wine, which has been already mentioned

The country of the Don Kozáks forms one of the governments of Russia, and its population is stated by some at 318,900 souls. It contains 2976 geographical square miles, and, consequently, 107 individuals for each of these miles. According to Yablóvskii, however, its population does not exceed 250,000 souls. Although subject to Russia, yet this country preserves its ancient rights. The Kozáks pay no taxes, but they furnish troops, which they support at their own expencé, except in foreign countries. Almost every individual employed in the affairs of the government of the country of the Don Kozáks belongs to it, and is named by the Atamán. This chief can only advance to the rank of colonel, but such a rank merely holds in the army of the Don. It is necessary that the Emperor confirm every rank, or that he give another to any individual, that he may enjoy the same prerogatives as those who have the same rank in the Russian army. In consequence of this, it often happens that a colonel of the Kozáks is only a major in the imperial army.

For some years there has existed a hereditary nobility, created by the Emperor. The son of such a noble is at first an under-officer, but otherwise does not enjoy any privilege in his country. The humblest Kozák has the hope of arriving at the highest rank, and even of becoming Atamán. The

Atamán is named by the Emperor for life, though he may be changed at His Majesty's pleasure.

The Kozáks of the Don, as well as other tribes of Kozáks, may be reckoned to form a kind of military colonies, and perhaps gave the idea of the present system of military colonisation which is carrying on in the south of Russia, and the particulars of which I have described in a pamphlet. They are a pastoral and military people, who, besides guarding their own territories, are scattered over various parts of the empire, and especially where a mixed civil and military duty is required, as about the public institutions, prisons, custom-houses, barriers, &c., of the capitals and towns. They also form piquets and guards in the Caucasus and Georgia.

Many contradictory accounts have been given as to the courage and utility of the Kozáks. By some they have been described as formidable warriors, by others as miserable cavalry. They seem to be well fitted for guarding the frontiers of an enemy, their vigilance and activity being beyond all question. But it is generally believed that they cannot stand a charge of infantry, nor even resist that of cavalry. The Russian officers in the Caucasus will seldom entrust themselves entirely to the protection of the Kozáks in passing any dangerous defile, while they have no fear in doing so, when guarded by a few Russian infantry. The real

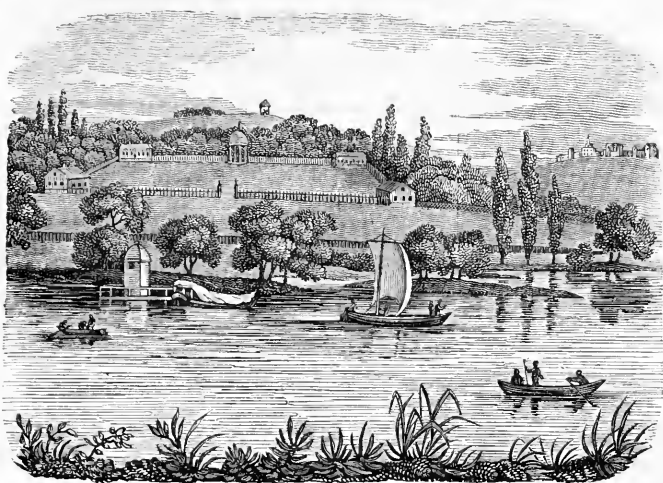
nature of the service of the Kozáks may be inferred from the two following quotations.

“The Kozáks were long known as a predatory set of people, who had been addicted to plunder on the shores of the Black Sea. They spread alarm even in Constantinople and in Asia Minor. Amurath the Great used to say, that, in spite of all the potentates in Europe, he could sleep on both ears, but those gadflies (the Kozáks) would scarcely suffer him to sleep on either.” *

“The character and habits of the regular troops or Kozáks of the Don, *cette milice belliqueuse et infatigable*, are singularly well adapted for a guerilla warfare, and always formed the troops of the *partisans*, who were able officers, and whose operations were favoured by the hostile dispositions of the peasantry toward the French. They proved most ruinous to their enemies by cutting off their resources for provisions and attacking their foraging parties, who dared scarcely venture five versts from their camp.” †

* Letters on Poland, p. 314.

† Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie en 1812, par le Colonel Boutourlin.



CHAP. XIX.

FAME OF PLATÓF. — THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND COMBATS.

—MR. SMIRNOI'S WORK.—PLATÓF'S OPINIONS.—HIS GENERAL CHARACTER. — ACCOUNT OF HIS BIRTH. — EDUCATION.—GENIUS.—AMUSEMENTS. — ENTERS THE MILITARY SERVICE. — DEPARTURE FOR THE KRIMEA. — HIS ADVANCEMENT. — HIS BRAVERY ON THE KALALACH. — SENT AGAINST PÚGATCHOF AND THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF CAUCASUS. — DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF AT THE SIEGE OF OTCHAKOF. — ALSO AT KÁÚSHÁ-NACH.—AND AT ISMAIL. — VISITS PETERSBURGH. — PRINCE POTYÉMKIN. —PLATÓF'S PROMOTION.—FIGHTS IN PERSIA. — THE EMPEROR PAUL'S FOOLISH CONDUCT.—HIS CHARACTER. —PLATÓF'S APPEARANCE AT COURT. — MADE ATÁMAN OF THE KOZÁKS OF THE DON. — FOUNDATION OF NÓVO-TCHER-KÁSK. — PLATÓF'S ATTACHMENT TO OLD CUSTOMS. — HIS DISTINCTIONS.—HIS ECCENTRICITY.—ANECDOTE. — HIS CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTE. — ANECDOTE. —SERVES AGAINST THE TURKS. — REWARDS.—PLATÓF'S OPERATIONS IN 1812.—

MADE A COUNT. — ADDRESSES TO HIS SOLDIERS. — PRESENT FROM THE EMPEROR. — HIS VISIT TO ENGLAND. — PRESENTS FROM AND TO THE PRINCE REGENT. — THE SWORD OF THE CITY OF LONDON. — PLATÓF'S ARRIVAL AT PETERSBURGH. — SETS OFF FOR VIENNA. — HIS RETURN TO THE CAPITAL. — DEPARTURE. — TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY. — ANECDOTE. — ENTRY INTO NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — HIS CONDUCT. — LABAUME'S ACCOUNT OF HIS SON'S DEATH. — REJOICING AND FESTIVALS. — BIBLE SOCIETY. — IMPROVEMENTS. — PREPARATIONS FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE EMPEROR. — VISIT OF THE GREAT DUKE MICHAÏL PÁVLOVITCH. — MÍSHKIN. — PLATÓF SETS OFF FOR MOSCOW. — HIS DEATH. — HIS CHARACTER. — HIS FAILINGS. — HIS MONUMENT.

THE fame which the late celebrated Atamán of the Donskoi Kozáks, Count Matvei Ivánovitch Platóf, has acquired throughout Europe, nay, over the whole globe, in consequence of his spirit of enterprise, his military prowess, his important services, and his victories, gained over the enemies of Russia and of Britain, in the memorable campaign of 1812-13-14, renders an account of his life of the highest importance. The unchangeable fidelity which he manifested to his sovereign, and the deep interest he took in the glory of Russia, must ever render his memory dear to that empire. His deeds did not pass in silence, nor require to be brought more prominently into light by a posthumous publication. Platóf was a favourite hero, and a well-known warrior, and had the pleasure of receiving the most distinguished marks of approbation and esteem from the crowned heads of different nations of Europe; besides many other

signal tokens of regard from corporate bodies, and from the people. The astonishing interest our hero excited, and the extraordinary attentions he received, when he was in London in 1814, from the British public, bespoke the national feeling, and made the deepest impression upon his heart; indeed, esteem and gratitude, and even love, seemed to overpower him at all times, when the name of Britain, or of Briton, sounded in his ears.

A history of Platóf was greatly wanted in consequence of the numerous erroneous reports which have been in circulation with respect to his origin, his life, his character, his condition in the world, his combats, and his death. I therefore hope that I shall be able to fill up a blank in the literature of this country. I cannot conceal from my readers, however, that I have drawn very largely from the recent work of Mr. Smirnoi, published under the title of “Life and Combats of Count Matvéi Ivánovitch Platóf.”* This work, though unknown in Britain, has met with distinguished patronage abroad, both from the illustrious and the learned, and has been perused, with the most enthusiastic feelings, by thousands of the Kozáks of the Don, at their various stations, scattered over the Russian empire.

Mr. Smirnoi, the biographer of Platóf, was at-

* *Jisn i Podvigih Grapha Matveya Ivánovitcha Platóva Sotchinnéniié Nikolaya Smirnaho*, in 3 parts, 8vo. Moscow, 1821.

tached to him in a diplomatic character, became his secretary and an inmate of his house, and was one of his companions when travelling. He had every opportunity of collecting accurate information respecting his life and victories, *vivá voce*, and it was known that he was composing the work which is to be my chief guide, before the Atamán's death. *

Mr. Smirnoi's work bears the stamp of authenticity in every page, and, though I do not think he has at all times been prudent enough in concealing the failings of his hero, we have seldom to complain of his extravagant statements. To have been a *protégé* of Platóf's, and to have written with less enthusiasm and panegyric, would probably have argued want of taste, and want of feeling. I have made liberal selections, and quotations from the Russian work, and I have added some information with respect to Platóf's family, which I collected at his residence, Nóvo-Tcherkásk†, as well as during my abode and travels in Russia.

Platóf's public character is so well known, that I shall be inclined to dwell less upon his military

* See a Journey from India to England, by Lt. Col. Johnson.

† The name should always be written so, and not *New Tcherkask*. If the Russians were to half translate Old Bailey into *Staro-Bailey*, how ridiculous would it appear. Tcherkásk is now called *Stáro-Tcherkásk*, i. e. Old Tcherkask, in contradistinction to *Nóvo-Tcherkásk*, i. e. New Tcherkask.

conduct and heroic feats, than upon his domestic occupations, and his private life.

I regret that Smirnoi's work does not contain more of Platóf's opinions, anecdotes, and conversations. Some of his opinions, however, are stated, which are very amusing, and have a peculiar interest. They are the blunt, frank, and unsophisticated expressions of a great mind which had never received a proper cultivation; of a genius which despised the flattery, the hypocrisy, and the deceptions which are often met with in polished life; and of a heart which looked with consummate disdain upon the general professions and actions of courtiers. Platóf was always a Kozák; — the same when a private, as when a chieftain, whether in the midst of his darling soldiers in the camp, or in palaces with the continental sovereigns; whether as the champion of his country residing upon the Don, or receiving the attentions and the praises of the crowned heads in the capitals of Europe. He was a half-civilised, but brave and successful soldier of fortune, who, by his own energy, enterprise, merit, perseverance, and unconquerable valour, raised himself from the lowest rank to the highest station in his country.

Platóf's memory is deservedly cherished with esteem, love, and even veneration, among his countrymen. Young and old, rich and poor, glory in the repetition of his name, as if he were already sainted or immortal. He was truly the

patriarchal father, the baronial chief of feudal times ;—the judge, the guide, and the protector of his people in peace ; their leader, their hero, and their conqueror in war. His presence excited reverence in the country ; the sound of his martial voice was in itself a host, inspiring terror into his enemies, and the confidence which ensures success, to his followers.

The celebrated northern poet, Jukovskii, in "*The Minstrel in the Russian Camp*," who apostrophises the most renowned heroes of the autocratic imperial army, especially those who distinguished themselves in the last campaign against the Emperor Napoleon, gives his meed of praise to Platóf in the following stanza : —

"And thou, Platóf! thou storm of fight,
Thou Atamán, the Lion!
Thy busy lance — thy sling of might,
Scathe — scatter all they fly on.
A wild wolf broken from his lair —
An eagle on stretch'd pinion : —
Death whispering in the foeman's ear
Throughout thy wide dominion.
Amidst the woods his torches fly —
How spreads the conflagration !
Bridges oppose — in dust they lie —
Towns — all is desolation !"*

* Bowring's Russian Anthology, part ii. p. 71.

I do not think the original one of the most happy efforts of the poet's lyre. Mr. Bowring's translation is superior to it. it illustrates, however, the general opinion with respect to

Count Platóf was born on the 6th August 1751, in the *Stanítsa* * Staro-Tcherkásk, upon the Don. †

Platóf's military prowess, and the mode of warfare among the "clouds of Kozáks." The following is a literal prose translation:—

Praises! Our whirlwind — Atamán,
 Chieftain of the unbroken, Platóf!
 Thy enchanted *arkan*, ‡
 A storm for thine enemies.
 The eagle resounds in the clouds;
 On the earth the wolf roars.
 Fear flies behind our enemies,
 Misery whispers in their ears.
 They fly to the woods — the woods burn;
 The *derevni* § pour out arrows;
 They fly to the bridges — the bridges are destroyed;
 They fly to the villages — the villages are in flames.

* *Stanítsa*. The villages of the Kozáks, with an allotment of land and of fishing, are called *Stanítsi*, or stations, because the whole of the males of their country being trained to arms, and residing at their homes, form a kind of military colonies. They live by cultivating the ground, and by their fisheries, till the tocsin of war calls them to the field.

† On the banks of the Don, the following fables are reported by the good old people respecting Platóf's birth; and, as they are characteristic of the superstitions of the Kozáks, of which the late Atamán himself possessed a liberal portion, they are

‡ *Arkan* is a long cord with a noose, which the Kirghiss and the Kozáks use in order to seize and carry off prisoners.

§ *Derevni* means villages without churches, and is used by the poet in contradistinction to the word *Sélo*, which occurs in the last line, and which signifies villages with churches. The Germans make a similar distinction in Dorf and Kirchdorf.

His father was a Voiskovoi Starshín *, and had the rank of major. By the steadiness of his character and his virtuous life, he attracted the love and approbation of all his neighbours. His wife, the mother of Count Platóf, shared the public esteem with him. Their circumstances were very moderate; and, on that account, they were unable to give

the more worthy of being recorded. About the time that Platóf was expected to see the light, his father was occupied with navigation upon the Don, and went to examine his barge, which was not farther distant than 100 fathoms from his house. On the road thence, some kind of bird, while flying over him, dropped a piece of rye bread upon his hat. The respectable old man having crossed himself, offered up a prayer, and concealed the piece of bread in his pocket. Then, on approaching the bank of the river, another wonder was manifested. A fish, called *Sazan*, (a species of carp,) without any visible excitement, sprung out of the water, and was so tranquil that he was enabled to catch it, and carry it home alive. Scarcely had he reached his home, when his ears were delighted with the agreeable intelligence that God had given him a son. The old man looked upon all that had happened as a blessed augury of heaven, and thanked the Almighty with all his heart. He regaled his neighbours with *vodtki* (spirits), and they eat the bread, and, having invited his friends to dinner, they devoured the fish he had caught.

* The rank of *Voiskovoi Starshin*, in those days, was much more highly esteemed than at present. Then the officers of the army of the Don had not the same facility of promotion as those of the regular army, and those alone were raised who distinguished themselves by their service. Long afterwards, the Emperor Paul, on account of the faithful and brave service of the troops of the Don, put them upon an equality in obtaining rank with the regular army. *Voiskovoi Starshín* literally means Military Syndic, or Elder.

their son any education beyond reading and writing Russ ; but, in recompense for this, they took care to form his character with all parental tenderness. From his very youth they endeavoured to fix in his mind the tenets of the Greek church, voluntary obedience to authorities, unbounded devotion and fidelity to his sovereign, unalterable attachment to his relations and to old customs, and to inspire his soul with military courage. According to the custom of the inhabitants of the Don, relating the distinguished victories of his country, they sowed in their son's heart the seeds of patriotic virtues, and roused his zeal to proceed in the path which leads to true fame.

In his earliest years, Platóf gave proofs of an uncommon mind and understanding. Every thing in him indicated premature manhood, and that he had been created for those famous combats by which he acquired glory in the eyes of Russia, and of all Europe, and which threw lustre upon his native land, and secured its weal. All the youthful amusements in which he indulged were manly and useful. They consisted in perfecting himself in horsemanship, with the evolutions and celerity of a Kozák ; in hunting, fishing, shooting, and such occupations. Even now, there are old people living who report, that in intrepidity and fortitude, Platóf far exceeded all the cotemporary youths of the Don. Thus passed the early days

of the future hero, under the guardianship of his parents.

At the age of thirteen, Platóf entered the service of his country as an *Uriadnik*. * His father, a religious old man, having dedicated his son to the service of his sovereign, gave him strict orders, which formed his chief heritage, that he should always have before him his own example, who, without the least protection, but by faithful service to his sovereign and to his country, had arrived at the rank of a staff-officer,—that he should preserve unaltered the customs of his parents,—that he should every where, and in all things, conduct himself as a good Christian, with full confidence in God, not only on important but also in the most trifling occurrences of life,—that he should be true and faithful to his sovereign and to his country, serve the government, be attentive to his equals, condescending to his inferiors, and strict rather with himself than with those of inferior rank : in short, that he should never forget the country in which he had been born, nourished, and educated.

Setting forward, with such home education and

* *Uriadnik* means him whose duty it is to keep order for the time being, an orderly. Thus at the military post stations in the Caucasus, and in the country of the Don Kozáks, the *Uriadnik* receives and inscribes your travelling order for post-horses, and assists your arrangements, for which he usually receives drink-money.

parental benediction, to the field of warfare, the young Platóf did not long remain in obscurity. His exactness in the fulfilment of the duties imposed upon him; the rapidity and remarkable hardiness he showed in his first experiments in the profession of a soldier; his quick, comprehensive, and clear judgment; and his decisive character; soon drew to him the attention of high and low, commanded general approbation and confidence, and caused him to be taken much notice of by those at the head of government. Platóf was very soon advanced to be an officer, and, when he happened to be on duty at the commander-in-chief's, was invariably treated with much distinction, and asked to his table. His superiors in rank taught him to feel that he was elevated above the rank of the common Donites, and to look forward to a bright career of military fame. His indefatigable assiduity and attention augmented from day to day. He allowed nothing to pass without particular examination, and left no object, which had once excited his regard and curiosity, without informing himself thoroughly of its nature. His activity was not, however, confined to military occupations—the kind of service peculiar to the Kozáks, to which he was always attached heart and soul,—he endeavoured to gain information in other departments, and took advantage of all occasions to obtain a knowledge of the world. The result showed, that in this respect he had been

completely successful. He was peculiarly attentive in seizing the expressions of distinguished individuals indicating penetration or solidity of thought. He lost not a moment in idleness, and no means of informing his mind was allowed to pass without advantage. Aware that reading books contributed to this purpose, he consecrated his leisure to this delightful occupation.* The perusal of general and particular history made him acquainted with the great men of ancient days, and their example inflamed his soul which, without excitement, was of a very ardent cast. This strict self-discipline prepared the future hero.

Before the commencement of the first Turkish war, Platóf's father was sent with a regiment of the Don, first to the Baradínskii line, and afterwards to St. Petersburg. He left his son in charge of his domestic affairs, chiefly of his fisheries on the shores of the sea of Azoph; but no sooner had "*the thunder thundered*" (*vosgrémel grom*) of military arms, than the heart of the young soldier was inflamed with zeal to fly to the post which his countrymen occupied, and with them to share their labours and dangers. Although he had not received the parental benediction for such praiseworthy conduct, and that in the absence of his father, the

* How much might it be regretted that he had not had the use of a good library; for in his early days, upon the Don, it may be presumed but few books, and those, of course, chiefly translations, were to be procured!

domestic affairs committed to his charge might fall into disorder, if left without inspection, he resolved to leave them to the care of stewards (*prikástchiki*), and having taken a horse and the necessary trappings, he set out, in the year 1770, for the Krimea. There he presented himself to Prince Vassilii Michailovitch Dolgorúkof, commander-in-chief of the army. He gained the good opinion of the Prince, and was soon afterwards attached to him. Platóf then received the rank of *esaul*, or captain, and he was entrusted with the command of a hundred Kozáks, who formed part of the staff, from different regiments. Having secured the early favourable impressions of his chief by his exemplary conduct, he was soon raised to the rank of *Voiskovoi Starshín*, and he now found himself at the head of a regiment of his favourite Donskoi Kozáks. At this time he was not more than twenty years of age. Notwithstanding his youth, the new-made Starshín soon exhibited signs of uncommon intrepidity, presence of mind, and knowledge of military tactics, by saving himself and the force entrusted to him, from imminent danger of annihilation. This, the first important affair in which he had engaged, happened in the Kubán, and on the river Kalalach, on the 3d of April 1774. He was charged with the convoy of provisions and ammunition to the army. His whole force consisted of his own regiment, and the regiment of Lariónof, with one piece of artillery, and a considerable number of

baggage waggons. In his progress to the place of destination, in a most extensive *step* *, and completely separated from other forces, he was suddenly surrounded by the Tartars of the Krimea, under the command of the Khan, Devlet Gherri, whose troops ten times exceeded his own in number. It was the general opinion of all his companions, as well as of the commander of the other regiment, that they ought to surrender themselves and baggage rather than engage in so unequal a contest ; but the young hero, Platóf, was of a different opinion. He caused the baggage waggons to stop, and thus harangued his soldiers : “ My friends, there remains for us either a glorious death, or victory. We should not be Russians † and Donites if we feared the enemy ; with the assistance of God, let us repel their audacious attacks.” He ordered the small force he commanded to be immediately surrounded by the *telégas* (small four-wheeled carts) and by the sacks taken out of them, and in this manner formed a kind of fortification. Afterwards he picked out two Kozáks, whose daring spirit, temerity, and bravery, had been proved on former occasions, and told them that he put his

* Vide p. 134. of Vol. I.

† I suspect that the biographer has inadvertently, if not willingly, added the word Russians, as the Kozáks are not Russians, but Malo-Russians, or a distinct race ; and especially because the Kozáks think themselves a superior people to the Russians.

life in their hands ; and that, if they died gloriously in the act to which they were destined, for the Tsarítsa (Empress) their mother, for the safety of their brethren, wives and children, they would be rewarded in heaven by an immortal crown. He then despatched them to Lieut. Col. Buchovistof, who was on the opposite bank of the Kalalach with a chasseur-battalion, begging him to come to his assistance. The attack was furiously commenced by the Tartars, and as bravely resisted by the Kozáks of the Don. In the mean time, one of the messengers reached the Colonel, while the other fell a sacrifice to the cause of his country. The chasseur-battalion was immediately in motion ; and the Tartars, having already lost a number of men, and seeing fresh troops, of whose numbers they were uncertain, coming up, betook themselves to flight, and left Platóf completely master of the field. This triumph of the young warrior was followed by most sincere and ardent thanksgiving to the God of battles : a practice which ceased only with the hero's existence.

Platóf had previously shared in the honour of taking the lines of Pérekop, and of a victory near Kinburn, in the year 1771 ; but it was this engagement in the Kubán which established his reputation throughout the Russian armies.

After the conclusion of peace with the Turks at Kainardji, Platóf was sent to the Kubán. He was employed in 1774 for the suppression of the

notorious rebel, Púgatchof. After that individual had been seized and delivered over to justice, he was occupied, in the years 1775-6-7, in the destruction of bands of his followers. He was next sent against the tribes who dwell beyond the river Kubán, where he remained in 1782-3. In 1784 he was destined to oppose two of the most barbarous and ferocious tribes of mount Caucasus, the Tchitchéntsi and the Lesghées.

About this time Prince Potyémkin became commander-in-chief of the southern army, and a new campaign with the Turks was opened by the siege of Otchakof, which was soon afterwards taken by storm; and Platóf, who had attained the rank of colonel, participated in the glory of the day. In the month of September 1789, our hero greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Kaushanach; and, in consequence, was rewarded with the rank of Brigadier-General, and also named the *Pochódnoi Atamán*, or Field-Atamán, *i. e.* the Atamán who accompanies or marches with the army. In the same month, he acted a valiant part in the memorable capture of the strong fortress and town of Belgrade, or Akkerman; which is situated upon an elevated rock on the right bank of the *liman* * of the Dnéster, at the distance of fifteen versts from the Black Sea. In 1790, he was a participator of the dangers and of the honours of the dreadful

* Vide p. 156. of Vol. I.

conflict which took place at the attack and capture of the fortress of Ismail upon the Danube, hitherto deemed impregnable. The well-known, singular, and laconic Suvárof, received the order to take this castle * within three days. He called a kind of council of war, and having desired that every one present should give his unbiassed opinion, trusting to God and his conscience, he left the assembly. A sheet of paper was brought, in order that each member of the meeting might write down his opinion as to their future operations. The brave hero of this memoir being the youngest brigadier-general present, it was his duty to write first. He hesitated not, but noted down, "*to storm the fortress !*" and he was followed in his decision by all the commanders present. Running into the tent, and remarking a general consent among the officers, Suvárof, in ecstasy, kissed them all, and vociferated: "*One day to worship God, another day for instruction, and the third day, a glorious death or victory !*" The successful, but awful result of this sanguinary conflict is well known. The Turks are said to have lost 35,000 men, and the Russians a prodigious number. Here, as usual, Platóf acted his part well. He fought most gallantly, and gave fresh indications of his future greatness. His sovereign now bestowed on him the military order of St. George, of the third class,

* Vide p. 127. Vol. I.

which must have proved a great source of pleasure to him, as this is the most creditable order in Russia; and is very unlike some of the others—neither to be bought nor sold, but must be fought for—being only given as a reward for gallant behaviour in the field.

Potyémkin early discovered the splendid natural talents of Platóf, and he made him *Atamán* of the Yekaterínosláf Kozáks, who were formed from the *Odnovórtsi* (or possessors of one house), and of the Kozáks of Tchugúéf.*

Platóf visited Petersburg in the year 1791, and his military renown having preceded him, he was received in the most flattering manner, both by sovereign and subject. It was at this time that Potyémkin made his last visit to Petersburg to enjoy the laurels awarded to his successes: and that he gave his sovereign the most splendid reception in the Tauridan palace, which, perhaps, was ever offered by a subject to a prince; but the joy of which must have been destroyed by the presentiment he felt, “that the kingdom was departing from him;” or rather that it was the last magnificent interview which he was to have with that wonderful, but wily and profligate, genius of the

* The Kozáks of Tchugúéf were afterwards converted into regular cavalry regiments; and they yielded with the highest reluctance to their late destiny of being formed into military colonies. See “Account of the Organization, Administration, &c., of the Military Colonies in Russia, p. 21. 1824.”

north, whose favour he had long enjoyed, and whose empire he had in a manner ruled. Potyémkin returned to the camp; and, as is well known, died near Yassi. His body, as formerly noticed, was buried in the principal church of Khersón; and as an awful lesson to humanity, of the instability of mortal fame, no one dare to point out to the passing traveller the place where the remains of this distinguished man repose. The conqueror of southern Russia has no spot sacred to his relics, no stone to indicate where he is at rest. *Sic transit gloria mundi.** Some think that such an end is the just reward of his life, while others are disposed to erect a monument to perpetuate his fame. But it is time to return to our subject.

Peace with the Turks followed Potyémkin's death; and the empress's new favourite, Count V. A. Zúbof, having succeeded to the command of the army, the rank of major-general was bestowed upon Platóf, and he was also made the *Pochódnoi Voiskovoi Atamán*, or the Field-Military Atamán, of the Kozáks of the Don, as well as of the other Kozák regiments in Zúbof's army. Platóf fought with this army, in the war against the Persians, for two years; and at its conclusion, he had the honour to receive a sword "for bravery," from his sovereign.

* Vide p. 213. Vol. I.

Hitherto we have seen Platóf in the Krimea, in the Kubán, in Moldavia, and in Persia, marching steadily forward in the road of military fame, favoured by fortune, and guided by his "good genius." Concealed enemies, in the depth of envy, jealousy, and malice, had attempted in vain to turn the heart of his Imperial mistress, Catherine II. against him ; but that monarch was not easily to be led away, or to be duped. The inconsiderate, flexible, and misguided Paul, however, lent an ear to false accusations, and was led to commit a great mistake. It is generally believed that the brave Suvárof fell a victim to this sovereign's cruel conduct ; and, it appears, that Platóf narrowly escaped a similar fate. Mr. Smirnoi gives us to understand, that our hero was upon good terms "with the heir of Catherine, *of blessed memory*, who, with such a soul, such a heart, and such an understanding, knew how to do justice to merit, how to elevate, and how to reward like *a sovereign, when no foreign feeling* prevented the activity of his truly innate and sovereign virtues." Afterwards, however, when Platóf set off on a visit to his country and family, various reports were made to the Emperor with respect to his want of allegiance, and to his collusion with the tribes of the Caucasus to make a general revolt. Platóf was stopped in his career, carried to Kolómna, and from thence to Petersburg, where he was lodged in the castle of Peter and Paul. But the Emperor discovered his upright conduct, and the

baseness of his enemies, whom he gave up to due punishment, while he, to use the author's extraordinary expression, "*granted a complete pardon to Platóf*," and received him into great favour. *Pardon was granted for the Emperor's mistake!**

The villanous report originated with a countryman of Platóf's, who could not endure his distinctions, and evidently wished to supplant him in the monarch's favour. Paul, like most violent persons, had a good heart, and, in his calm moments, generally wished to redeem the injuries which he had committed when under the influence of ungovernable passion, or of mistake. This was so well known, that the grandees of the north did not frown, in those days, at the sight, or even the feel, of the Imperial cane. Flagellation generally became the passport to honours or a lucrative station, and sometimes to the *arend* (lease) of an estate.

To recompense Platóf for the injustice of his enemies, and for his own rash cruelty, Paul, according to custom, loaded him with favours, and ordered his presentation at court. Unfortunately, Platof's uniform was not made according to the fashion of the day, and this soldier well knew the tact and minuteness with which his Imperial master regarded the exterior of every individual who came under his cognisance. The least non-conformity to the prescribed etiquette of the time, or of the day,

* See Character of the Russians, &c. p.lxiv.

might have lost him the favourable impressions of Paul, and the rewards which awaited him. To add to Platóf's anxiety and distress, the presentation was ordered to take place so soon, that there was not time for making a new dress. He hesitated how to act, knowing not what might be the result of the violent excitement of his sovereign's mind. At length he sent to all the well-known tailors in the Residence to enquire after a ready-made uniform for a general of the Kozák army. At one of the tailors' such a dress was found, and, what is remarkable, it belonged to the most bitter of Platóf's enemies who had sought his ruin. Platóf was presented to his sovereign, and, among other marks of Imperial favour, he received the cross of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which order, Paul, for a time, became the self-elected mock grand-master, or purchaser.

Soon after this, Platóf was ordered to return home where he became assistant in the administration to the *Voiskovoi Atamán* of the Don territory.

In 1801 a horrid end was put to Paul's days, and his son and successor, Alexander, who was well acquainted with Platóf's merit, soon had an opportunity of publicly testifying his high regard for him. The distinguished and lamented *Voiskovoi Atamán* of the Donskoi Kozáks, General Orlof*, died during

* Mr. Heber, now Bishop of Calcutta, whose general accuracy is wonderful, and whose notes add so much value to

the first year of Alexander's reign, and the new sovereign did not hesitate to nominate Platóf his successor, although many of his countrymen were older, and appeared to have prior claims. Platóf was soon afterwards presented to Alexander in his new capacity. He now began to occupy himself with his favourite scheme — the foundation of Nóvo-Tcherkásk, which I have already described at length.

Platóf was strict in ordering the Kozáks to wear their native dress, and once he had two officers put under arrest because they had shown themselves in common coats. His creed and practice were very different from Peter the Great's; "for," says his biographer, "he knew that from a change of na-

Clarke's Travels in Russia, says, that "Platóf's predecessor was the last Atamán who was in possession of his ancient privileges. He had often, by his own authority, bound men hand and foot and thrown them into the Don. He was unexpectedly seized and carried off by the orders of the Empress (*Catharine*), and succeeded, as general of the armies of the Don, by Maffei Ivanovitch Platóf, a fine civil old soldier, with the great cordon of St. Anne." See Clarke's Travels, vol. i. p. 292. Note.

The errors of this statement are obvious; General Orlof, the predecessor of Platóf for a short time, Mr. Smirnoi speaks of as one whose administration begat him general love, approbation, and confidence, and whose memory and name are preserved with attachment and esteem in the hearts of the Donites. Mr. Heber, no doubt, has been led into the mistake in consequence of some one confounding the *Atamán-General* of the Don territory, with the *Atamán* of a village; for the chief of each *stanítsa* has the title of *Atamán*. At one time the term *Atamán* signified a chief of banditti.

tional dress, there is only one step to a change of national manners," and this he did not want.

In the war carried on by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, against France, Platóf first showed himself with the Donskoi Kozáks, marching toward the centre of Europe. A new field of glory apparently opened for his exertions; but his small army had scarcely reached the confines of Russia when peace put a stop to his progress. The repose of Europe, however, did not long endure; and, in the war which commenced toward the end of 1806, and which was terminated by the inglorious peace of Tilsit, Platóf bore an eminent part, and became known to all Europe.

My limits do not allow me to enter into the details of all the engagements and services of Platóf, which are recorded minutely in Mr. Smirnoi's work, and which are in fact so generally known as to render the task unnecessary. In this campaign the Kozák army under Platóf took prisoners, nine staff-officers, 130 superior officers, and 4196 of the lower ranks; while, in the Donskoi regiments, were killed two staff-officers; seven superior officers; sixteen *uriadniks* *; and 169 Kozáks; and, were wounded, one staff-officer, twenty-one superior officers, thirty-four *uriadniks*, and 397 Kozáks.

In reward for his eminent services in this cam-

* Vide p. 216. of this Volume. Note.

paign, Platóf received from the Emperor the order of St. Alexander Névskii, and soon after, the same order in brilliants, and a gold snuff-box, with his sovereign's portrait, of fine workmanship, beset with precious stones, and valued at least at thirty thousand roubles. The king of Prussia showed him the greatest kindness, and in this he was followed by the queen. He was often at the royal table, and he received, besides the orders of the Red and Black Eagles, a gold snuff-box, with the king's portrait also set in brilliants and rubies. Sir Robert Wilson says, "When the king of Prussia was anxious to find some farther distinction for Platóf, who, by a series of great and gallant services, had exhausted the usual means of royal recompense for military achievements, the queen graciously discovered the compliment that would be most grateful to him, and presented into his hands a beautiful heron's plume, rendered inestimable to all who admire beauty, and every female accomplishment that could distinguish a woman and a sovereign, by having herself once worn it. Platóf received it with enthusiastic and grateful emotions; but, on his knees, solicited permission that his "wife might wear it on the most solemn occasions, as he should contemplate it with suitable veneration, when so borne by one who was more worthy than himself of this honour." *

* Brief Remarks on the Character and Composition of the Russian Army, &c. p. 36.

After the conclusion of the general peace at Tilsit in 1807, at an interview of the monarchs, the Emperor Napoleon signified to Alexander his wish to bestow the order of the Legion of Honour upon some of the distinguished generals of the Russian army. The intention of Napoleon was made known to Platóf, with the design that he might be led to express a wish to be included among the select small number. The Atamán knowing that there were present those who would carry his answer to Buonaparte, is said to have made the following speech : “ It is his will — as he likes — but if he actually send me his order as a recompense, I will not receive it, and so I will inform my liege sovereign. Why should he reward me ? I certainly never served him. I serve my natural sovereign in faith and truth. I never exchanged any thing for him : for the sake of our angel, of the eternal and patriotic love of our country, I am always ready to shed my best blood against him, to the last drop, and till my latest breath : but, for him I will not sacrifice one drop of blood ; not a moment of time ; and nobody will oblige me to do so : in testimony whereof I do penance, and bow before Almighty God.” *

Platóf could not conceal his wish, however, to examine Buonaparte more nearly, and at a review

* Platóf's peculiar style and manner is alluded to hereafter : at times it seems incoherent. Vide p. 253. of this Vol.

of the troops, where all the *crowned heads of Tilsit* were present, one of the French officers remarked the eager attention with which Platóf rivetted his eyes upon Napoleon; but the veteran, with presence of mind, though in words which ill-disguised his thoughts, replied, "I am not looking at your emperor; in him there is nothing extraordinary; he is as other people; I am looking at his horse, and I wish to know its race."

Among his own friends Platóf gave the following opinion of Buonaparte: "Although his penetrating look, and the features of his face, indicate great strength of mind, yet, at the same time, they manifest uncommon severity. That man was not born for the weal, but for the misfortune of the human race."

The Emperor Napoleon having heard of Platóf's great dexterity in shooting with the bow used by the Tartars and the Bashkirs, signified his wish to witness the feats of the Atamán to the Emperor Alexander, who acted as interpreter on the occasion. Buonaparte is said to have been astonished, and to have begged Platóf to receive a gold snuff-box, decorated with his portrait and precious stones, as a remembrance of him. But the will of his sovereign, Alexander, which may be considered as equivalent to a command, alone could induce the Atamán to receive the proffered present. That he might not, however, remain in debt to the Emperor of the French, he immediately presented the

bow which he had used to His Majesty. Platóf had scarcely returned to his quarters, when he took out the stones from the snuff-box, and by the first opportunity he sent them to his daughters; but he allowed the portrait to remain until the triumphal entry of the Russian troops into Paris, when he received the intelligence of Buonaparte's resignation of the throne. Then, in an ecstasy, he tore out the portrait from the box, and ordered it to be replaced by an *antique*. This transformed box he used as a kind of trophy till the day of his death.

Platóf partly shared in the campaign against the Turks, with the army under General Field-marshal Prince Próserovskii, in the year 1809, which gave him an opportunity of adding fresh laurels to his wreath of fame. "For all his combats," the Emperor granted him the rank of general of cavalry, the order of St. George of the second class, great cross, and the order of the first rank of St. Vladimir. Our hero was now taken dangerously ill, and the physicians reported that he was threatened with consumption. The Emperor having heard of this, allowed him to quit the Moldavian army, upon condition that on his recovery he should show himself at Petersburg, where a particular affair demanded his arrival. Some months after his return to the Don he recovered his health, and then set off for the Residence, where he was most graciously received by his sovereign, and most kindly treated

by all ranks. While there, a complete table service of china, which had been made at the royal potteries, and which had been expedited by the King of Prussia, was received. What rendered this present more valuable, was the circumstance of the service being ornamented with the royal arms, and representations of different engagements, and especially of those of the hero himself.

We hear little more of Platóf till the year 1812. The events of the last campaign are too well known, and too fresh in every one's mind, to stand in need of repetition here. The share Platóf and the Kozáks had during the advance of the French into Russia, their stay there, and their retreat, is well illustrated by a table in the Appendix of Smirnoi's work. From the statements therein contained, it appears that from the 27th of June till about the middle of December 1812, i. e. till the pursuit beyond Kovno to Vilkoviskii, "there were killed 18,300; taken, 10 generals, 1047 staff and superior officers; and 39,511 of the lower ranks; besides 15 standards, 364 cannon, and 1066 ammunition waggons, by Platóf's army alone.

For different victories near Smolénsk, in the retreat of the French, the Emperor created Platóf a count, and made the title hereditary in his family.

Some of Platóf's addresses to his troops are well worth attention, as well as the orders he sent to his native country in the emergency of 1812. They

had an electric effect, and instantaneously assembled all the males. Youths scarcely fourteen years of age, and hoary heads bending toward the grave, were ranged in the ranks, and seen on the march to join their brethren in arms.

Of the progress of the Russian army from the Niemen to Paris, I shall say nothing ; but the following anecdote is worth recording, and shows that it required invention to know with what additional honours to load Platóf. While the confederate sovereigns were at Frankfort, Count Platóf was sitting at his window, when Count Araktchíef's adjutant arrived with a new gift from the monarch, "a rich feather, with laurel wreaths of the imperial crest, all made of brilliants, to wear in his cap : " but I should suppose the Atamán never made an exhibition of himself with such a gaudy ornament upon his head. "The Count immediately rose from the table, prayed God for the health of his adored sovereign, and then drank a *bumper* of wine to his august health."

"The Emperor having resolved to visit England, this nation so famous for the grandeur of its spirit, its riches, its knowledge, and its wise laws," * he nominated Platóf among those who were to compose his suite.

* These are Mr. Smirnoi's words, and may be reckoned Platóf's ; and, indeed, the language of the Kozák country, high and low, is of the same nature. Platóf has inspired his countrymen with the most exalted opinions of Britain and her natives.

Here Mr. Smirnoi gives a detailed account of the veteran's reception in our metropolis, of the crowds of visitors that thronged upon him, both in and out of town, of the gracious reception of him by the King, then Prince Regent, and of the portrait which he caused to be painted, and of the numerous invitations which he received to dinners, suppers, balls, concerts, theatres, &c. The old soldier complained of the actors, who prayed him, nay almost forced him, to be present at their benefits, and of his being obliged, in consequence, to go to two or more *spectacles* on the same day. At this, we need not be surprised, for it was a species of life to which he was unaccustomed, and besides, he was not an amateur of such amusements.

The following circumstances seem to have highly delighted Platóf. "The Count having made known his wish to purchase a gold watch of the best description, his landlord pretended that he would make enquiry where such a one could be found. On the following day, Platóf received as a present from the Prince Regent, a splendid watch with his arms upon it." "The Prince having ordered a painting to be taken of the beautiful white horse on which Platóf had not only shown himself in London, but which had been his companion in the last campaign, and in all his former campaigns, the hero, in order to show his attachment, resolved to part with this animal, and after

having had it equipped with all the Kozák trappings, he presented it to the Prince Regent, who was highly pleased on the occasion, and ordered this Donskoi Bucephalus to be kept in his own stables, and to be taken particular care of."

The present of the Prince Regent's portrait, set in precious stones, appears to have afforded uncommon pleasure to Platóf; and I should suppose that it is the reason that an engraving of it is found in his life, with a copy of the original inscription, as well as a translation of the same. Indeed, every thing English seems held in more than usual veneration, and hence both sides of the sword which was sent to Platóf from the city of London, are also represented among the plates; and in the appendix of Smirnoi's work we find the letter of the Duke of Wellington which accompanied it, as well as the answer of the Atamán.

Platóf remained a short time in London after the departure of the Emperor, and then proceeded to Warsaw; and, having made arrangements respecting some Kozák regiments stationed on the frontiers, he hastened to Petersburg. Here he passed a short time, enjoying the sweets of repose amidst his friends. But Napoleon's return from Elba, put an end to the festivities of the northern Residence. His Imperial Majesty soon left it, and ten Kozák regiments, which had returned to the Don, were immediately put in march to Radzivil, and as many more were ordered to follow with all

speed. The Count himself set off to head-quarters at Vienna. The Russian army advanced, but had not reached the frontiers of France, when the decisive battle of Waterloo took place, and, in a manner, put an end to the war, though the troops continued their march. Platóf followed the Emperor to Paris, and afterwards to Petersburg. Having passed eight months in the residence in 1815-16, he begged leave to return to his native country. While at the new capital, every attention had been shown him. The officers of the Kozák regiments of life-guards entertained him by two public dinners, at which he conducted himself in the most affable manner, speaking to all, enquiring about their relations, and always concluding in these words, "Remember glory and virtue, and preserve the customs of your fathers."

The Count received permission to return to the Don ; and, in a very flattering rescript, in which His Majesty expresses his obligations to the Kozáks in the last campaign, he, at the same time, signifies his intention of seeing both the Atamán and them in their own territory.

The Count at length quitted Petersburg, and arrived at Moscow, where he passed a few days. Among his suite, was a fair lady whom the hero had carried from England, and to whom, during a short illness in the ancient capital, he was most attentive. *

* In the year 1817, Col. Johnson thus expresses himself:—

According to our guide, Platóf hurried to his native country, thinking that at length time would be left him to enjoy the monarch's benevolence, and the esteem of his compatriots in his domestic circle; "but already death stretched out his cold arms, and the green laurel entwined with his venerable grey hairs, was ready to yield its place to the modest crown of the dead."

As was naturally to be expected, the Count's journey was like a triumphal procession, after he entered upon his native soil. The noble and the ignoble crowded to the post stations, and in the usual manner of the country, while presenting bread and salt, tendered their congratulations, and manifested their enthusiasm, and their attachment. These marks of regard were received by Platóf with the most lively feelings of gratitude, "and tears of tenderness, and of heart-felt content unconsciously trickled from his eyes."

At the last station from Nóvo-Tcherkásk, he was met by his own brave Kozáks, with General Grékoſ at their head, and with the usual *oura, oura*, (not *hourah*, as usually written by travellers,) and with them he then continued his progress. But at some versts from the town, he ordered a halt to be made at a small *kurgán*, or tumulus. Having

"At his country house were three English ladies, one of them a *protégée* of his, and the others, her two friends." Journey from India to England.

ascended it, "he turned to the crosses glittering upon the churches, and having made three bows to the earth, in tears pronounced the following energetic words.— 'Glory to God in the highest: I have served the Tsar and travelled enough: I am now in my native land: perhaps the Almighty will permit me to die quietly here, and my bones to be gathered to my native soil.' He then took up a piece of earth and kissed it. At that moment, as if expressly for the occasion, a heavy shower fell, and continued for the space of five minutes, during which the Count stood without moving, with his head uncovered, and said that *this circumstance was a very good omen*. After the ceasing of the storm, he bowed on all sides, and then went on his way."

At his entry into NÓVO-Tcherkásk, he was met by the *Nakázanii Atamán*, Lieutenant-General Ilováiskii, and the authorities of the town, amidst *ouras*, and the thunder of artillery. From the barrier of the town, he proceeded to the Cathedral of the Ascension, where the clergy awaited him. Before the principal entrance were placed all the standards and the regalia of the army. At the entrance of the Count, *Te Deum* was sung, and the prayer for length of days to the monarch and his august family being repeated, 101 cannon were fired. A short sermon was then pronounced, at the conclusion of which Platóf, "with Christian affection, did homage to the *holy images*;" and on

this occasion, before the image of the Mother of God, he placed the order of St. Ann, which had belonged to his second son, who had been a major-general, and who, to universal regret, died in the flower of his years, and on the dawning of his military glory." I cannot avoid here quoting the account of this son of Platóf, given by the intelligent but sometimes romantic Labaume, who says he took it from the German journals. This author states that "since the opening of the campaign, the son of the hetman Platóf, mounted upon a fine white horse of the Ukraine, was the faithful companion of his father in arms, and marching always at the head of the Kozáks, made himself remarkable to the French advanced guards, by his signal valour:" and "that this young man was the idol of his father, and the hope of the warlike nation which ought one day to obey him." He is said to have fallen near Veréia in a violent shock of cavalry, between Prince Poniatóvskii and the Atamán Platóf, when, according to Labaume, "that veteran flew to assist and to receive the last testimonial of his tenderness, but on opening his mouth he gave up the ghost. On the dawn of the morrow, the chiefs of the Kozáks desired to bestow the rites of sepulture, and the cold hand of the dead body — which was stretched upon a bear's-skin — was saluted by them. They prayed for the repose of the young warrior's soul, and removed his mortal remains from the sight of his father, upon a bier

covered with cypress. The Kozáks, arranged around the body in order of battle, observed a religious silence, and bowed their heads, upon which sadness was depicted. At the moment the earth was ready to separate from them for ever the son of their prince, they fired a volley, and afterwards holding their horses in their hands, they defiled near the tomb, with the points of their lances turned to the earth."

Will it be believed that the young warrior whose exploits, death, and funeral are thus so circumstantially detailed, died tranquilly in his native country, surrounded by all his nearest relatives, with the exception of his father: who, I believe, was at Petersburg at the time of the melancholy event?

How much is the public imposed upon by the daily false reports of uninformed writers, who prefer composing fables, to searching after truth! No country, no people in the world, has more cause to complain of the ignorance, the injustice, and the calumny of writers, than Russia and its natives; and even yet, the Kozáks have not found an impartial historian, either in their own or in foreign countries. It is true, that amusing accounts, be they true or false, are read with enthusiasm and delight; while important historical facts scarcely attract regard. In this romantic and light-reading age, it were to be wished that real history—which may be defined to be a series

of facts—should not have its venerable place usurped by novels altogether romantic, or compounded of truth and fable; which tend to confound the reader, and to confuse the memory. But I must return to Platóf.

After their exit from the church, the Count, surrounded by the military, made a short speech alluding to the last campaign, which he terminated by exciting them to pray for the health of their sovereign, Alexander Pávlovitch. The hero then ordered a rescript—a public testimonial of thanks from the Emperor—to be read; which being done, he kissed the Imperial signature, when the *oura* rent the air, but was soon drowned by the roar of the artillery.

The Chieftain having now fulfilled his public duties, hastened to the grave of his spouse, who had died in 1812, and shed abundance of tears over her mortal remains. “Indeed, so greatly was he affected by sad recollections, that those around him were obliged to use some force to remove him from the cold monument, and almost to carry him to the house of the *Nakázanii Voiskovoi Atamán*; where a magnificent dinner was prepared. There his painful feelings were dispersed by a joyful meeting with all his family, after so long a separation; and the feast was concluded by an illumination.”

On the following day Platóf received a deputation of the mercantile body of NÓvo-Tcherkásk, who

were appointed to compliment him on his safe arrival at home, after his victories abroad.

The Count, during seventeen years which he had been the chief of the country, had not passed more than three years, all the times of his residence put together, at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. But, now, in a season of greater leisure, he proceeded to occupy his attention with improvements of the army, and in the civil administration, as well as other objects of public benefit. He kept the festival days of the Imperial family with great ceremony and magnificence; and on the evening of the 12th December 1816, the Emperor's birthday was more than usually signalised, by the presentation of a plan to the nobles, of having a division of the Bible Society at Nóvo-Tcherkásk; a plan which was realised in the following year, when 10,000 roubles were sent to the Minister of Religion and of Public Instruction, Prince Galitsin, the President of the Parent Society at Petersburg. The *Atamán* was chosen a Vice-president of the Society, or chief of the Division at Nóvo-Tcherkásk; and, during his life, he took the liveliest concern in its interests.

Platóf also took great interest in forwarding the erection of Nóvo-Tcherkásk; and the building of the cathedral which had been altogether suspended in consequence of the invasion of 1812, was recommenced, and proceeded rapidly. His time was devoted to the interests of his country; — he

endeavoured to have justice done to all in the tribunals,—he assisted the poor,—he gave every encouragement to the gymnasium,—and with his own hands he distributed prizes to the scholars; and in the year 1817, he had the first printing-office erected in the town. The improvement of the Kozák horse-artillery excited his particular attention; and he had a camp formed near the town, that he might be able often to superintend their manœuvres.

The old veteran awaited the arrival of the Emperor from St. Petersburg with impatience, and made all preparations to receive him in a magnificent manner. Two triumphal gates were erected, as already told, one at each end of Nóvo-Tcherkásk: but alas! when His Majesty passed under them, Platóf was no more. Though the Atamán's health was but very indifferent, the expectation of seeing Alexander in his favourite town, renovated his strength, and animated him with new vigour. He was especially anxious that both the civil and military state of the Kozáks might be such as to satisfy his sovereign. In the meantime, our hero was highly gratified by the visit of the Grand Duke Michail Pávlovitch, who arrived on the 14th September in the country of the Kozáks, and was received at every station with all due honour, as well as on the 16th at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. The ceremonies which took place

on the 17th and 18th, are minutely detailed by Mr. Smirnoi; more especially those at Mishkin. Platóf himself standing at the entrance, and presenting bread and salt, (after the custom of Russia,) received the Imperial visitor.

As the reader may be curious to know something of the above-named estate of Count Platóf, I have given a view of it at the head of this chapter: and shall now add a few words in explanation. Mishkin, formerly Platof's country seat, is situated upon the banks of the river Aksäi, at the distance of two miles from Nóvo-Tcherkásk. The site is reckoned very fine by the natives; but, unfortunately, the environs are barren. Art has greatly ornamented its immediate vicinity, and it has a respectable appearance, as may be seen by looking at the vignette. The whole establishment, however, did not correspond with the ideas I had formed of the princely residence of the Atamán of the Don Kozáks.

Toward the close of the year 1817, Platóf's strength greatly failed; but he did not wish it to be believed that his end was approaching. He gave no respite to his mind, and continued his improvements civil and military. He had not patience to await the arrival of the Emperor, and took the resolution, in the month of November 1817, of going to Moscow, where His Imperial Majesty then held his court. He sent an adjutant to that capital to ask permission for this visit; and

having received it, he made preparations for setting off with the first snow-roads, so as to be there on the 12th of December, to share the festival of the Emperor's birthday. On account of some family arrangements, he set out for another estate near Taganróg. Here he caught cold, and his weakness augmented. Soon afterwards a stroke of apoplexy followed, and on the 3d of January 1818, this distinguished hero expired; or, in the words of his biographer, "he concealed himself in eternity!"

The following remarks of Mr. Smirnoi, with respect to Platóf, meet my unqualified approbation, being the language of all ranks of the Kozáks of the Don, from one end of their territory to the other. "The army lost in him a hero, whose name is famous throughout all the countries of the globe:—his country has to weep the departure of a zealous son:—the inhabitants of the Don have to lament a generous chieftain:—and the unfortunate and the poor have to regret a protector and a father."

Platóf's destiny was fixed. The day so eagerly expected, when he was to greet his sovereign at the triumphal gates, or to receive new tokens of Imperial regard, was never to dawn; yet this expectation had been long his darling delight, and occupied some of his last moments. What now would have availed his terrestrial distinctions;—his honours, and his crosses; his brilliants and

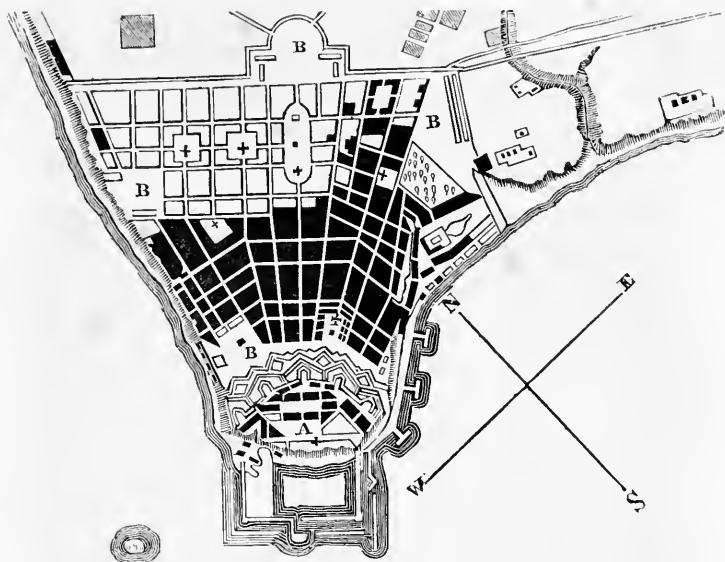
his swords; — imperial and royal, national and civic, testimonies of esteem for his arduous services and military prowess; if there had been no principle of virtue, no sense of religion, no foretaste of eternity, and no expectation of a happy immortality? However superstitious may have been the religion of Platóf, we must admire his open attachment to its ceremonies, and on all occasions, till the day of his death. He presented a brilliant example to adventurers in the career of military glory. His life showed that true heroism and religion never shine so conspicuously as when they go hand-in-hand to battle; are united together in civil life; or are associated at the awful, the sublime departure of the soul to Him who gave and who takes away.

Platóf had his failings, but they were concealed by his virtues during life; and in the silence of death, they may be overlooked.

The mortal remains of Platóf were transported to his house at Mishkin, and were afterwards buried with all the military honours which his rank and character demanded, in the church-yard of the unfinished cathedral of the Ascension, at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. Thus his bones, according to his wish, are gathered together in his natal soil, in the town which he founded, and are surrounded by a number of members of his family who had preceded him in the path of death.

I cannot but regret that no monument, deserv-

ing that name, has been erected over the grave of Platóf. It reflects disgrace on Russia, and more especially on the territory of the Don Kozáks, that a paltry square stone edifice, elevated but a few feet above the earth, is the only testimonial, the only remembrancer, of the brave and exemplary Platóf, which meets the traveller's eye. While on the spot, such were my feelings, but it is to be hoped that the subscription then talked of, for the purpose of raising a pyramid to a man who rose from the lowest rank to the highest distinction in his country merely by his own merit, has ere this been carried into effect. The best monument of Platóf, however, is to be found in the hearts of his countrymen, and in the records of his deeds. The work of Mr. Smirnoi will be read by future ages, when monuments yet to be erected shall have crumbled into dust.



CHAP. XX.

CONDUCT OF PLATÓF. — ANECDOTE. — HIS RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES. — CURIOUS ANECDOTE. — HIS WEAKNESS. — DISLIKES EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE. — ANECDOTE. — HIS KINDNESS AND HOSPITALITY TO BRITISH TRAVELLERS. — HIS LIBERALITY. — HIS STYLE OF LIVING. — STORIES RESPECTING HIS DAUGHTER AND HER DOWRY. — ANECDOTE. — PLATÓF'S BEHAVIOUR IN SOCIETY. — ALWAYS A TRUE KOZÁK. — HIS DROLLERY. — HIS AMUSEMENTS. — ANECDOTE. — HIS SUPERSTITION. — HIS MODE OF LIFE. — HIS RECEPTION OF GUESTS. — HIS POVERTY. — HIS GENERAL CHARACTER. — HIS PORTRAIT AND PERSON. — HIS FUNERAL SERMON. — ELEGANT EXTRACTS FROM IT. — PLATÓF'S MARRIAGE. — HIS FAMILY. — HIS DEBTS AND PROPERTY. — NORTHERN LITERATURE. — DEPARTURE FROM NÓVO-TCHERKÁSK. — NAKTSHIVÁN. — TAGANRÓG. — DESCRIPTION. — POPULATION. — COMMERCE. — QUARANTINE. — DEPARTURE FOR NIJNI-NOVGÓROD.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, carried the reader along with me over the principal events of Platóf's public life, I shall now devote particular attention to the private character of that great chieftain.*

“All Russia, all Europe, all the world, know Platóf as a hero,” says Mr. Smirnoi, “but few know his general character.” We are informed, “that from his birth he was passionate; but that his fury was moderated by a sound and experienced mind;” — “that during his whole life he never brought any one into danger;” — “that in the course of the seventeen years the army was confided to him, he was not the cause of the misfortune of a single individual of inferior rank;” — and “that his hand always shook when he signed the severe sentence of an unfortunate man.” — “It must not be concluded, however, that he was a weak commander; on the contrary, having always been strict to himself and to his family, he showed himself likewise so to his inferiors. No failure of duty, no important transgression was passed without examination. But he understood how to examine and how to punish, like a true father.” He generally repeated, “that there was nothing easier in the world than to do wrong, nothing more dif-

* As we have already seen, our hero was born on the 6th of August, 1751, and died on the 3d of January 1818. The duration of his life was therefore sixty-six and a half years.

ficult than to do good ;” — “ that in this world there is no perfection, which belongs to the Creator alone ;” — and other such moral sayings. “ The honour and fame of the army were dear to him as his own.” Officers he would thus address : “ What rank have you ? — What, an officer of the army of the Don ! — to whom does honour belong, when thou rejoicest not at thy famous name, when thou forgettest God, father, mother, wife, or children ? Did thy progenitors teach thee thus ? For this dost thou behold upon thyself tokens of the monarch’s kindness (alluding to crosses and orders), or ought I always to answer for you all ? Be ashamed, sir, it is necessary to preserve honour in all things, and to fear God.” * Platóf treated all ranks with condescension, and even with familiarity, in his youngest years, as well as in the pride of his career. Gratitude seems to have been a strong principle in him, for he preserved his attachment unchangeable toward those who had obliged him in his youth, and eagerly sought the means of repaying their kindness. He must have had a very retentive memory, since “ On the Don, he not only knew in detail the talents of every general, but could name, without error, all the staff and superior officers of about 40,000 troops, and even many of the Kozáks. He knew whom to esteem, to approve, and to encourage ;” and

* Vide p. 232. of this volume. Note.

those deserving of it bore marks of his approbation. He seldom or never erred in his choice of officers. He had an excellent custom of praising the common Kozáks for the good and zealous fulfilment of their duties. He ordered those who had so distinguished themselves to be presented to him, and generally asked, in the most affable manner, what was their own and their father's names. Having received an answer, as to the name of the father, he often remembered the name of the regiment in which he had served, and on such an occasion, turning to those around him, he said, "Behold, gentlemen, *I will tell you* *, I well remember his father; he was a very brave Kozák, and like myself, robust; I served with him in the Turkish campaign, and he did many important actions. Know, *I will tell you*, he partly resembles him, even in his gait. Now I am glad: God bless the Colonel, that he named him for this commission; from him I expect all that is good." Then turning to the Kozák, "Thou art the conductor of the Kurmonastinskoi station?" and being answered in the affirmative; — "So I remember. Do you know, gentlemen, that I even remember their house; his father was respected in the station. It happened that I once rode there, and scarcely remained any time with them; I saw your house," — again turn-

* *I will tell you*, was a proverbial expression of the Count's in every conversation, and was by far too often repeated.

ing to the Kozák ; — “ having entered the *stanítsa*, and having ascended the little hill upon the left in the cross-street, this, well, well I remember ; they are even, *I will tell you*, good economists ; tell me, does thy mother at least live, good old woman ; and is there not some one besides in the family ? It is time for thee to marry. I am happy to assist such punctual persons, and who have finished their time of service ; to say nothing of bravery, it would be shameful for a Kozák not to be brave, and it is necessary to endeavour even more. What thinkest thou ? Now God bless thee also : thanks from me to the colonel : endeavour in future to conduct thyself thus — increase confidence ; yes, and I will look further after thy conduct ; — thus, perhaps, I will advance thee : pray God for our gracious *Bátushka* *, the Emperor.” And when the Kozák was elated with joy, making his obeisance to his chief — his father, he only wished to depart, when the Count detained him with a new question : “ Dost thou drink *vodtka* ? ” and if he received a negative answer, he generally continued thus : “ that is very well, *I will tell you* ; — yet it is necessary for a Don Kozák, by little and little, to accustom himself : there happen bad weather, and snow-storms ; and the Donskoi Kozák is always upon his horse, and in the field : — it sometimes

* *Bátushka* means grandfather, literally ; but is also a term of the highest compliment bestowed on those we revere.

happens that he is not like himself; there, *I will tell you*, the best medicine is a small glass of something warm, and especially of spirits with mustard. Stop, I will treat thee with wine." Then, having called for wine, he presented it with his own hands. In this manner Platóf gained the hearts of the lower classes; — "he, as it were, electrified them, and they were ready to sacrifice their lives for him; they rejoiced both amidst fire and water." Every Kozák could appear before him, and speak his mind freely.

Platóf was well acquainted with the customs and the manners of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, as well as of the Tartars and the Kalmucks domiciliated on the territory of the Don. When among them, it is said that he partook of their fare, even of their peculiar dishes and liquors. As is known by experience, this is the sure way to gain the confidence and esteem of the natives in every quarter of the globe.

The Atamán was penetrating, honourable, and humane, always ready to help the orphan, the poor, and the oppressed. His alms he distributed secretly. "Ostentatious vanity," said he, "is against God."

The firm preservation of the laws of the *true faith* was to him the most sacred duty. He evinced the greatest esteem for holy things. He allowed no opportunity to escape where he could show his fervour in the temples of God, or his zeal in pro-

moting charitable institutions. An instance of his charity is mentioned by his biographer. He had been informed, that in one of the monasteries at Pscof, an hospital for the wounded had been formed during the late campaign of 1812, and on his return to Petersburg, he forwarded a thousand roubles to assist the institution.

Platof's "devotion and veneration to the monarch, and to all the Imperial family, were without bounds. Every word, every Imperial favour, *filled him with ecstasy.*" In this he manifested something ignoble, and unbecomingly slavish toward superiors; an error not easily to be avoided in a despotic country like Russia, where rank is more generally and eagerly sought after than scientific superiority or literary distinction, than virtue, morality, or even religion. *

The following account, while it makes known a curious practice, is in coincidence with the preceding remark, and I regret, for our hero's character, that it should ever have seen the light. "In the reign of Catharine II., there existed a custom, as a token of the monarch's benevolence to the *Voiskovoi Atamán* of the forces of the Don, of making a present annually to his spouse of those clothes with which Her Majesty had been dressed on the first day of the year. Although Platóf did not hold that station, yet by his eminent services

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. xii.

he had the happiness of being known and distinguished by the Empress; and at various times he received marks of her benevolence. Whether by the instigation of his spouse, or through his own wish to gratify her by a *monarchical* favour from the sovereign, which was then allowed only to the spouse of the Atamán of the Don, he resolved to endeavour to procure this favour for himself, by means of individuals who were placed about Her Majesty. But he was refused, and no doubt without the knowledge of the Empress. From this he inferred that the Empress was disaffected towards him, an idea which threw him into such deep affliction, that he soon became seriously ill, and the consequences might have been fatal, if his friend, the late Count Valerian Zúbof, had not set the affair right. Having heard of Platóf's affliction and disease, without informing him, that nobleman made them known, as well as their cause, to the Empress. The great Catharine received the news with feeling, and moreover manifested her anger at those who had dared, without her knowledge, to refuse the object of Platóf's prayer, and at the same time ordered the clothes to be sent to his spouse. This altogether unexpected favour of the monarch soon recovered Platóf's health, and restored his drooping spirit. He could not divine to whom he was indebted for procuring this distinguished kindness of the Empress, and it was not till long after that he knew who was its

true author. These clothes of Catharine are still preserved in Platof's family, as well as other valuable presents from the same monarch. Among them is a silver twenty-five kopeek-piece, which was presented to him on the following occasion, by the present Dowager Empress.- "During his residence at Petersburg, he had sometimes the happiness to form one of a party at boston. It once happened, that he won six roubles from the Empress, and that she paid him with a five rouble note and the piece of silver mentioned. Platóf kissed the last, saying to those around him. 'This *tchetverták* * received from the hand of our *Mátushka* †, the Empress, my benefactress, will long be preserved, and will pass to my latest successors, who will remember what is suitable to a free subject, and condescending benevolence in a great monarch.'"

"In his occupations with the affairs of the service, Platóf was extremely circumspect and attentive. But having passed the greatest part of his life in the field, in the midst of camps and of bivouacks, he felt some reluctance at epistolary

* The fourth part of a silver rouble, nearly the size of a shilling.

† *Mátushka*, grandmother, or a term of familiarity only used when great reverence is intended. *Bátushka* and *Mátushka* are the kindest appellations applied to the Emperor and the Empress. They are often used in that sense by the peasants. When they have a kind master or mistress, they also apply these terms to them. Vide note, p. 255. of this Volume.

correspondence.” He often said, that it would be easier for him to gain two or three victories, than to occupy himself with civil affairs, which gave him the vertigo. Yet when he did enter upon this kind of business, he is said to have performed it with accuracy and perseverance, and, as we shall see hereafter, to have devoted much time to his civil duties.

Not having seen Napoleon, Platóf loved neither his generals nor his ministers ; he especially disliked Caulincourt, who was the Ex-emperor’s ambassador at the St. Petersburg court. He, with other Russian generals, sometimes dined at his house by invitation. Caulincourt gave a dinner on the occasion of having received from Paris a full-length portrait of Napoleon. Platóf was asked to the fête. He arrived with the late Prince Barclay De Tolli, who was then minister of war. When they entered the room in which the portrait was placed, the Count having looked at it, as if unwillingly, called out loud enough, “ That is painted in joke.”* The minister of war, by a significant look, instantly put him in mind of his carelessness, and he was silent. A servant, who had overheard Platóf, immediately informed Caulincourt, and apparently others, who came and asked while smiling, “ *Is it painted as a hoax ?* ” But the Count affected not

* By this I suppose was meant, that the portrait greatly flattered Napoleon.

to understand them, and enquired what they meant. Caulincourt was so much hurt by this remark, that he addressed himself to the Emperor. When His Majesty asked Platóf about the matter, he made the following frank and faithful reply. “Gosudár (Sovereign)! before God, and before you, nothing is concealed by me. What is to be done? Gosudár, politics I know not, and those words as it were stole from my tongue. I would wish to know, how Mr. Caulincourt did not altogether abjure my society, and deliver me from superfluous honour by his invitations. I am not accustomed to French meats; *stchi* and *kasha* * form our soldier’s food.” From this time, Caulincourt ceased to invite Platóf to his dinners; but at Paris they had a peculiar kind of interview. There, not only Caulincourt himself renewed his acquaintance with him, but recommended him also to Marshal Ney. This happened during his first *séjour* at Paris, on the balcony of the palace of the Bourbons, where the Emperor was pleased to have his residence. †

In order to testify unequivocally his gratitude

* *Stchi* is cabbage-soup, and *kasha* is boiled millet mixed with butter or oil, during the fasts. Vide Character of the Russians, p. 482.

† This slavish mode is always used by inferiors in Russia, when speaking of superiors, lords, and masters. Instead of saying, “When did our master arrive? — Where did he reside in Moscow?” — they say “When did our master *please* to arrive? — Where did our lord *choose* to reside?”

to England for his kind reception in 1814, Platóf endeavoured to return it to British travellers who passed through the country of the Don Kozáks. He received all of them who were, during his last residence, at Nóvo-Tcherkásk, with distinguished regard.* “He treated them as well as possible, and even anticipated their wishes. In a word, he endeavoured to inspire them with reverence for the Russian nation, and the Donskoi Kozáks. Many well-known Englishmen arriving from India or from Persia, where they had been travelling with their baggage on horseback, required equipages. The Count, as soon as he knew that they were about to bargain, immediately anticipated them, paid the money, and sent the vehicle to them, as if it had been his own; and generally did not permit them to be at any expence in his country.”

Colonel Johnson had desired an equipage to be bought for him at 2,000 roubles. The same evening Count Platóf made him and his party a visit, and drank tea with them. “In the conversation,”

* In a note are enumerated the visitors who had been at Count Platóf's, and as it gives an idea of the taste in a military country of bestowing military titles, I shall copy it. It runs thus, “*Major Chatterton, Colonel Beaumont, Captains Strachey, Porter, Salter, and Colonel and Chevalier Johnson.*” As a man is nothing without some apparent rank, he must assume a title, or if he do not, the natives will give him one according to their ideas of his station in life; of this they judge by his appearance, his equipage, his servants, &c.

says the Colonel, "I accidentally mentioned that his secretary had had the kindness to assist us in looking out for a carriage; and had met with an excellent one, nearly new, which we had requested him to purchase for us. I had imagined that the Count would be pleased on hearing that this good office had been performed towards us: but, on the contrary, he declared, that the carriage in which he had come should be given to us, and begged our acceptance of it for his sake, hoping that we would keep it in remembrance of him. I endeavoured to decline accepting this present in every possible way. Mr. Grassman, who interpreted for us with the Count respecting our intended purchase, mentioned to him the person to whom the carriage belonged; but the Count, addressing him in the Russian language, enjoined him, *as he valued his friendship, not to allow us to purchase any thing here*; saying, 'These Englishmen will go away, but you will remain behind; if they buy any carriage, you shall never see my face again: you must tell them it is a mistake, and the carriage cannot be sold. I shall send them one of mine. Now,' continued he, 'as you value my support, say nothing of this until they have my carriage.' The carriage was accordingly sent; and by the Count's orders was also stored with provisions, wine, game, and even fruit, packed in large wide-mouthed bottles!

"The frank, open, and unrestrained hospitality

of this veteran warrior could not fail to inspire us with the warmest feelings of respect. We had come upon him, as it were, without formal introduction *, and with no other claim to his notice, than that of our being British officers; and we were received on the footing of friends who had been long acquainted. That qualification of being British officers, alone, seemed a sufficient passport to his regard; and he appeared happy in having an opportunity to testify his sincere friendship for a nation which had greeted him with so many expressions of esteem and admiration.—It was very easy to see that Count Platóf really delighted to speak of England: and that his encomiums were not the mere dictates of courtesy, but flowed spontaneously from the heart.” †

I cannot avoid also alluding to the high strain in which Sir R. K. Porter speaks of Platóf, although that author is generally charged with a degree of flattery towards persons in high rank and eminent situations. “All Europe,” says he, “has heard of him as a hero; but we must visit his country to know him as he is, — the father of his people,

* This is certainly not quite correct; for the Colonel tells us, in another part of his work, that he received an introductory letter from General Yermólof. This letter now lies before me in print, in the *Life of Platóf*; and it is clear, that the Colonel was recommended in very handsome terms.

† *A Journey from India to England, &c. by Lieutenant-Colonel John Johnson, C. B. p. 314. 1818.*

as well as their general.—He expressed, in the most enthusiastic language, his sense of the attentions bestowed on him by all ranks of persons during his stay in England in the year 1814; he said, that, independently of private respect for individuals, he must always consider himself fortunate, when circumstances brought any Englishman into the Donskoy country.” *

We were treated in the most polite and affable manner by the present Atamán, General Ilovaiskii. We dined with him, after having had the use of his carriage. At our departure, we naturally thanked him for his kindness. This drew forth a compliment to ourselves; but what was of more consequence, to the British nation. “Gentlemen,” he replied, “my late worthy and distinguished predecessor, Count Platóf, after his visit to London in 1814, only ceased to speak with the highest encomiums, and the most enthusiastic feelings of gratitude to the British nation, when he ceased to exist. I am sorry at your short stay at Nóvo-Tcherkásk, as it prevents me showing you those attentions which Platóf, had he been in life, would gladly have done.” He then proceeded to say, that he should be happy on all future occasions, in as far as in him lay, to replace Platóf in his attentions to Britons, not only in order to diminish the load of debt under which the Count still lay in

* Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, &c. by Sir R. K. Porter, vol. i. p. 26. 1821.

that respect; but also to have an opportunity of expressing his own sentiments; which, founded upon a more limited experience, completely coincided with the Count's.

“Interest was altogether foreign to the heart of Platóf. In his accounts it is not enough to say that he was not narrow: he was liberal even to superfluity. He conducted himself not according to his *circumstances*, but consistently with his high rank, of which he himself was the ornament. He liked every where to show himself a *real grandee* (*nastoyastchii Bárin*). Trifling affairs could not occupy him; he even despised them; although he well knew that attention to them might assist his moderate situation: but he could not change himself; because he lived not for himself, but for the service. It often happened, that he had no more than 300 or 400 roubles in the house; but the exterior changed not: he continued to live like a *millionaire* (this word is adopted in Russ). He could not even have left Petersburg the last time he was there for want of money, if the Emperor had not graciously allowed him to receive a loan for four years, from the Imperial Bank, of 100,000 roubles.” Thus we see how unjust and ill-founded were the conclusions of the public. Many reckoned he was worth millions: but his death revealed too faithfully, “that to his heirs, he left 300,000 roubles of debt, — *and only two thousand souls without land*: because, as is well known,

the land of the Don territory belongs, in common, to the whole forces, and cannot be appropriated for the uses of the possessors."

I well remember, and my readers will also recall to mind, the various reports which were in circulation in this metropolis during the campaign of 1812-13. The veteran was said to have offered his daughter in marriage, and her weight of gold as her dowry, to the individual who should deliver to him the conqueror of Europe, Napoleon, dead or alive. This fable, under a modification, even found a place in a justly celebrated review. There, it is said, that "the veteran Platóf, whose blood had been so often shed in the defence of Russia on former occasions, now showed his ardour for the cause in which he was engaged, by promising his daughter, and 200,000 roubles, to the hero who should rid the world of the invader." * The said lady was painted in the brightest colours of fancy, and her portrait caught the attention of the passers by, in the shop-windows of London and Edinburgh, and even in the provincial towns of our island. She was beautiful, her father was a hero, and riches abounded at Nóvo-Tcherkásk. But alas! for the Atamán's successors, there was no foundation for such reports: Platóf was never rich, I believe he was in difficulty, if not in debt; and, what is more extraordinary,

* Quarterly Review, vol. viii. p. 459.

he had no daughter *unmarried* in 1812. But such a report, though an imposition, was congenial to the general feeling of the British nation at the time, and thus it met with ready belief. When we lately had the pleasure of dining at the table of Platóf's successor, I repeated the story as told above, and in the language of the country, so that all present understood. The recital was followed by bursts of laughter; at the cessation of which, one of his best friends told us, that it was indeed a great mistake. "Platóf," said he, "was always poor, because he was always liberal; and had he had a daughter to marry in 1812, instead of thousands of roubles, or her weight of gold, if he could have given the weight of *one of her ears of that metal in dowry*, it was his utmost!"

"Platóf was of a very gay character, and liked society, and, above all, friendly conversations; but a distracted and noisy life, was altogether opposite to his turn of mind; and, *besides, he reckoned it dangerous for his health*. In his communications with the ladies he was *eminently* polite, attentive, respectful and affable. He had a thousand means of engaging them, and thus of flattering their weakness; such as foretelling the future by cards, explaining dreams, playing at boston, and other games, &c. &c.—In a word, he understood how to conduct himself properly in every society. Of the delicacy and etiquette of the fashionable world he was not ignorant. He knew all; remembered

all; but he adopted the usages of society in a manner peculiar to himself, always wishing to show himself in the character of a true Kozák."

His drollery was not of the most elevated description. He often purposely pronounced words improperly: thus, instead of Warsaw, he said Arsaw! of Talleyrand, Teilaran, &c. In consequence of these peculiarities, many were deceived at the first meeting, and concluded that he was only famous as a soldier, and thought not of seeking any other qualifications. But, if we can trust his biographer's judgment, in Platóf were associated "the talents of an illustrious soldier, of a penetrating politician, and of an agreeable civilian." Many individuals who saw him in London will no doubt have their own opinion as to this praise.

During his residence upon the Don, Platóf's leisure was occupied in fishing, hunting, and attention to his stud and cattle, of which he was an amateur. He, according to the custom of his countrymen (who are greatly employed in fishing), passed whole days in this amusement, and ordered fish-soup to be made for him under some straw-hut in the field, in which he was also wont to address the young Kozáks of his suite, and animate their ardent minds to the pursuit of virtue and of military fame. He spoke to them in such terms as these: "Fishing and hunting are more agreeable to me than the most splendid ball. We were not born to walk in parks, nor to sit upon velvet cushions;

there we might forget the profession for which we were born. It is our business to walk in the fields, and through marshes, and to sit in straw-huts, and, what is better, under the open canopy of heaven, so that the ardent heat of the sun, and all kinds of bad weather, may never prove oppressive to us."

With all his uncommon mind, the Count was somewhat superstitious. He believed in presentiments and dreams, which, as he said, seldom deceived him. He related, that before the death of Prince Potyémkin, he had a dream, which was its manifest presage. His deliverance from confinement in the reign of Paul, and his appointment as Atamán in the time of Alexander, he likewise divined in his dreams. "By the brilliancy of the stars, by the progress of the moon, and by the changes in the atmosphere, he foretold the weather a week in advance ;" and, according to Mr. Smirnoi, his presages were often accurate. "He said, that by the stars God informed us where to go ; and actually the Kozáks, instructed by him, confirmed this ; they knew not at all the places upon the maps, nor the language of those countries through which they passed, yet they every where sought out strange towns and villages, merely marked by the signs how they lay, from the east and west, the north and south."

The Count had learned to pass whole nights without sleep, and afterwards to sit up late with Prince Potyémkin. He could not lie down to

sleep till four or five o'clock in the morning, and he awoke at eight o'clock. But that he might have some repose for his body at least, he sometimes remained in bed till ten or eleven o'clock, when affairs did not require his presence. But these hours did not pass in inactivity, for in bed he thought of the affairs in which he was engaged, and made arrangements for the day's occupation. He frequently called the officers to him, and gave them various commissions to execute. When he rose from bed, his first thoughts were turned to God; he always worshipped with earnestness. He then received the police-master of Nóvo-Tcherkásk, and after him other officers, according to their turn. "His *morning occupations* he did not finish before five o'clock *p. m.* and at six o'clock he sat down to dinner, not having taken even a lunch." At his table there was always society, which consisted of visitors and travellers, and the inmates of his house. He was fond of conversation, and therefore remained at table at least four hours. He esteemed this the most agreeable time of the day, and even called it a luxury. He liked to relate curious anecdotes, and he himself engrossed the greater part of the conversation. But Platóf was not displeased if any one asked him to give an opportunity of speaking. His harangues generally endured so long, that many were unable to remain at table, and quietly withdrew. After dinner, but upon the same table, tea was served on a silver service.

The Count did not like to drink coffee, and only used it in the morning. Of tea he repeated these words — “ It, *I will tell you*, is very healthful, and liquefies the blood, but coffee thickens it.” After dinner (*i. e.* about ten or eleven o'clock, *p. m.*) he took no more than an hour's repose; he then recommenced his duties, which were seldom finished before two o'clock in the morning; but, as he could not yet sleep, he passed a couple or more hours with some favourite individual of his suite, and the rest of the twenty-four hours were devoted to sleep.

In the *reception of guests*, an important and highly valued quality in the Russian empire, which is dignified by the appellation of *Gostopriémstvo*, Platóf was distinguished. Nothing was thought too dear for their entertainment. At his parties he made no distinction of persons; all were treated alike. Besides sumptuous ceremonial dinners on festivals, there were three tables at his house every day, as he always had guests with him.* He also supported all his suite, whether upon the Don, in the capitals of Russia, or in foreign countries. Strangers he frequently accommodated in his house; and, when that was inconvenient, quarters were ordered,

* The value of *Gostopriémstvo* is here sufficiently explained. Good dinners, plenty of wine, and a welcome reception, be the individual ever so ignorant or uncultivated, will soon make him notorious, and he will have plenty of guests.

and kitchens, provisions and equipages, were provided for them.

After these details, and bearing in mind that his revenues were never great, need we be surprised that Platóf was always poor?

The veteran is said to have taught his children to be true Christians, to be faithful to their sovereign and their country, and to spend little by giving them little. He was more strict with his relations than with strangers. He was the father of his peasants, and rejoiced, even to tears, at their good fortune. He would not displace his stewards, when a relation pointed out that they received more revenue than he himself, as already recorded in a curious anecdote. * “He,” says his biographer, “was terrible in battle to the enemies of his country; in peace he was a distinguished chief and citizen, an esteemed parent, a tender and attentive father, a true friend, and a benevolent master and commander.” That this is not the empty language of posthumous flattery, every one must be convinced who visits the country of the Kozáks of the Don.

“Platóf was of tall stature; his hair was dark coloured; his eyes were greyish-blue and penetrating; his physiognomy was agreeable; his demeanour was affable; his person was upright and well built; his gait was easy; and his exterior, *in toto*, was majestic.”

* Vide p. 136. Vol. I.

What may be called the funeral sermon of Platóf, was delivered, on the 13th of January 1818, in the Donskoi monastery at Moscow, by the eminent *archimandrite*, Eugenius. My limits merely allow me to quote a few sentences from this sermon, which are equally illustrative of Russian eloquence, and of the character of the hero of our narrative. The divine thus begins : “ From the smooth flowing Don, the news fly like lightning, and strike like thunder : — Platóf is dead ! How rapidly the glory of his deeds spreads from mouth to mouth ! how swiftly, and how far, from village to village, from town to town, and from kingdom to kingdom, is conveyed the sad intelligence : — Platóf is dead !

“ The military are in despair ; the citizens are sorrowful ; the army of the Don is penetrated with affliction, is oppressed with sighs, is bathed in tears. All Russia is grieved at the loss of a great hero, so terrible to her enemies.”

“ No ! our hero did not found his immortal deeds upon earth. Religion was the spirit of all his virtues, and of all his combats. He was faithful to the monarch, because he was faithful to the Lord : he was devoted to his terrestrial country, because he never allowed a heavenly country to escape from his thoughts : he was the father of the people confided to his care, because *he breathed the spirit of his* heavenly Father : he feared not death,

because he felt with St. Paul, '*For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.*'" *

"Great God! who could stand before the severity of thy judgment? We pray thee, by the blood of thy well-beloved Son, do not enter into judgment with thy servant; cover him with thy mercy; and let *our Abraham* dwell in Abraham's bosom."

Mr. Smirnoi gives no account of Platóf's marriage, nor does he inform us who his wife was. We learn, however, that her name was Martha Dmitriévna, that she was a widow, and had at least two children when the Atamán married her, and that she died in the year 1812. Judging from the age of Platóf's children, it is probable that he was married about the year 1790.

The following information was derived from Colonel Nozikómof.

Count Platóf had three sons and four daughters. The eldest son was married, and has left behind him one son and one daughter. To these children, Platóf bequeathed 900 souls — their father's portion. The widow is still living, and the son is now a colonel, and bears the name of Matvei Ivánovitch, the same as his grandfather, and has the title of count, and his sister that of countess. The second son of the Atamán, as we have already seen, was a major-general in the army, and distin-

* Phil. i. 21.

guished himself in the French campaign. He was not married.* Platóf's third son, — Matvéitch, is now living : he had the misfortune to lose one of his cheeks by the bursting of a musket. He is married, and has one daughter. Like Platóf's oldest grandson, he also received 900 souls at his father's death ; while 200 were divided among the other members of the family. He sometimes resides upon the family estate, Mishkin, but more frequently at some distance in the country, for the sake of economy ; his revenues being scarcely sufficient to enable him to live, even in the cheap town of Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

Of Platóf's four daughters, the two elder are dead, and buried with their father. The other two are still living : they were both married before the year 1812 ; the elder, Anna Matvéévna, to Colonel Kharitónof, who has three sons and one daughter ; the younger, Maria Matvéévna, to Major-general Grékof, who has no children, and who accompanied her husband to Paris in 1812-13-14. Mr. Smirnoi also mentions the step-daughter of Platóf, who is married to the present Atamán of the Kozáks, Lieutenant-general Nikolai Vassiliévitch Ilovaïskii, and his step-son, Colonel Kirsan Pávlovitch Kirsánof. All the members of the family are now residing in, or near, Nóvo-Tcherkásk.

At his death, Platóf was in debt 100,000 roubles

* Vide page 242. of this Vol.

to the crown, and 200,000 roubles to individuals. The property he left behind him consisted, as mentioned, of 2000 peasants, besides the estate of Mishkin, and the ground and foundation of a palace in Nóvo-Tcherkásk. The heirs are gradually paying off the debt, and already the crown has received nearly the whole of the amount due to it. They must still live economically, however, for a number of years to enable them annually to pay off a part of the debt from their revenues. I shall close this account with a few important facts with respect to northern literature.

At the time Smirnoi's *Life, &c.* of Platóf was published, I find, by the list of subscribers, at its conclusion, that their number amounted nearly to 600; and I believe 1000 or 1500 copies were sold. This is a very great edition of such a work in Russia. Among these 600 subscriptions are the names of a number of nobles, and a few merchants and burgesses. The chief sale of the work, however, had place among the officers and the privates of the Kozák army. A few Kozáks subscribed individually; but more generally the whole of a *stanítsa*, or village, subscribed; and above eighty *stanítsas* are enumerated. So great was the enthusiasm with which Platóf was regarded, and so dear his memory, that subscriptions from his former soldiers and countrymen stationed in Georgia, Bessarabia, Poland, Finland, and Siberia, are enrolled. This fact is the more remarkable, because, though

the three parts of the work, including the long list of subscribers, do not form more than 600 pages, and are adorned only by nine inferior engravings, each copy was sold for twenty-five roubles paper; a most extraordinary high price in Russia.*

After so long and so interesting a digression, I shall now return to our travels.

On the evening of the 16th of July, we left NÓvo-Tcherkásk, and arrived on the morning of the 17th at Taganróg. The country was hilly, and, as we approached that town, signs of cultivation, plantations, and corn-fields, gave a cheerful aspect to its vicinity. We had no opportunity of examining Naktshiván, (or, as it is often written, Nakhitchíván), which received its name from the ancient town upon the left bank of the Araxes, already noticed, and, like it, is inhabited by Armenians.† This town or colony was founded in 1780, in the reign of Catherine II., by the Armenian merchants who emigrated from the Krimea, and has ever been prosperous, because its inhabitants have been industrious. Pallas and Clarke have both given interesting accounts of it, as well as of Rostof, which leave little room for addition.

Taganrog is situated upon a promontory which

* The curious reader may contrast my account of the literature of Russia with the above facts in *The Character of the Russians*, &c. p. cxxiv.

† Vide p. 475. of this Volume.

advances into the Sea of Azoph, under East long. $42^{\circ} 6$, and North lat. $47^{\circ} 10$. Its name is composed of two Russian words, *Tagán*, a tripod, and *Rog*, a horn. At one time a light-house or lantern was placed upon the point of the promontory, by the Turks, and it is conjectured that it was supported upon a tripod; hence the fanciful derivation of the name of the town.

The advantages and disadvantages of Taganróg, as a commercial port, have been repeatedly discussed by writers. The reader desirous of examining these, as well as its history, is referred to the works of Pallas, Reuilly, Clarke, Castelnau, &c..

Taganróg is become a place of considerable importance, and is really a fine town, though small. The streets are very broad and regular, but not paved. The houses are built both of stone and wood, and are tastefully painted. The fortress, however, contains a number of low, mean dwellings. The total number of edifices in the town were reckoned, in 1820, at 2,000. The vignette prefixed to this chapter, gives an excellent idea of its plan. *

In 1802, a particular governor was appointed for Taganróg, under whose administration were

* Pallas's twenty-fifth plate is a view of Taganróg, but this place is greatly improved and augmented since the time it was taken.

placed, in 1807, the commercial towns of Naktshivan, Rostóf, and Mariopole, with their jurisdictions. Then a committee was formed for public edifices, and the state of the customs, of the police, and of other public institutions, was improved. Barracks, a quarantine, an hospital, a custom-house, and an exchange, &c., were erected, and a public garden was formed.

Among the edifices most worthy of remark, are the shops or bazárs, the cathedral, and two Russian churches, besides the Catholic church.

At one period, the population of Taganróg is said to have amounted to 70,000 souls; but, according to a treaty between Turkey and Russia, in 1711, this town was rased to the ground. By the treaty of Kainardji, in 1774, it was definitively given up to Russia, and since that period, it has continued to make more or less advancement, according to favourable or unfavourable circumstances. In 1790, according to Pallas, the population of this town amounted to 6,000 souls: of whom 2,000 were sailors, under the orders of the captain of the port; 1,500 were attached to the garrison, under the commandant of the town; and 2,500 were merchants. In 1810, Dr. Clarke says, that its population did not exceed 5,000 souls; but he neither assigns the cause of this low calculation, nor gives the divisions of which it admitted; but he informs us, that he saw in it the representatives of fifteen different nations assembled together at

the same time. In 1812, Vsévolojskii, following Pallas, says, the population of the town in question, was 6,000 souls: and, in 1820, Castelnau makes it amount to 7,651; and, during summer, when the ships arrive, to double this number.

We were told by an excellent authority, which I do not name for fear of compromising the individual, that in 1822, the population of Taganróg, in summer, when there were many ships in the harbour, was often as high as 12,000; but at other times that it did not exceed 9,000 or 10,000.

The chief inhabitants of Taganróg are Russians, Tartars, Greeks, Germans, Italians, French, and English.

In the year 1775, the commerce of Taganróg, if it deserve such an appellation, amounted to seven roubles and twenty kopeeks, importation; and 109 roubles and thirty kopeeks, exportation.* Pallas states the amount of the importation in 1792, at 97,653 roubles, and that of exportation at 370,551 roubles; and in 1793, that of importation at 156,058, and that of exportation at 428,087 roubles. Stchékatof informs us, that from seventy to 120 ships annually arrive at Taganróg; that the amount of importation was 2,340,115 roubles; and that of exportation 2,272,374, in 1806.

* View of the Russian Empire, vol. iii. p. 591.

The following table respecting the importation at Taganróg, in 1813, is translated literally from Herrmann's Observations upon the Commerce of the Interior of Russia, which takes place by water :—

MERCHANDISE.

IMPORTATION.

(1) *Of the Vegetable Kingdom.*

Rye-Flour	-	-	-	-	57,200 poods.
Hemp	-	-	-	-	for 82,400 roubles.
Coarse linen	-	-	-	-	for 600 ditto.
Fine thread	-	-	-	-	for 600 ditto.
Cotton and linen cloth, posts	}	55,473 pieces, and for	}	100 roubles.	
& logs of wood for building					
Planks	-	-	-	-	48,885 pieces.
Small planks	-	-	-	-	250,209 ditto.
Bark of the lime-tree	-	-	-	-	10,555 ditto.
Mats	-	-	-	-	74,000 ditto.
Charcoal	-	-	-	-	{ 460 poods, and for 22,500 roubles.
Wooden utensils	-	-	-	-	{ 2,300 pieces, and for 139,650 roubles.
Wheels	-	-	-	-	1,100 pieces.
Carts	-	-	-	-	{ 3,032 pieces, and for 20,700 roubles.
Forest-trees	-	-	-	-	42,950 pieces.
Firewood	-	-	-	-	870 sajins.
Furniture	-	-	-	-	for 100 roubles.
Tinder	-	-	-	-	12 poods.
Tar	-	-	-	-	13,300 ditto.
Peas	-	-	-	-	53,890 ditto.
Vinegar	-	-	-	-	for 2,100 roubles.
Tea	-	-	-	-	50 poods.
Sugar	-	-	-	-	155 ditto.
Persian Tobacco	-	-	-	-	160 ditto.

MERCHANDISE.

IMPORTATION.

(2) *Of the Mineral Kingdom.*

Steel	-	-	-	-	6,000 poods.
Iron in bars	-	-	-	-	1,010,750 poods.
Wrought iron	-	-	-	-	for 52,809 roubles.
Scythes	-	-	-	-	4,500 pieces.
Axes and pick-axes	-	-	-	-	23,000 ditto.
Copper-money	-	-	-	-	235,000 roubles.
Fire-arms and ammunition	-	-	-	-	{ 206,000 poods, and 100 pieces.
Dutch-ware	-	-	-	-	{ 1,180 poods, and for 3,500 roubles.
Pottery-ware	-	-	-	-	18,000 pieces and 3 baskets.
Tile-stoves	-	-	-	-	600 pieces.

(3) *Of the Animal Kingdom.*

Butter	-	-	-	-	11,220 poods.
Salt, dried and smoked fish	-	-	-	-	4,400 ditto.
Caviár	-	-	-	-	16,532 ditto.
Candles	-	-	-	-	300 ditto.
Furs	-	-	-	-	50 poods and 50 bales.

The commerce of importation by the Don, amounted, in 1813, to 4,327,084 roubles.* In 1822, the commerce of Taganróg was by no means active.

The quarantine lies at the distance of five versts from the town, on the side of a small bay. It is a remarkably neat and well-managed establishment, and merits the examination of the traveller.

* Vide *Données Statistiques sur le Commerce de l'Intérieur de la Russie*, que s'est fait par eau en 1813; par C. Th. Herrmann. *Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Petersbourg*, vol. v. p. 662. and 698.

When we were at Taganróg, it was in a state of inactivity. The Greeks, who compose nearly two-thirds of the population, had, two years before, quarrelled with the governor of the town. They accused him of great impropriety of conduct, in consequence of which he was regularly tried by a court of law, and had been honourably acquitted. He had not yet returned to the town. It was expected by many of the foreigners, that with his return, activity and prosperity would again be seen at Taganróg.

General Shäufus, who was acting *pro tempore* as governor, and with whom we dined, advised us to take separate roads to Níjni-Nóvgorod, as we should find it impossible to get horses for two carriages at the post-stations, so many merchants and nobles being on the route to the same place. Accordingly, two of our party pursued their course back to Nóvo-Tcherkásk, and from thence through Pénsa to Níjni-Nóvgorod; while the other, including myself, resolved to proceed through Voronéje for the same destination. We also determined not to follow the regular post-road, by Khárkof, Kursk, &c.; but to take a shorter route, according to the stations mentioned in the itinerary at the end of this volume.



CHAP. XXI.

DEPARTURE FROM TAGANRÓG. — *STEP.* — USPÉNSKOYÉ. — LÚGAN IRON-WORKS. — ARRIVAL AT JÉLTOYÉ SÉLO. — ANECDOTE. — DROWNING OF OUR SERVANT. — HIS FUNERAL. — VILLAGE JÉLTOYÉ SÉLO. — FINE COUNTRY. — DANCING. — STAROBÉLSK. — OSTROGÓJSK. — CHARACTER OF RUSSIAN MERCHANTS. — METHOD OF BARGAINING. — ANECDOTE. — PREMIUMS TO PURCHASERS. — GERMAN COLONY. — VORONÉJE. — ITS HISTORY. — PRESENT STATE. — COMMERCE. — ANECDOTE. — A EUNUCH. — SUPPLY OF CORN. — DR. CLARKE'S EXTRAVAGANCE. — CAUSES OF HIS PARTIAL ACCOUNTS. — MILENETS. — ZADÓNSK. — YÉLETS. — YEPHRÉMOF. — BOGHORÓDITSK. — TÚLA. — SÉRPUCHOF. — PUNISHMENT OF A POST-BOOR. — MOSCOW. — BOGHORÓDSK. — POKRÓF. — VLADÍMIR. — ITS HISTORY. — PRESENT STATE. — CATHEDRAL. — CHURCHES. — POPULATION. — FAMOUS FOR CHER-

RIES. — THE KLIASMA. — SÚDOGDA. — MÚROM. — IRON-
WORKS AT VIXA. — TRICK OF POST-BOORS. — MONAKÓVO. —
ROGUERY OF ITS SMOTRÍTEL.—BOGHORÓDSKOYÉ.—ARRIVAL
AT NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — THE VOLGA. — THE OKA.

ON the evening of the 18th of July, we left Taganróg. Except a few corn-fields contiguous to the town, the vicinity is bleak and barren. At the first station, called Korovyé Brode, we crossed the Mius river by an excellent ferry, which is kept by a Malo-Russian, who exhibited a degree of stupidity not common among that people. No interrogation or explanation could obtain from him the name of the river just spoken of. On being asked its name, he said “it was a river;” and when pressed to say what river, he replied, “that a river was water.” The country through which we proceeded was gently undulating, but completely of the nature of *step*. It gradually loses this feature as we recede from Taganróg. Between Ivánovskoyé and Uspénskoyé, there are numerous corn-fields, and many villages surrounded by trees. In the village Ivánovskoyé is a good house, which belongs to a General Shtiaret, with a couple of huge and grotesque Kalmuck idols, many of which we had noticed near Stávropole and Taganróg, and which are described and represented by Pallas and Porter. They give the whole body, every part of which is uncommonly pendulous, and are the most perfect we any where remarked. The village Uspénskoyé is much enlivened by the

mansion of General Shevitch, and a large church which looks well at a distance, but has great architectural defects when closely examined. On the left of the road leading from Uspénskoyé to Lúgan, is a vale of great length, which was covered with fine crops of corn and hay, and is bounded by hills. White-washed villages, scattered over the country, and surrounded by trees, give an aspect of cheerfulness and comfort, which forms a striking contrast to the gloomy abodes of the Russian peasants farther to the north.

The iron-works and cannon-foundery at Lúgan, called *Lúganskoï Zavóde*, are among the most extensive in the empire, and are supplied with iron from Siberia. They occupy an immense space of ground, and have a very respectable appearance. They were formerly under the direction of Sir Charles Gascoigne, a British outlaw, who had been superintendant of the Carron Works in Scotland. The secrets he had learnt there, he betrayed to the Russian government, and was rewarded accordingly.* From Lúgan the artillery is conveyed by water to the ports of the Black Sea, Sevástopole, Nikoläëf, &c.

The adjoining village, Kamennöi Brode, which is on the north side of the river Lúgan, is very large. All its inhabitants are Malo-Russians, and are employed in the fabric, the *yamstchiks* or post-boors excepted.

* Vide Clarke's Travels, p. 256. 298.

At Lúgan we quitted the usual route, arrived about half-past nine o'clock in the evening at Jéltoyé Sélo, and as it was moonlight, determined to continue our journey in the night. The post-master got our *podorójné* inscribed, and then went and reported us to the *Atamán*, or chief of the village, which is mostly inhabited by Malo-Russians. Meantime an officer arrived, who asked for horses immediately. The moment ours came in sight, he seized them, and ordered them to be put to his carriage. This, of course, we resisted, but not without a serious dispute. We then took hold of the horses, and ordered them to be harnessed to our carriage. The post-master reasoned with the officer upon the impropriety of his conduct; in answer to which, the latter, in a most vehement tone, ordered his servant, a soldier, to whip the former. The post-master being a man of spirit, returned the blows, and a scuffle ensued. We departed with the most indignant feelings at the power which this officer took upon himself, against all law; conduct in which he has numerous imitators, every day, throughout the Russian empire.

After proceeding less than a verst, we reached the sandy banks of the Donets, where we halted. Our servant alighted and called to the ferrymen, who were on the opposite side of the river; to make them hear, he advanced upon a *jetée*, though the coachman desired him repeatedly to

stop. We were immediately alarmed by a cry from the coachman, that the servant had fallen into the water. We jumped out by the opposite doors of the carriage, and ran to the *jettée*: all was already silent as death. We called *Johán*, *Johán*, but received no answer: the surface of the river was calm, and a hat swam at a short distance. *Johán* had disappeared.

Our painful sensations were much aggravated by the unfeeling and inhuman conduct of the ferry-men, who were now in motion toward us, and to whom we related what had happened, and earnestly entreated their assistance. But neither entreaty, nor liberal offers of money, nor menaces, had any effect upon those hardened monsters; who, instead of hastening to our aid, remained in the middle of the river, alternately comforting us with this assurance, “The river is deep, take care of yourselves, or you will share the fate of the man,” and scolding the coachman for disturbing them so late at night. When we became more importunate, they harshly and impudently replied, “Do you wish that we should meet the fate of your servant?—Return to-morrow morning, and you will find him when it is light:” as if it had been a matter of perfect indifference to us whether we should have a living being now, or a dead body on the morrow. All traces of our poor servant being lost, we could do nothing, but remained awhile on the spot, loth to believe that *Johán*

would rise no more! We returned at length with heavy hearts to the village, gave information of what had happened, and passed the short time till daylight, in the carriage, and in walking about; the night being fine, and all inclination to sleep having been banished by this unfortunate accident.

On the 20th of July, provided with people, we set off to the river about four o'clock in the morning, and soon found the body of Johán, a few feet from the place from which he fell, and where the water was about ten feet deep. The corpse was carried to an adjoining wood, and prayers were read over it according to the ritual of the Greek church.

To avoid all difficulty on returning to Moscow without our servant, we observed the regular forms necessary on such an occasion. A kind of coroner's inquest is held, but without any jury. The *Zasyedátel*, or fiscal, wrote to the nearest tribunal in the town of Slavenosérbsk, and having received an answer empowering him to do what was necessary, he went and examined the body, which we had afterwards put into a coffin. We then accompanied it to the grave in the village church-yard. With the *Zasyedátel* we left Johán's passport, and signed a report as to the accident. We also obtained from him a proper document, with his signature and the priest's, in which the result of the inquest was contained. This paper was to serve as a guarantee on the road, in case any of

the post-masters should enquire for Johán, as his name was entered in the *podoróžně*, and it was delivered to the police on our arrival at Moscow.

Jéltoyé Sélo is a cheerful village, surrounded by a fruitful country, which gradually became more interesting as we approached Starobélsk. Boundless tracts of corn-fields, intermixed with hemp and lint, extensive pastures covered by herds of cattle, numerous white-washed villages amid trees, upon an undulating surface of hill and dale, formed a pleasing and varied prospect. The river *Aidara*, which we frequently approached and receded from, added greatly to the beauty of the country; and a range of very white limestone hills, gave it a picturesque effect.

The district between Shulchinka and Starobélsk was so fine, rich, and variegated, and so studded with villages, as to remind us of some of the pleasing scenery of England. We were highly amused in one of the villages, by the peasants, who were dancing to the sound of the national *balaleïka*, as is shown by the vignette of the present chapter.

Starobélsk, a small district town in the government of Voronéje, built upon the left bank of the *Aidara*, which flows into the Donets, is one of the neatest, of its size, I have seen in Russia. The streets are regular, wide, and clean; the houses are white-washed, and intermixed with trees; and a couple of churches lend their lively colours to the view.

We left Starobélsk on the morning of the 21st. The country between it and Belalútskaya becomes still more and more inviting; and immeasurable tracts of corn fields are intermixed with many villages and gentlemen's seats. Between the last-named station and Yeremén, more pasture land occurs. The limestone hills, already noticed, continued along our course to near Yeremén, where we crossed them and proceeded to Ostrogójsk, through a country with a continually varying surface of ascent and descent, and rich in corn, but by no means so charming as that part of our journey previously noticed.

Numerous churches give Ostrogójsk an imposing appearance at a distance, which disappoints the traveller on a nearer inspection. This town is built at the confluence of the Ostrogójsk, from which it derives its name, and the Sosna. It occupies an elevated situation, and is included in the government of Voronéje, and contains 11,000 souls. There are ten churches in it, of which two are reckoned cathedrals. Many of the houses are built of stone, but more of wood, and a few of the streets are laid out upon a regular plan. A number of merchants dwell here, who carry on a considerable commerce, especially in horned cattle from the Ukraine, horses, and tallow.

I had occasion to purchase a pair of boots at Ostrogójsk, and so great was the finesse of the

boot-makers, that I could have fancied myself in the *Bargaining Shops* at Moscow.

In another work I have entered at great length into the character of the Russian merchants, and their mode of trafficking*, and though the picture was drawn from the life, and the colours by no means overcharged, it has been hinted by some, that it is too general, and too severe. I feel convinced, however, of its being a fair representation, and that the accuracy of every sentence will be borne out by those who have been in Russia, and still more so by those who have had dealings with the native merchants. The character of dishonesty seems to have clung to this class of subjects at least for some hundred years, for even one of the best historians of Russia, Karamzin, frankly avows, “That in the times of the great dukes, the Moscow merchants knew and confirmed the proverb, that ‘*A merchant will sell his face :*’” and he adds, that, “Their *finesse* in buying and selling astonished the Germans, who said, ‘Satan alone could cheat a Russian.’” †

In the work already referred to, I have explained the peculiar mode of buying and selling which is universally pursued throughout the empire of Russia ; and I shall here add a few details in illustration, especially as they tend to throw light upon

* Character of the Russians, p. cxxxix. and p. 284.

† Sotchineniyá, or Works, vol. ix. p. 174.

the general system of corruption in the common affairs of life, which is gradually becoming prevalent even among the Krimean Tartars, the Caucasians, and the Georgians, and may have much influence in changing their national character.

The house-stewards, and the house-keepers, called, from the French, *económes* and *económkas*, have very desirable situations in Russia, especially in the houses of noblemen who live in good style, and, of course, where there are many purchases to make. Such situations are sometimes filled by the slaves of the nobles, but very often by free people: they are much sought after, and although they receive but a trifling salary, these stewards often succeed in making a competence for life, and some times a large fortune, in the course of a few years.

The Russian nobles, comparatively speaking, make but few bargains themselves: buying and selling, among the higher ranks, is looked upon as beneath their dignity; and yet it is in Russia, where we find at times the *highest titles associated with merchant*, in the same persons, or under another appellation which pleases them better, *speculators*.

No class of men in the world know their own country and their own interest better than the Russian merchants, and they take particular care to win and retain the good wishes of stewards, house-keepers, and servants. Suppose a number of merchants are brought into competition, the

goods of him who offers the most liberal premium are sure to be preferred by the purchasers, who soon become acquainted with those whom they call *liberal* men. Suppose a noble sends for two or three merchants, and desires them to bring such goods as he wishes ; the messenger and merchants take care to have an explanation with each other should a purchase be made. Now, as the nobles very frequently are no judges themselves, either of the quality or the price of articles, they search out and examine those which please them, and leave the money arrangements to their inferiors. But even when they are judges, still the opinions of their attendants have wonderful influence over them. The reader will easily comprehend that the stewards recommend the wares of those who give them the largest reward, and disparage those of competitors, though of a superior quality : thus the servant's and the merchant's interest are intimately linked together, and the noble pays for the roguery of both. Indeed, it is not uncommon to go a step farther in deceit. The steward connives at less measure, or less weight, of goods than were bought, and even sometimes admits a mixture, or receives them of an inferior quality. There are so few exceptions to this detestable mode of traffic, that it may be said to be universal in Russia. The noble is basely defrauded every where ; in his house and out of his house, by his servants and by the merchants, who enrich themselves at his expense.

For the purchase of meat, vegetables, and coarse articles, a steward very generally has a *kúptchik*, or buyer, under his orders, who pursues the same system of imposition as his superior.

Whoever is the purchaser, the same system is carried on with clothiers, hosiers, mercers, dealers in tea, sugar, rum, wine, furniture, &c.

The following anecdote is very characteristic :— A Russian noble asked me to recommend a merchant from whom good English porter could be purchased. I did so, and soon afterwards had an opportunity of informing the gentleman that I had spoken in his favour. He asked if the noble made such purchases himself, or employed a *dvorétskoi*, or house-steward, to do so. Upon my saying that beyond all question the *dvorétskoi* would be sent for the purpose, he begged me to prevent it; “for,” said he, “as I make no presents to that rank of individuals, however *good* the porter purchased might be, it would not fail to turn out *bad* upon trial; and, in some way or other, I should be troubled or angered, and besides, very probably, have considerable difficulty in obtaining payment of my bill.”

To such an extent does this mode of giving and receiving premiums extend, that the servant who carries a receipt to the apothecary's shop universally gets his reward; for if he did not, he would contrive, by some means or other, to carry the next prescription to another apothecary who, he knew,

would not forget him : respectable apothecaries are therefore necessitated to comply with a revolting custom, or they might shut their shops. As elsewhere, many of the noble families are in the custom of running quarterly, or half yearly, or annual accounts with the apothecaries ; and when the bills are paid, the servants obtain a handsome present.

But this practice of presents also prevails among a higher class of individuals. Soon after my arrival in Russia, I had occasion to purchase a quantity of medicines. Sometime afterwards, when the bill was paid, I was rather surprised at receiving a handsome present from the apothecary. On mentioning the circumstance to a friend, my surprise ceased. The fact is, that it is well understood that all medical men, if they choose, receive ten, and sometimes even fifteen per cent. profit, upon medicines they purchase for public charities, or for private apothecary-shops upon the estates of the nobility in the interior ; and five or ten per cent. upon the value of all medicines made up by their prescriptions throughout the empire. This is a manner of procedure at which a British physician is appalled on his first entrance into Russia, and even when he is assured it is the custom of the country, he cannot think of complying with it. There are few who have always resisted the receipt of what is considered fair gain ; the practice having been, in fact, established as a law, which is known to all, and which universally prevails. For

a number of years, contrary to the advice of some friends, I refused the general premium, or rather, I bought the medicines ten per cent. lower than most medical men; and as I had occasion to make considerable purchases, I thus lost proportionate advantages; and what was worse, in the end, so far from being praised for my conduct by those whose interest I consulted, I was laughed at for my *pretensions* of having acted a better part than others; and insinuations were thrown out, that I made sure of my reward in some other way. I now laid aside my former scruples, and allowed the apothecaries to make me presents as they did to others; and I would advise all medical men to do so, or not to go to Russia.

It is an astonishing feature in the history of Russian bargaining, that notwithstanding that stewards receive a regular per centage, or premium, from the seller, they can still purchase goods at a cheaper rate than their masters or mistresses, who receive no discount. Thus a servant will buy the same cloth a rouble an arshin cheaper than his master, and, besides, will receive a premium. This mode of proceeding, no doubt, may sometimes be explained by a difference in the quality of the goods, or by a deficiency in their weight or quantity; but the basis of such a principle seems to be the determination of the merchants to encourage purchases by stewards and servants rather than by

their masters and mistresses, since thereby they invariably become greater gainers.

In all departments of commerce, and in all civil, military, and naval situations, half of the revenues are obtained either by roguery, or by the *receipt of presents*, which have become a legal reward from their general recognition; and, consequently, no infamy attaches to them.

At the distance of five versts from Ostrogójsk, and upon the banks of the Sósna, is a German colony, called the *Colony of Ostrogójsk*, which consists of 300 individuals, many of them tradesmen, but more engaged in rural occupations. The surrounding fields were covered with tobacco, potatoes, and corn, which attested the industry and the apparent opulence of the inhabitants. This colony consists of a long street, with a church in the middle, but had not the pleasing appearance we expected. Neither the cleanness of the streets, nor the neat thatched cottages, nor the appearance of general order, was here observed, which we had before remarked at some of the German colonies.

The general appearance of the country between Ostrogójsk and Voronéje is such as I have described before arriving at the former town: it is quite the granary of Russia, if one might judge by the profusion of corn. At a short distance from Voronéje the road becomes more level, and in wet weather is extremely bad. Near the town it is a complete marsh.

As we approached Voronéje on the morning of the 23d of July, we were much struck by its magnificent appearance, situated on the high banks of the river from which it derived its name, and a few versts from the place where it falls into the Don. In the spring, by the inundation of the river, two thirds of the town are surrounded by water, and it is then seen to greater advantage, rising alone amidst the waste of waters. In summer it is very unhealthy, from the quantity of marsh and swamp which extends some versts on two of its sides. It is one of the largest, finest, and most populous towns of the empire, and besides, lends its name to a government characterised for its fecundity, especially in corn. It therefore deserves a particular description.

Voronéje is reckoned one of the most ancient towns of Russia; but the epoch of its foundation is not known. It is spoken of, however, as already existing in the twelfth century. It is conjectured to have been built by the Khozares in consequence of a grant of lands by Vladímir Monomách: but, however this may be, it was dependent upon the principality of Russia. It is rather remarkable that it suffered little at the invasions of Batii Khan, and of Mamai Khan. In 1590, the Kozáks of the Ukraine threw themselves upon this town, burned it, and massacred the *Vòévode*. It was afterwards pillaged by rebels under their chief, Zaroutskii. Being upon the frontier of the Nogay tribe, there

was carried on a commerce advantageous for Russia. It was in Voronéje that the Tartar and Turkish ambassadors were received who came to Russia, and to which they were conducted on their return. In 1676, the fortifications of this town were renewed. They were formed of oak wood, and supplied with cannon. But the importance of Voronéje dates from the time of Peter the Great, who resided there to superintend and direct the construction of ships. From hence a few vessels floated to the Don and the Sea of Azoph, which were of great use in the expedition against the town of the same name. The dock was afterwards removed to Ustia, at the confluence of the Voronéje and the Don, then to Tavrof, and lastly, to the fortress of Rostóf, at the embouchure of the Don. The palace in which the Tsar lived, the dock, the admiralty, and the magazines which were then constructed, were all burned during different great fires in the town. It is said that a brick magazine still remains upon an island, in which is preserved the model of a ship, of a particular construction, made by Peter the Great himself; but this curiosity we did not see.

At present Voronéje makes a very respectable appearance, and can boast of a population of nearly 20,000 souls. It contains some spacious streets, and a great many which are very mean: the suburbs are as black and gloomy as a country village. The principal street, the Dvoriánskaya *Ulitsa*, has

a noble appearance, its sides being lined with massy and handsome edifices, many of them the property of the crown, as the governor's and vice-governor's houses; the tribunals; the post-office; the commissariat; the academy, &c. The Moskóvskaya *Ulitsa*, or street, is also very fine, and in it the archbishop's palace, with an adjoining cathedral, is situated. The columns of the cathedral are of such an extraordinary length as to render it impossible to reduce them to any order of architecture.

The shops, or *bazárs*, are likewise very respectable; and a great commerce is carried on here, with the ports of the Black Sea. Voronéje also contains some cloth manufactories, tanneries, and soap and tallow works.

As the gentleman with whom I was now travelling had left a servant at Moscow, we changed our plan of proceeding from Voronéje to Nijni-Nóvgorod, and determined to go directly to the ancient capital to find him, and from thence to proceed to join the rest of the party. Wishing to have our passports altered in consequence of the intended change of route, we called upon the Governor, and after one or two ineffectual attempts we succeeded in finding him at home. Our reception, at first, was far from flattering. We had no letters of introduction, and were therefore looked upon as troublesome intruders. To our enquiry, whether we had the honour of speaking to his Excellency the Governor of Voronéje, he replied in the most

haughty and repulsive manner; “ *Eh bien, Messieurs, que voulez-vous ?*” It was really amusing to observe the effect which the judicious introduction of a few great names amongst our Russian acquaintance, and the assumption of an air of more than usual importance, had upon him. He immediately became aware of his mistake; his repulsive manners vanished in an instant; he became affable, courteous, and even kind in his manner to us; we were ushered, with all due ceremony, into his best suite of rooms, and invited to dinner; an *amende honorable* which we were glad to accept, in order to form some idea of the society of a provincial town in Russia. It was thoroughly Russian society, and not of the first class. The Governor supported the Russian character for hospitality by frequent and pressing invitations to drink, and seemed surprised that, as Englishmen, we did not better maintain our national character of fondness for the bottle. In the evening we returned to receive our passports, which, as he had promised, were prepared for us. We drank tea with him; he overwhelmed us with attentions and professions; and, on parting, he presented my companion with a small Russian table-cloth, which he had admired, as if determined to obliterate every recollection of our first reception.*

* We found the gentleman alluded to was only the governor *pro tempore*.

After dinner we made a visit to a very singular character, Mr. Barbarini, an Italian eunuch, who was 114 years of age, and who had been successively employed by Catharine II., the late Count Sheremétov, and other noblemen, in their orchestras, or as a singer, but who for a number of years past has been a kind of innkeeper *without a license* ; a liberty allowed him in consequence of his great age. The vivacity, the gaiety, and the extraordinary manners of this old man exceedingly astonished us. One might have supposed himself in company with one of the most fashionable youths of the day. His mirth always terminated in loud fits of laughter. Although, apparently, he had one foot in the grave, he spoke much of going to Italy, and even of travelling over Europe.

In the government of Voronéje, as well as in the surrounding governments, the country is covered with corn fields, and, no doubt, it forms an almost inexhaustible granary for common purposes. But unfortunately there are so many distilleries in the south, that enormous quantities of grain are annually consumed by them, and in bad seasons, even these fruitful climes have been in want of bread. This is all owing to mismanagement, as the soil yields double and triple the quantity of grain necessary for the population. A few years ago two bad seasons succeeded each other, and corn became extremely scarce. That substantial article of Russian diet, *black bread*, got to an ex-

travagant price, and the peasants were badly off. In general, however, the peasantry of these fertile regions live well for their situation in life; and therefore it is altogether inconceivable how Dr. Clarke could have written the following heart-rending account, which assuredly is extravagant: — “Traversing the provinces south of Moscow,” says he, “the land is as the garden of Eden; a fine soil, covered with corn, and apparently smiling in plenty. Enter the cottage of the poor labourer, surrounded by all these riches, and you find him dying of hunger, or pining from bad food, and in want of the common necessities of life. Extensive pastures, covered with cattle, afford no milk to him. In autumn, the harvest yields no bread for his children. The lord claims all the produce.”

In “*The Character of the Russians, &c.*” I have often animadverted upon the extravagant and prejudiced statements of Dr. Clarke, and have explained the reasons of his having seen but the gloomy shades of the picture. Now, even his supporters and friends seem conscious of his partial and overcoloured accounts, as is proved by the sentiments expressed in the examination of the sixth volume of his interesting Travels, in a very distinguished periodical publication, the Edinburgh Review, and by the following quotation from his biographer: — Speaking of the great and comparative interest which Dr. Clarke’s works excited, this gentleman says, “From the singular situation

of that country (Russia), in the latter years of the Emperor Paul, with regard both to her internal and external policy, and the general exclusion of strangers from his dominions, every authentic account of that period was likely to be received with avidity ; while, on the other hand, the probable influence of her power and councils upon the fate of Europe at the time of the publication *, rendered the character of her institutions and people, objects of the most lively and general interest. Thus was the public mind prepared for the work, and thus did the strong tone of feeling under which Dr. Clarke wrote, accord with the general excitement under which it was read ; and when we consider farther, how strongly political prejudice is apt to warp the judgment of mankind, the same facts which will account for the rapid sale of the volume, will also explain the reason of the extravagant blame or praise which has attached to it. Looking back now with an impartial eye upon the work, and the nation it describes ; considering the extraordinary susceptibility of the author's mind, and the expression he lets fall in one of his letters, that he should be glad to like the Russian people, if the government would let him, we may admit it to be probable, without impeaching the

* This alludes to the first volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels, relating to Russia.

veracity of a single statement, that the vexations he underwent, induced him, unawares, to linger more on the dark side of the picture, than upon the bright one; and that he might possibly have sat down to the composition of his work, under much of the same kind of feeling with which many others sat down to the reading of it. It should be remembered too, for the sake of all parties, that Dr. Clarke saw the Russian people at a moment when their natural good temper and vivacity were soured by the disgraceful situation of their country.” *

We left Voronéje on the evening of the 23d of July, and after travelling many versts through a fertile country, without a single object which attracted notice, we were agreeably surprised by the appearance of Milenets, an estate and village of Mr. Mikoulin, between Khlébnoyé and Zadónsk. The mansion-house is very large, and of a square form, with four similar *façades*, and the surrounding grounds are laid out with taste. The situation is not the best, though it is pleasant and commanding. But what deserves most attention, is the village close to the house and along both sides of the great road. Almost all the huts of the peasants have been pulled down, and the rest are to follow. In their places there are already twenty

* The Life and Remains of the Rev. E. D. Clarke, p. 568. 1824.

houses of a single story in height, separated from each other by a court, and constructed altogether of stone, or of wood plastered over upon a stone foundation, and each with three windows. These, with a larger house for the steward, occupy one side of the road, and the same plan is most likely now completed on the other side, as half the houses were built when we were there ; now above two years ago. Mr. Mikoulin has given an example of improvement to his countrymen, which I hope will prove successful in time ; as, no doubt, his wish is to introduce a love of order, neatness, and comfort among the peasants ; which, of course, will tend to civilise them. At present, nothing can appear more inconsistent than to see the uncouth figures of the Russians stalking about these dwellings, and it will be the work of many years before they be taught to make a proper use of them.

We soon reached Zadónsk, a small town remarkable for its neat appearance and pleasing environs. It is situated about half a verst from the Don. Its monastery is a conspicuous object, and is very fine. Its population amounts to about 2,000 souls, who are chiefly employed in agriculture, and a few in fishing upon the river.

We crossed the Don, a large and beautiful river, even so high up as Zadónsk ; and we had an accommodation not often met with, an excellent ferry-boat.

The approach from the south to Yélets, gives every advantage to the appearance of that town. On account of its very high situation, it is seen at many versts' distance. Its numerous churches, and still more the many large stone houses white-washed and painted yellow, pink, and red, with their various-coloured roofs, rising on the side of a steep hill, in regular succession above each other, give it an air of magnificence which few Russian towns really possess. The mind is prepared, as on many other occasions, for disappointment, on entering the mean suburb, and crossing a dirty bridge over a broad but shallow river, the Sósna, along which the town stands. By a difficult ascent, we at length reached Yélets. Numerous large houses on every side might be placed in the capitals of the country. But though massy and gaudy, I never remarked so many deviations from all the rules of architecture, in a given space, as among the edifices of this town. Disproportionate pillars and pilasters, and an excess of frippery work and ornament, are almost universal defects. The streets are regular, have *trottoirs*, and being paved by large masses of limestone, are in good order in the middle of the town; but, at both exits, they have judged badly, who ordered the steep declivity of the hill to be paved in the same manner. We were glad to walk, in order to escape the fate which seemed to threaten those who venture to remain in their carriages, should the drag

give way, or the horses take fright, in such a situation.

From its local position, Yélets is remarkably airy and healthy. The environs are beautiful, and extremely fertile, and provisions, consequently, very cheap. It is one of the most delightful small towns I have seen in Russia. Its inhabitants amount to about 8,000 souls, who carry on a considerable commerce, especially in corn.

From Yélets to Yephémof, the country was similar to what we had passed, very fertile.

Yephémof, like Yélets, is situated on a high hill, but in no other respect is to be compared, being a mean wooden town, of considerable size, and containing but 3,000 inhabitants.

Between Yephémof and Túla, the country in general may be said to be rich and beautiful, and considerably varied in its surface, as the frequent calls for the drag sufficiently informed us. Woods, corn fields, pastures, with an occasional gentleman's seat, compose the scenery.

Boghoróditsk is called a town, and lies at the junction of two small rivulets, the *Lesnoi Uperte*, and the *Viasovka*. Its population amounts to nearly 3,000 souls. It rather deserves the title of a mean village, which is singularly contrasted with the magnificent palace of Countess Bobrínska; a specimen of the wealth her husband derived from his relationship to the Empress Catherine II., whose natural son he was reported to be by Orlof.

The country between Boghoróditsk and Túla, as the harvest was general, presented the most pleasing aspect, and the prospect of abundance. This is the season when it is most attractive, and it was much more fertile than we expected. We reached Túla late in the evening of the 25th of July, and supped at the inn at which we had lodged in our journey to the south. This inn is singularly well arranged. The waiters were attentive, active, well-dressed, and very clean. The table-linen, plates, knives and forks, were in the best order, and an excellent supper was served up at three roubles a-head. The wines were also good. This was a luxurious feast, to which we had of late been little accustomed, and which is seldom to be met with in the largest towns in the south of the Russian empire.

We retraced our way to Sérpuchof in the night, and breakfasted there, but could not procure post-horses. To prevent detention, we hired horses at an extravagant rate to Moscow. The road to Lapásna was extremely bad, and the horses much fatigued; but as by *contract* they were changed there, we hoped to get on more rapidly. By the time we reached Podólsk, however, the new horses were exhausted, and our post-boors now proposed, contrary to our agreement, that we should stop for three hours whilst they fed them. Finding other horses at hand, we hired them, and wished to get rid of the former engagement, which the boors

could not fulfil, by paying them the proportion of the sum which they had earned. But to this they objected, and demanded full payment to Moscow. Finding them impertinent and stubborn, we at length agreed to give them the sum on their arrival at Moscow with their horses, but even this would not please them. When we were about to start, one of the post-boors seized the reins, and to end the matter, we drove to the *Gorodnítchii*, to whom we related the affair. We were well treated, and the coachman received a few blows, and orders to go to Moscow with his horses, or be content to give up the money. We got to the capital at midnight; and on the following day he came there and received his due.

We spent the 27th and 28th of July at Moscow, in making arrangements, and on the evening of the latter day we set off to Níjni-Nóvgorod. We travelled all night, and early in the morning we breakfasted at Boghoródsk, a small district town in the government of Moscow, which lies upon the right bank of the Kliasma, contains about 500 inhabitants, and is chiefly built of wood, with a few stone houses. The road, which is bad even in good weather, was now almost impassable, as it had rained in the night. We therefore travelled slowly, and every plan was laid by the *smotrítel* to detain us here. At length he consented to give us three horses, and we hired three others, and went on. After proceeding nine versts, we reached

the Kliasma, which we crossed by an extremely bad ferry; the floating bridge established here having been carried away in consequence of a late flood of the river by heavy rains. We entered the village Búnkova, and, as we had learned that a number of travellers had preceded us, and that horses were kept for others who were expected, we here hired private horses to Vladímir. The weather was bad, and the road heavy, and little occurred worth mentioning.

Pokróf is a small town, which contains about 500 souls, and, like Boghoródk, is built of wood and stone. Its vicinity is occupied by woods, forests, and marshes, and is very barren.

Early in the morning of the 30th of July, we reached the post station of Vladímir, which is two versts from the town, where we breakfasted and changed horses.

The weather being bad, we found the road extremely heavy, — through clay and sand, and over wood, — like the Petersburg road, which it much resembles. Till within two stations of Vladímir, it is generally level, and bounded by fir woods, and sometimes by corn fields between it and these woods. Near Vladímir it is more open, and is diversified by hill and dale, woods, corn fields, and pastures.

Vladímir, as is well known, was once the capital of Russia, and a city of great importance. It occupies a high and picturesque situation upon the banks of the Kliasma, and the

rivulet Libed runs through it. If we can give credit to the tradition, that before Vladímír was burned by the Tartars, the city extended to the convent of Bogholyúbskii, from which it is now distant eleven versts, it must have been a place of enormous magnitude, but probably not of correspondent population, according to our ideas; because the Asiatic manner of erecting wooden houses surrounded by courts and gardens, caused them to occupy an immense space, as is still the case in many of the Russian towns, and even in many of the suburbs of Moscow. Some of the historians of Russia pretend that this town was built in the tenth century by Vladímír the Great when he went to Súzdal, Rostóf, and Nóvgorod, to propagate the Christian religion. Others maintain, with more probability, that it owes its origin to Yúri Vladímírovitch, surnamed Dolgorúkii, and fix it in the twelfth century, when it belonged to the principality of Rostóf. Prince Andréi Bogholyúbskii, son of Dolgorúkii, having received in appanage the principalities of Súzdal, as well as the town of Vladímír, embellished the latter, and surrounded it with a wall. On the death of his father in 1157, he transferred his residence to it, and it became the seat of the grand-duchy. It remained the metropolis and residence during 170 years, i. e. till the Grand Duke Iván Danílovitch Kalíta transferred the seat of government to Moscow in 1328.

Since that epoch Vladímir has always been united to the Grand Duchy of Moscow.

In 1257, the Tartar Khan took Vladímir by assault, burned it, and caused the inhabitants to be massacred during the absence of the Grand Duke George Vsévolodovitch, who was raising an army in the principality of Rostóf. This unfortunate prince, having learned at the same time of the destruction of his capital and of the massacre of his wife and sons, shut himself up in the cathedral with the Archbishop Mitrophanes and his younger children. The Tartars having filled it with wood, set fire to it, when all perished. We have little cause to be surprised that the Russians, with such instances before them, should long have considered the Tartars as ferocious barbarians, and were kept in alarm by their inroads in different parts of their territories. Vladímir was again ravaged by them in 1410, since which time, though never large, it has always been a place of consequence, and has long been the chief town of the government of the same name.

Vladímir is surrounded by a ditch and earthen rampart, and like almost all the ancient towns of Russia of considerable size, is divided into the Kremlé, the Kitai-Górod, and the Belõi-Górod. It contains one principal and long street, which is wide, and the houses, of wood and stone intermixed, are excellent and built in good style. The cross streets are, for the most part, mean in their

appearance. The market-place, it being Sunday, was extremely crowded as we passed through it.

The palace of the archbishop, which was formerly a convent, and in which was preserved the body of St. Alexander Névskii before it was carried to Petersburg, is regarded with no common sensations, especially by the populace. It is now a seminary for the education of the clergy. There are also a nunnery, a gymnasium, the edifice for the tribunals, the governor's house, &c. which are built of brick, besides a number of houses, and the wooden town hospital, which attract attention.

The principal structure in Vladímir, however, is the cathedral of the Assumption, which was once magnificent. It is a square edifice, and, like the cathedrals of Moscow, is surmounted by five domes. At each corner its walls are strengthened by projecting buttresses, which have a very clumsy appearance, and a most disagreeable effect. Its interior is richly ornamented; but its ancient splendour is no more.* We were much struck by its beautiful and commanding situation, and its appearance is now much enlivened by a sort of terrace or *boulevard*, which stretches to the brow of the hill on which it stands. Vladímir contains about a dozen other churches.

Vladímir is not reckoned a wealthy town, though

* Vide, Essay on Architecture in Russia, in "Character of the Russians, &c." p. 596.

the seat of the archbishop of Vladímir and Súzdal. Its vicinity to Moscow, and its distance from any of the great navigable rivers, always oppose obstacles to its prosperity. The number of its inhabitants may be estimated at 4000 or 5000 souls. They are occupied for the most part as merchants, in the manufacture of linen, leather, &c., and have extensive gardens, in which an immense quantity of cherries are annually produced, and supply not only the town, but also the vicinity, and even Moscow. They have four different kinds which are reckoned superior. The stranger is struck in summer with the singular appearance of these gardens, especially by the banks of the Kliasma. Numerous small watch-towers, some of them not unlike the *Víshkas* of the Tchernomórskii Kozáks, rise amid the trees, between which cords stretch in every direction. Boys and girls, and even men and women, are seen at work in these dwellings, but their principal occupation is to pull the cords the moment a bird alights upon a tree, so as to frighten it away. Labour does not cost much here, and the quantity of cherries produced brings a considerable annual revenue. Vladímir being on the principal road by which the merchants go to the fairs of Níjni-Nóvgorod and Irbít, as well as on the grand line of communication between Russia and Siberia, it often presents a busy scene, especially in summer.

On quitting Vladímir we descended a very steep

hill, and were obliged to employ the drag. We then crossed the Kliasma, by no means a contemptible river, over an excellent floating bridge. Travelling through a country similar to what has been mentioned, but still more open and undulating, we reached Múrom on the morning of the 31st of July. From Vladímir to Múrom, the only object worthy of remark is the town of Súdogda, as it is called, but which, as well as many of the other district towns of Russia, is more like a village. A person who looks over the list of towns in the annual almanacks might suppose that this empire is infinitely more populous than it is in reality. This said district-town of Súdogda, contains only 250 inhabitants of both sexes. Its solitary ornament is a church, which was built at the expense of the Empress Catherine.

Múrom is a larger town than Vladímir, and occupies a very fine situation upon a hill near the Oka. It is remarked that this river annually retires farther from its elevated bank, and of course from the town; and old persons assert, that houses, which, in 1768, were near the river, are now at a considerable distance from it.

The origin of Múrom is involved in obscurity, but is supposed to be very remote. Towards the end of the tenth century, this place is spoken of in the Russian chronicles. When Vladímir the Great divided his estates among his children, he gave Múrom to his son Gleb, who established him-

self there with his family, augmented, peopled, and fortified the town, but could not succeed in converting the inhabitants to Christianity. This was accomplished a long time afterwards by Prince Constantine Sviatoslávitch, who caused the first church to be built here. Afterwards Múrom became an appanage of the cadets of the princes of Kiéf, then of those of Vladímir, and of Rostóf. It was a frontier town on the side of the Bulgarian tribes, and, in consequence, has often suffered by their incursions. In 1030 it was taken, and entirely ruined by them; and it also suffered much by the invasions of the Tartars. It was only after the foundation of Níjni-Nóvgorod that it came to enjoy tranquillity, but it never recovered its wonted prosperity under its princes, although long a large and active town.

Múrom is divided into three quarters, the Kremle, the Torgóvaya, and the Predméstiyé, or suburbs. The Kremle is separated by an earthen rampart from the other divisions. The *Torgóvaya* is so called because it contains the shops or bazárs. The cathedral was erected in the sixteenth century, and stands in the Kremle. The town contains no less than seventeen other churches, of which a few are still of wood, besides two monasteries and a nunnery.* The population does

* Capt. Cochrane says Múrom bears the name of a city, but "is undeserving of that of village, being a vast assemblage of

not exceed 5000 souls. There are numerous fabrics of linen and leather, which they carry to Petersburg. They also traffic in corn by means of the Oka. A great annual market is held at Múrom in June, which continues twelve days.

About twenty-five versts below this town, and on the eastern bank of the Oka, there are a number of rich iron mines, by which great fortunes have been made. Bátashof, who possessed one of the finest palaces in Moscow, had a number of foundries in this neighbourhood, which, after his death, a few years ago, fell to his grand-children, and are now under the management of their father, General Shépelof. These fabrics have of late been greatly improved, in consequence of the engagement of some Englishmen, Mr. Snow, Mr. Clarke, &c. An immense quantity of their articles are annually transported by the Oka to Níjni-Nóvgorod, and sold during the great fair, which is soon to be noticed.

The following account is extremely interesting; and, as it is contained in a work which is not pe-

unsociable huts, with six or seven churches." (Vide Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey, &c. p. 30.) This statement is very inaccurate. It is true, that most of the houses at Múrom have but a mean appearance, but they are intermixed with stone buildings, and, as mentioned above, with numerous churches. In fact, Múrom is a very respectable district-town, and few of the same rank can be compared with it.

rused by the general reader, I shall not hesitate to make use of it.

Vixa, with its dependencies, forms one of the most extensive iron-works in Russia, and is situated in the forest of Múrom. This forest is a tract of more than fifty versts in length, which stretches along the right bank of the Oka, above that town. At the depth of sixty feet below the surface of the earth, are found a series of beds of iron-stone of variable quality. The mines, if they may be so called, are in several parts of the forest; the principal about two or three versts from the ferry over the Oka, on the road from Vixa to Múrom. Here the whole surface of the ground appears as if covered by large mole-hills; they are heaps with which the old pits are covered up. The present system of working is to sink a shaft, as if for a well, till it meets the bed of ore, and to raise what lies within the circumference, and perhaps a little more, all round, and then to close the shaft and sink another as near to the old one as convenient. In this manner the whole ground is perforated with small holes as near together as they can be placed: no gallery is driven, and all the ore is got out by a shaft immediately above the spot where it lies. The reason given for this apparently expensive mode of working is, that the ore lying so near the surface, it is little more expensive to arrive at it through a soft bed of sand, in which it is easy to sink shafts, than to drive galleries, for

which much timber and machinery might be necessary, since the sand, from its loose texture, would require a vast structure below to support it: yet there is a superabundance of timber in the immediate neighbourhood. But the fact is, that most probably the experiment of driving galleries was never made, although they would lead to the saving of an immense deal of labour; and, in the middle of a forest in the government of Vladímir, wood costs but a trifle. The mines have been so profitable, as they are worked, that the proprietors have been less anxious for improvements. About fifty years since, the late owner, Bátashof, who, with his brother, had been engaged in the iron-works at Túla, and who possessed a certain knowledge of this part of the country, imagined that the iron-stone of the government of Túla was likely to extend into the forest of Múrom. He followed, therefore, the course of the Oka, and, finding pieces of iron ore on the banks of the river, was induced to try whether it existed *in situ* in the neighbourhood. He actually found that its strata were at an inconsiderable depth below the surface on the right bank. This discovery was made in the forest of Múrom, then almost uninhabited, except by banditti, who were then in force sufficient to oblige him to take an escort of Kozáks in the researches which he made for ore. Being satisfied of the quality of what he found, he bought, at an extremely low rate, a vast extent of the forest, then

crown-land; and he now possesses, in the midst of the barren wilderness,—besides a large country-house with English and Italian gardens, a theatre, a bazár, and a market,—eleven separate iron-works, at from four to twenty versts' distance, handsome churches, villages, and 30,000 inhabitants, as his share in the adventure. *

At Múrom we paid for five horses, though our *podorójné* only obliged us to pay for four. We were astonished, therefore, to see eight put to the carriage, and that three post-boors accompanied us, the coachman, the postilion, and one who sat behind, and who made pretensions that he was only going to the ferry of the Oka. After advancing about a verst, four of the horses were taken out of the carriage, and the drag was used, on account of a rapid and long descent to the banks of the Oka, which is here a beautiful and magnificent river, nearly a verst in breadth. The carriage was placed upon a great plank floor, which was fixed upon two boats, and we reached the opposite side. The deep sands through which we had now to make our way formed but too sure a prelude of the kind of road we were to expect for thirty-one versts, the length of this station. Now that we had crossed the water, the coachman began to make new terms, and wished to be paid for

* Vide An Outline of the Geology of Russia, by the Hon. W. T. H. F. Strangways, in the Transactions of the Geological Society, Second Series, vol. i. part first, 1822.

six horses. By this time we discovered that the three post-boors had arrived at Múrom, from Monakóvo, to which they must return, and that they had given one of their horses (for each had a *troika*, or three horses) for a colonel's carriage, to suit their own convenience; and while they were all to be carried with us, wished to make a "good bargain." After much squabbling and delay, the horses were again put to, and we proceeded by a heavy road. Even with eight horses our progress was extremely slow. Neither promises of liberal drink-money, nor entreaties, nor menaces, influenced the driver to quicken his pace, which did not exceed the rate of three and a half and four miles in the hour. The road was heavy, but it also appeared that these men were determined to annoy us. On showing greater anxiety to get on, the heaviness of the carriage was urged as an excuse. We therefore obliged the third man, who sat behind it, and who added to the weight, to dismount. He persisted in regaining his place, and we were at length compelled to force him off. The coachman now refused to go without him, and jumped from the dickey. As the postilion sat still, our servant took the coachman's place. Leaving the coachman and the third post-boor on the road, seven versts distant from the station, we drove on, not thinking sufficiently of what might have been the consequence. When within a short distance from Monakóvo, which stands near the top of a hill, all

at once, from walking, the postilion merrily put the horses upon the trot. The moment we remarked that we were upon a declivity, we called out to him to stop, but it was in vain. We got into a gallop, and passed the post-house at full speed, and only were able to stop at the ascent of the adjoining hill.

At the post-house they assured us there were no horses, and a German colonel and an Englishman, who were travelling together, had been detained three hours, although they had examined the register-books, and found that all the horses were not absent. As we expected, on reflection, we could do nothing till our coachman should make his appearance, and had he chosen to have concealed himself for a day, two days, or longer, we could not have proceeded. This, luckily, was not the case, and in a couple of hours he arrived. We had taken care to arrange the business by the usual expedient of a bribe, so as not to be detained by the coachman, and to procure horses. There were no less than twenty horses in the stable, and the gentlemen of whom I have spoken, had been detained merely because they would not sufficiently bribe the *smotrítel*. Our horses being ready harnessed, we were begged to wait till their carriage was despatched in the opposite direction, that the roguery might not be detected. Had we refused compliance, plans would have been resorted to which would have caused great annoyance ; therefore,

while we felt indignant at injustice, we were glad to be silent.

The road from Múrom to Monakóvo, is for the most part flat, and abounds in woods; towards Monakóvo it became hilly. From hence to Níjni-Nóvgorod, the face of the country is very pleasing, generally open near the road, and with woods in the distance, every where undulating, and often presenting extensive views and great tracts of corn fields and pastures. Forty versts from Níjni-Nóvgorod, at the junction of another road, which also conducts to that town, stands the villa of Count Sheremétov, a large and lordly establishment, but in great disorder, called Boghoróds koyé. This villa is the more remarkable, because but few residences of the nobility meet the eye on the line of road from Moscow to Níjni-Nóvgorod. The adjoining village contains many peasants.

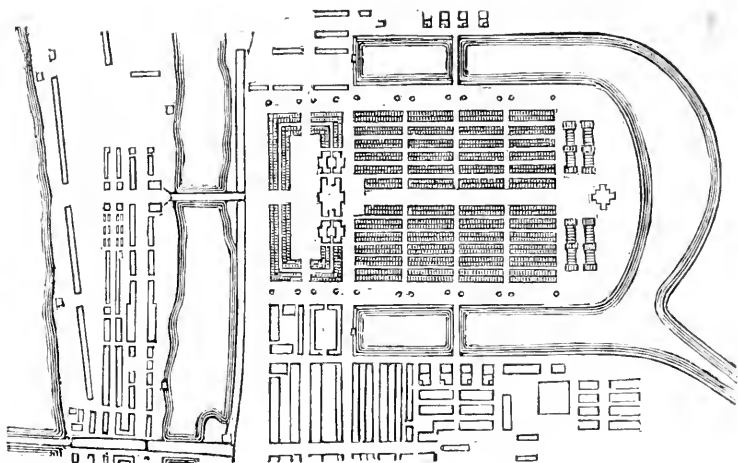
On the morning of the 1st August, according to appointment, we joined our companions, who arrived at Níjni-Nóvgorod three days before us, and took up our residence in a remarkably pleasant house, in the elevated part of the town, which commands a beautiful view of the confluence of the two great rivers, the Oka and the Vólga.

The Vólga *, one of the most celebrated rivers in Europe, takes its rise in the government of Tver; and, after a course of above 4000 versts through

* Karamzin has written a poem called "The Vólga."

the governments of Yarosláf, Kostróm, Níjni-Nóvgorod, Kazán, Simbírsk, Sarátov, and Astrachán, disembogues itself into the Caspian Sea by seventy branches, amid a multitude of islands. By numerous rivers which fall into it, it is connected with a great part of the Russian empire ; hence its immense importance for communication and commercial purposes. In its whole course it has no cataracts nor dangerous passages, but its depth slowly and gradually diminishes. It is one of the richest rivers known for fish, and especially those of great size.

The Oka rises in the government of Orel, and then flows through the governments of Kalúga, Moscow, Túla, Riasán, Tambóf, and Vladímir ; among the richest in the empire. In its course it receives the Ugra, the Moskva, the Kliasma, and the Oussa, &c. &c. It is also well stocked with fish. Being navigable almost from its source, it is of the greatest utility for commerce.



CHAP. XXII.

HISTORY OF NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — ITS FINE SITUATION. — WELL ADAPTED FOR COMMERCE. — MIGHT BE THE CAPITAL OF RUSSIA. — ITS DIVISIONS. — CATHEDRALS. — CHURCHES. — POPULATION. — BAZÁRS AT MAKÁRIÉF BURNED. — PLAN OF GENERAL BETANCOURT. — OBJECTIONS TO IT. — UNAVOIDABLE DIFFICULTIES. — NEW BAZÁRS AT NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — DISMISSAL OF GENERAL BETANCOURT. — DESCRIPTION OF THE BAZÁRS. — MERCHANDISE AT THEM IN 1821 AND 1823. — MERCHANDISE AT MAKÁRIÉF IN 1813. — AMUSEMENTS AT NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD. — ANECDOTE. — LODGINGS. — INNS. — STEAM-BOATS. — DEPARTURE IN COMPANY WITH RUSSIAN MERCHANTS. — GORÓCHOVETS. — VIASNIKI. — VLADÍMIR. — PEKRA. — GÓRENKI BOTANIC GARDENS. — THEIR DIRECTOR, DR. FISCHER. — COUNT RASUMÓVSKII. — GÓRENKI GOING TO RUIN. — NEW BOTANIC GARDEN

AT PETERSBURGH.—THE LATE COUNT A. K. RASUMÓVSKII'S AFFAIRS EMBARRASSED.—RUSSIAN NOBLES NOTORIOUS FOR GETTING INTO DEBT.—ANECDOTE. — ILLUSTRATION. — CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS. — ARRIVAL AT MOSCOW. — NEW FACTS RESPECTING IT. — THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER DISPLEASED WITH THE AUTHOR. — CHARACTER OF COLONEL BOUTOURLIN'S WORK. — RUSSIAN ARMY'S RETREAT TO FILI IN 1812.—COUNCIL OF WAR.—THE RUSSIAN AND THE FRENCH ARMIES. — DECISION OF PRINCE KUTÚSOF. — RUSSIAN ARMY RETREATS THROUGH MOSCOW TO THE KOLÓMNA ROAD. — ENTRY OF THE FRENCH INTO MOSCOW.—THE QUESTION, WHO BURNT MOSCOW? — THE RUSSIANS THEMSELVES THE INCENDIARIES. — CAUSE OF THEIR DENIAL OF THIS DEED.—THEIR AVOWAL OF IT NOW. — EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT OF COUNT ROSTOPCHÍN. — MOSCOW BURNED *PAR QUELQUE PERSONNAGE À GRAND CARACTÈRE*. — CONDUCT OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER, AND OF RUSSIAN AUTHORS. — A MYSTERY. — THE EMPEROR OR KUTÚSOF THE GRAND INCENDIARY OF MOSCOW. —EFFECT OF THE CONFLAGRATION. — RETREAT OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY. — IMPOLITIC CONDUCT. — THE RUIN OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

NÍJNI-NÓVGOROD is the capital of the government of the same name. It is often called Níje-Górod ; and, frequently, for convenience, simply Níjni, — Górod being understood. The word *Níjni* means inferior, and was added so as to distinguish this town from Nówgorod, sometimes called *Velíki*, or *Great Nówgorod*, of which I shall soon have occasion to speak.

As Níjni-Górod has long been one of the chief towns in Russia, and has of late years acquired an extraordinary degree of importance in consequence

of the translation to it of the celebrated fair, which was formerly held at Makárićf, it deserves a very particular description.

According to some, Níjni-Nóvgorod was founded in 1222; and to others, in 1227, by George Vsévolodovitch III. For a long time it was the residence of the princes of Súzdal and of Níjni-Nóvgorod. In 1227 George Vsévolodovitch chased the Morduans from its environs, after having ruined their establishments, and gave possession of it to Russian colonies. In 1303 these barbarians returned to its neighbourhood, and waged war, but luckily they were discomfited. After various successful irruptions of the Tartars, Prince Dmítrii Konstantínovitch, no longer hoping to be able to defend himself, retired to his third son at Súzdal. Níjni-Nóvgorod was then abandoned by most of the inhabitants, who ascended the Oka toward Goródets and Múrom. The few who remained in it were massacred by the Tartars; they also pillaged and burnt the town and the neighbouring villages, and carried many of the women into captivity. After this period it was frequently invaded and ruined by the same enemies. It also suffered by famine, and was reduced to nothing by frequent fires.

Níjni-Nóvgorod is famous as the birthplace of the butcher Minin, by whose patriotic conduct, and that of the brave Pojárskii, Russia was saved

when about to fall a prey to her enemies in the beginning of the 17th century. To their memory the Emperor Alexander has erected a fine monument at Moscow*, which the inhabitants of Níjni-Nóvgorod think ought to have been placed in this town, ; but assuredly the birthplace of Pojárskii might claim the same distinction. Under every point of view, I am of opinion that a better site could not have been chosen than that on which it stands.

The geographical position of Níjni-Nóvgorod is under $44^{\circ} 18'$ E. long. and $56^{\circ} 16'$ N. lat. ; at the distance of 1120 versts from Petersburg, and 390 from Moscow. The situation of this town is very striking and picturesque. It occupies a triangular elevation, almost deserving the appellation of promontory, at the confluence of the Vólga and the Oka. The hill is extremely steep, rising almost from the water's edge. Its summit, which is included by the Kremlé, is above 400 feet above the usual level of these rivers. This high ground is intersected by numerous deep ravines, even in the middle of the town. From the summit of the hill may sometimes be seen a phenomenon, similar to what has been observed in some other places. After their junction, the blue waters of the Vólga are seen to flow uniformly along the left side of the

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 296. and the accompanying representation of the Monument.

channel ; while those of the Oka, which are often muddy, as regularly keep along the right. From their point of union, the difference of colour is too striking to be overlooked by the most casual observer ; and it is nearly as distinct as far as the eye can reach. The Hon. Mr. Strangway thinks the explanation of this fact very simple. “The Vólga above Níjni-Nóvgorod,” says he, “as well as the greater part of its tributary streams, flows through a tract of country almost universally covered with sand ; the Oka, on the contrary, flows through a country of rich red marl, in its strongest and most argillaceous form : neither of the two rivers being sufficiently rapid to disturb immediately the new body of water with which it comes in contact, the effect above described is naturally produced.”

The situation of Níjni-Nóvgorod, at the confluence of the two principal rivers of central Russia, which thus connect the two richest and most populous districts of the empire—the provinces immediately south of Moscow, and those on the Upper Vólga — is singularly adapted for commerce, independently of its more distant connections. Here, naturally, centers not only the greatest internal trade of the empire ; but, by different lines of navigation, Níjni-Nóvgorod has a three-fold communication with the provinces of the north, and with the Baltic ; and by means of the Oka and the Moskvá, with Moscow itself. The Káma,

which meets the Vólga beyond Kazán, brings all the produce of Siberia, the iron and copper of the Urál mountains, the gold and silver of Kolyván, and the beryls, amethysts, and topazes of Nertchínsk. The trade with China is also carried on by means of this river. The merchandise of central Asia, as well as that of the south of Russia and Persia, comes partly from Astrachán and other places in the Caspian Sea, by the navigation of the Lower Vólga, and partly by caravans, which arrive on the banks of that river in different parts of its course. European commodities are chiefly furnished from Moscow, Petersburg, and Odéssa. The great commercial advantages of Níjni-Nóvgorod, together with its situation in the centre of one of the most fertile districts in Russia, — in most of which particulars it has a great superiority both over Petersburg and Moscow, — are believed to have inspired Peter the Great with the idea of making it the capital of the Russian empire.* James affirms, it is beyond a doubt, that it was not the original intention of Peter the Great to have erected his new capital at Petersburg; and that a plan is preserved in the imperial archives, which details a scheme for building a great city at Níjni-Nóvgorod, and there fixing the imperial residence. “Seated at the conflux of the Vólga and

* Transact. of the Geolog. Society, Second Series, vol. i. p. 24. Vide also pp. 16—19.

the Oka, in a country the most fertile, and in a central point that would have united the seat of supreme power with the natural focus of commercial circulation, it would have possessed numerous advantages that Petersburg can never attain; neither was it to be disregarded, that its locality would have enabled the government, at all times, to check and overcome, with little effort, the several more remote parts of the empire." Indeed its geographical position in the centre of the empire, at the conflux of two great rivers, as well as its fine situation, surrounded by a fertile country, rendered it worthy of being the capital of Russia; and it is ever to be regretted, that the plan of Peter the Great had not been carried into execution.

Níjni-Nóvgorod may be divided into the *high* part and the *low* part. The former contains several good streets; in the principal one of which stand the houses of the civil governor, and of many resident nobles. It also includes the ancient fortress, called the Kremle, which is partly situated on the summit, and partly on the declivity of a hill. The Kremle was surrounded by strong walls and towers in the year 1508. From its ramparts may be enjoyed beautiful views of the Vólga, the Oka, and the neighbouring country. It contains two cathedrals. In that dedicated to the Transfiguration, repose the remains of the famous Minin. The other cathedral is dedicated to St. Michail.

Both edifices are built after the model of the cathedrals at Moscow. In the Kremle also stands an immense structure for the tribunals, but it was lately burned, and is now in a ruinous condition.

The inconvenience of communication between the high and the low parts of Níjni-Nóvgorod, is excessive. The grand street by which the post enters this town being *paved*, or rather *floored* with wood which is usually very slippery, and the bad footing for the horses, added to the steepness of the descent, make it very dangerous even for an empty carriage. The road of communication through the Kremle is difficult, but infinitely less so, than that just alluded to. The *low* part of the town is chiefly formed by a very long street, which runs along the course of the Vólga, and which is very dirty in wet weather. A new edifice, like a bazár, which had not been opened, numerous good houses along both its sides, a fountain near its west extremity, and the house of General Betancourt, are its chief ornaments. This last building is opposite an elegant bridge, across the Oka, which is erected upon thirty pontoons, and which, with a continuation over an inlet of that river, is more than a verst in length.

At Níjni-Nóvgorod, there are three convents and twenty-six churches, which give it a fine appearance; many of them being in very conspicuous situations, and adorned with gilded domes. This town is the residence of an archbishop, and

contains a public seminary and school. Its shops and magazines are generally well stored, and especially with grain. It also possesses a number of distilleries, breweries, tanneries, soap-works, &c.

Fifteen years ago, the resident population of Níjni-Nóvgorod amounted to 10,000 souls, of whom nearly 1000 were merchants, and above 1000 burghers. The number of houses in the whole town, was then 1826, of which only twenty-five were built of stone. Some thousand barges annually passed by the rivers already mentioned; and, during the active season, the population was augmented to 60,000 or 70,000. The number of fixed residents now amounts to 20,000 or 25,000 souls. The great annual fair now held at Níjni-Nóvgorod has given a strong impulse to population, which has been doubled within the last few years. It was said, that during the fair, it was sometimes as high as 140,000 or even 150,000; but, this statement seems somewhat extravagant, and probably includes the whole number of persons who were present during the course of the fair, which lasts about two months, but who were not there at the same period of time.

On his advance to Siberia, Captain Cochrane reports, that the inhabitants of Níjni-Nóvgorod amounted to 15,000 or 16,000; though its visitors, during the fair, probably made its population, at that time, from 120,000 to 150,000. On his return, however, about two years afterwards, *i. e.* in

1823, he states the resident population at 30,000.* Let us now turn our attention to the history of the fair at Níjni-Nóvgorod, which long ago had its origin at Makáriéf; a town whose name is derived from an adjoining monastery, which was built in the fourteenth century.

Makáriéf lies upon the right bank of the Vólga, near the place where the river Kurgenets falls into it, and at the distance of eighty-four versts from Níjni-Nóvgorod. It was called a district town, though it only contained 260 male inhabitants, and a single church. The great annual fair of Makáriéf was held near the convent just mentioned. It was well known over Europe and Asia, and generally lasted six weeks or two months. In 1817, the town and bazárs of Makáriéf were burned, some say by accident, but others entertain suspicions that it was done on purpose to have a pretence for removing its fair to Níjni-Nóvgorod. This step met with great opposition, as was natural, especially from those who would be losers by the change. After it was definitively resolved that the fair should be no longer held at Makáriéf, Níjni-Nóvgorod, Kazán, Boghoróds koyé Sélo near the mouth of the Káma, and Simbírsk, were all represented as eligible situations for its re-establishment. General Betancourt, by birth a Spaniard, who has distinguished himself as a civil

* Cochrane's Narrative, p. 83.

engineer, and by his mechanical genius, especially in the erection of the very extraordinary edifice at Moscow, called the *Exercise-House* *, was employed to examine the whole business, and to make a report to His Imperial Majesty. After canvassing all the objections *pro* and *con* the different proposed situations, Nijni-Nóvgorod got the preference; and, I believe, with good reason. At the same time it must be allowed, that formidable objections, and of a nature which could not strike the cursory observer, even here opposed the erection of bazárs for a vast market. The plain which is now occupied by the magnificent bazárs on the left bank of the Oka, and opposite Nijni-Nóvgorod, being purely alluvial, or, in other words, a sort of Delta formed by the Oka, is subject to regular floods from the waters of both rivers. It happens, rather unfortunately, that the Vólga, and its affluents coming from the north, while the Oka flows directly from the south, the difference of climate between the tracts of country that are

* The Exercise-House is one of the most extraordinary edifices in the universe; and is unique for its magnitude upon the same principles. It is 560 feet in length, 168 in breadth, and forty-two in height, and is furnished with an enormous *self-supporting* roof. Not a single column, partition-wall, or buttress, assists in its support. The whole interior of the building is a vast oblong space, without any incumbrance, and has a magnificent appearance. I have particularly described and represented it in “The Character of the Russians, and a Detailed History of Moscow,” p.335.

drained by these two rivers, is sufficiently great to cause a difference in the time of their respective inundations. Thus, the ice on the upper part of the Oka, and the snows of the adjoining country, sometimes break up a month earlier than those of the Vólga, and other northern rivers, and the surrounding territories. Hence it happens, that when the waters of the Oka naturally subside, the flood is prolonged, increased or renewed, by those of the Vólga.

In addition to the inconvenience caused at Níjni-Nóvgorod by the prolonged inundation above explained, the action of the Vólga and the Oka on their banks presents an evil of considerable magnitude. Near their confluence, these two rivers describe the segment of a very large circle, the concavity of which is, in both cases, on their right bank. Here, of course, a destructive action takes place, whilst the left bank of each river becomes the deposit of whatever they leave behind. The right bank of the Oka is lofty and precipitous, and though ages may revolve before the action of this river can do material damage to the town, yet there is merely room for one narrow street at the foot of the hill, and it is annually inundated. The right bank of the Vólga, on the other hand, is a low and sandy alluvial accumulation, being, in fact, only one side of that sort of Delta which the Oka has deposited at its mouth. Of this large portions are annually carried away by the current, and thrown

upon the left bank, where an extensive sandy plain has been formed which is intersected by small branches of the river. The islands which these surround are covered with low brushwood, and are still flooded annually. This plain therefore is not cultivated ; and as the land behind has but little elevation, it is not immediately perceived that it is as fertile, and as much inhabited as the high grounds on the south bank of the river. The Oka in like manner deposits on its left bank all that it brings down from the right ; so that this alluvial triangle is annually gaining on one side while it is losing on the other ; a considerable deposit being also left on the surface of the plain itself. It has been necessary, however, to raise the surface ten, fifteen, and even twenty feet, in order to keep the water out of the bazárs ; the necessary quantity of earth having been chiefly supplied from the excavation of the canal which surrounds the establishment. A protection is also required to prevent the ravages of the Vólga.

The eligibility of the site of the bazárs seems very questionable, in consequence of the danger of an inundation during the flood of the Vólga and the Oka. Should it ever happen, by any fortuitous circumstances, that the great flood of these two rivers takes place at the same time, the bazárs, indeed, might be swallowed up, or at least destroyed. Capt. Cochrane is of opinion that the canal which has been cut around the bazárs, con-

tributes to weaken its foundation, because the canal lies streamward of the fair (bazár), and consequently, at the rises or freshes of the river, is liable to be completely overflowed. He adds, “when it is recollected that the last overflowing (flood) of the Vólga formed a new bank seven feet high above the common bed of the river between the city and the fair (bazár), it is not too much to fear that it may serve to change the course of the river whose extra rise (flood) was last year thirty-five feet. And should the new-formed bank prove a solid foundation, and resist for some years the impetuosity of the stream, there will then be no other outlet but the very site of the fair (bazár), as it stands nearly opposite to the place where the Oka discharges its waters into the Vólga.”* In another place this gentleman says he feels far from convinced of “the durability or safety” of the new bazárs, on account of the incroachments of the Vólga.

It may be asked, why the weak and perishable angle between the Vólga and the Oka was chosen for the site of the bazárs, in preference to the more solid one on the opposite bank? The fact is, that there was not room at the foot of the hill for a bazár, a tenth part of the size required; and even the small space there, is annually lessened or endangered by the action of the Vólga on the north,

* Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey, p. 83.

and of the Oka on the west ; both rivers here conspiring to destroy the hill. The hill itself is too uneven to admit of regular buildings of the necessary size, without being endangered by the ravines formerly noticed, whose banks are nearly as insecure as those of the river, not to speak of the labour and risk of bringing heavy goods up a steep of four hundred feet in height, all of which must descend again to be transhipped. The only good situation for the bazárs on this side the river, is already occupied by the Krémle of Níjni-Nóvgorod, and even it is very objectionable.*

General Betancourt gave the plan of the present existing bazárs at Níjni-Nóvgorod, and the details were filled up by the architect Montferon. In 1822, seven millions and a half of roubles had been already expended upon the undertaking, and the buildings were not finished. Another million and a half had been granted by the Emperor for their completion. As a reimbursement for this immense expenditure, it is calculated that the annual revenue of the bazárs, when complete, will amount to 700,000 or 800,000 roubles.

Some disagreement had taken place between the government and General Betancourt, who was

* I am indebted to the Hon. Mr. Strangways for a number of the preceding remarks ; but as I have made many changes, and some additions, they could not be marked as quotations. See Transactions of the Geolog. Society, Second Series, vol. i. p. 24—26.

accused of mal-administration of the public money. The Emperor, it was said, was partial to him, and even defended him. However this may be, the General was not at Níjni-Novgórod when we were there, and an officer of high rank, who was one of his coadjutors, had been made a common soldier. It is a misfortune that it became expedient to remove General Betancourt from the direction of the great public works which he had so auspiciously conducted, and which, it is not to be doubted, he would have prosperously finished. He is succeeded in his post by the Prince of Wirtemburgh; but, as Capt. Cochrane says, “whether His Highness is a better engineer, I know not, but he does not bear that character; perhaps unjustly.”

General Betancourt was convinced that he would have overcome every difficulty, and prevented every danger which the prejudiced, the interested, or the timid had anticipated, by the complete execution of his plans, which generally deserve commendation.

The bazárs at Níjni-Novgórod, I believe, form the finest establishment of the kind in the world. The situation on which they stand was raised, as mentioned, ten, fifteen, and even twenty feet; and no less than 56,000 piles were driven into the earth so as to secure a foundation for extensive buildings. The stone used in the new constructions, is partly the hard tuf of Petchérsk, which is blasted by gunpowder; a white limestone from the upper Oka; and, in part, a red sandstone,

which is quarried at Novinski, about sixteen versts up the Oka.* The bazárs are enclosed on three sides by canals, and on the fourth by an inlet of the Oka, into which laden barges enter. The number of shops enclosed by the canals, and the oblong square formed by the government buildings, amounts to nearly 3000. The principal street, which runs between the church and the government buildings, is very spacious and elegant; and all the others are of a good breadth. All the edifices are two stories in height; the lower one being the shop, and the upper serving as a magazine; indeed many of the merchants fit up apartments in them for their temporary residence. Every shop fronts two streets. Nothing can be more simple and chaste than the general style of architecture, which well accords with the utility of the buildings. The *Kitáiskia Linia*, or *Chinese Line*, is so called because it is ornamented with pagodas, and other Eastern decorations. It is better known, however, by the name *Sibírskia Linia*, or *Siberian Line*. But it must not be understood that the shops of this line are limited to the sale of Chinese or Siberian merchandise; at least, in 1822, we found all kinds of European manufactures in them, and some of them were even hired by Englishmen. The best shops are in the spacious central street,

* Vide Trans. of the Geol. Society, Second Series, vol. i. p. 26.

in the Chinese Line, and at the corners of all the streets. For some of them 1000 and even 1500 roubles are paid ; for others 200 to 500 or 1000 roubles, according to circumstances. They are only of use for the season, but are let for the whole year. Now they are all stuccoed, and painted yellow, and their roofs green or red. There are three government buildings, which are plain but handsome edifices, two stories high. The upper story of the central building is occupied as the residence of the governor during the fair, while the inferior story is let as an inn, for a very large sum. In the other two edifices are contained the courts of justice, the post-office, the bank, &c. all *PRO TEMPORE*. Vide vignette to this chapter.

Besides the stone edifices, here are 2220 wooden shops, which form a variety of markets on the town-side of the great bazár. They were erected in the year 1818, when the fair was transported from Makáriéf. Some said that they were to be destroyed, so as to concentrate all the shops to the *grand bazár* : others reported that they were, on the contrary, to remain, and to be repaired in a more gaudy style.

Merchandise of all kinds, and from all the countries of Europe and Asia, is now transported to Níjni-Nóvgorod, by the Vólga, the Oka, the Káma, and the other rivers which fall into them, as well as by land. The quantity of Russian produce disposed of is enormous ; and, of course, the

fair of this town is a national concern of the highest importance. Hence it deservedly merits the greatest attention of the crown. The individual who has been a frequent visitor of the "*Bargaining Shops*," or bazár, at Petersburg or Moscow, may easily conceive the appearance and the nature of that at Níjni-Nóvgorod, by supposing that the goods and wares of the former, were placed in the more beautiful and regular lines of shops of the latter, and that the same variety of nations crowded them and the streets.* Here are seen the representatives of China, India, Tartary, Bucharia, Persia, Circassia, Armenia, Turkey, and Greece; besides Italians, Poles, Germans, French, English, Kozáks, Málo-Russians, and — the universal concomitants of traffic and money — Jews.

For many years past, the sale and exchange of goods at Makárieſ, but especially since 1818, at Níjni-Nóvgorod, have amounted to immense sums; and now this fair, with great propriety, may be reckoned one of the most extensive in Europe. In consequence of the influx of merchants, and travellers in general, it is excessively busy; although in 1822, we heard heavy complaints of dull sales. But the markets acquired a new life after our departure, at an extraordinarily late period of

* The curious reader will find all the Moscow markets described in "*The Character of the Russians, &c.*" p. 278. Vide also p. 349. of this Volume.

the season, many of the Bucharians having been detained.

Among the objects at the bazárs which excited our greatest curiosity, was an immense range of ironmongers' shops or stalls, called *balgáns*, in which iron in the bar, as well as worked into every kind of instrument and utensil, was to be had. The table hereafter given, shows that the sale of iron, and iron articles alone, amounts to above 10,000,000 roubles. The fur-shops also merit particular notice; and the reader will be astonished at the value of their contents, the enormous sum of 36,000,000 roubles. As I have elsewhere enumerated the chief kinds of this commodity disposed of at Moscow, and as the same kinds are sold here, I shall refer to the work alluded to.* The quantity of grey and black frizzled Tartar lamb-skins seen here is astonishing. The shops of the Bucharians are visited by all strangers. Their silk sashes, and gentlemen's silk morning-gowns, are greatly admired; and are sold at 100, 120, 150, and even 200 roubles each. They can be purchased cheaper at Moscow than at Níjni-Nóvgorod. In a line of small shops are displayed immense quantities of pearls, large and small, a great proportion of which, however, are of very inferior quality. Most of them are sold for the decoration of the holy

* "Character of the Russians, &c." p. 281. See also p. 141. of this Volume.

images. Nothing can give a clearer idea of the extent to which image-worship is carried on in Russia, than the *estimate of their value*, 1,300,000 roubles, at the fair of Nijni-Nóvgorod; while, probably, their *real value* was far above that sum. Artificial stones, beads, ear-rings, and similar ornaments, being low-priced, are seen in profusion. A great display is also made of the china of Russia, which has attained a considerable degree of perfection, both in the quality of the material, in the execution of the painting, and in the manner of gilding, and other decorations, &c. But the Russians fail greatly in giving a perfect regular form to most articles, and it is very difficult to get a set quite alike. One cause of this may be, that in the houses of the Russian nobles, almost every cup and saucer differs from another; while a peculiarly and highly ornamented couple are presented to the landlord and the lady of the house. The same custom is often observed at dinner. A finely cut and gilded wine-bottle, and a decorated tumbler and wine-glass, &c. are placed for the master and mistress of the mansion, far superior in appearance to those of the rest of the family, and (what is surprising) to those of the guests, even when they are of the highest rank — the Imperial family excepted. So it is, that what would be reckoned an insult in some countries is sanctioned by custom in others. The milliners' shops, which were well supplied

with every kind of article, seemed to be the centre of fashion here, as at Moscow and Petersburg. The carriage-market contained a number of calashes, britchkas, coaches, chaises, &c. of no imposing appearance, and many of them second-hand, but generally at a low price. A number of Kazán *kibítkas*, which are famous over Russia, are annually sold here. In the horse-markets and temporary stables we saw a great number of horses, some of which were fine animals, and well deserved the examination of the amateur; but the greatest part were of very common breeds, and of very inferior appearance. Besides the traffic in the shops, much business is also transacted on board the barges in the Oka. Many of these were filled with the finest cured fish of the Don and the Vólga. No barrels are employed, the boats being made on purpose to contain fish; and, of course, to retain their brine.

The following is a translation of the list of goods and capital announced at the Director's Office, at the fair of Níjni-Nóvgorod, in the year 1821. We were told that, probably to save expenses, they were estimated at no more than a third of their real value; a statement which is not to be credited.

MERCHANDISE, &c.	ROUBLES.
Siberian and Moscow furs - - -	36,000,000
Armenian goods - - -	5,900,000
In the Siberian or Chinese line - -	31,000,000
Booksellers' line - - -	500,000

MERCHANDISE, &c.	ROUBLES.
Hatters' line - - - -	419,000
Russian line - - - -	5,175,000
Small silver plate and pearls - -	1,500,000
Large silver plate - - -	5,500,000
Russian brocades, lace, &c. - -	18,000,000
Cloth - - - -	5,000,000
Silk, cambric, Dutch linen - -	30,633,000
Silk girdles - - - -	1,500,000
Writing-paper - - - -	500,000
Fruits - - - -	1,800,000
Spices and drugs - - - -	10,000,000
Wax and tallow candles - - -	500,000
Russian dresses (ready made) - -	490,000
Needles, pins, and artificial stones -	2,465,000
Stockings and <i>Tricoterie</i> - - -	9,476,000
Copper and tin - - - -	2,308,000
Bells - - - -	3,000,000
Locks, instruments, &c. - - -	1,997,000
Images, (pictures of the saints, &c.) -	1,300,000
Dressmakers' goods - - - -	800,000
Porcelain - - - -	580,000
Furniture and looking-glasses - -	740,000
Wine and brandy - - - -	6,580,000
Iron - - - -	10,500,000
Bucharian goods - - - -	8,158,000
Soap - - - -	2,200,000
Siberian and Makariéf chests - -	800,000
Snuff - - - -	100,000
Winter (fur) boots - - - -	500,000
Mats - - - -	800,000
Clocks and watches - - - -	165,000
Carriages - - - -	200,000
Book-cases and glass - - - -	55,000
Wine-glasses - - - -	658,000
Wire - - - -	80,000
Cordage - - - -	1,500,000
Provisions sold in retail - - -	200,000
Raw hides - - - -	1,365,000

MERCHANDISE, &c.	ROUBLES.
Worked metals - - - -	400,000
Bakers' goods - - - -	80,000
Butchers' ditto - - - -	90,000
Hay and oats - - - -	60,000
Potash, soda, sheep-skins - - -	3,275,000
Public houses - - - -	25,000
Inns - - - -	150,000
Money-changers - - - -	10,160,000
Horses - - - -	1,160,000
Total - - -	<u>226,344,000 *</u>

Of course we must not conceive that above half of the goods were sold. Hence Captain Cochrane remarks: "The fair, in point of value, is considered as second to none in Europe; the business done being estimated at nearly 200,000,000 of roubles. This computation may, probably, allow a deduction of about one-half; but, in any case, the government derives from it a considerable revenue." As the fair of Níjni-Nóvgorod acquires new interest every day, and as a great quantity of British goods are annually transported thither, the following specification of merchandise sold at this fair in 1823, I think, will be interesting and useful. *In the Stone Bazárs*,—Tea, about 37,000 *tsibiks* (each sixty pounds), from 280 to 600 and even to 800 paper roubles, 12,000,000: — Sugar, about 60,000 poods, from thirty to forty-five, 2,000,000; — Coffee, about 3,000 poods, from seventy to eighty-five, 240,000; —

* It was 230,941,883 in the original, but was evidently a mistake.

Damask, velvet, stuffs, silk, mohairs, 13,500,000 ; — Lace, gold cords, &c. 500,000 ; — Different kinds of silk, as *gros de Tours*, Persian, satin, handkerchiefs, &c. 10,000,000 ; — Woollen stuffs, as Cashemirs, merinos, camelots, &c. 2,500,000 ; — Half-silk and half-cotton stuffs, 2,500,000 ; — Muslin, coarse cotton cloth, linen, &c. 5,000,000 ; — Table-cloths and napkins, 210,000 ; — Cloth, kerseymeres, frieze, &c. 4,800,000 ; — Nankeens, 480,000 ; — Russian nankeens, 400,000 ; — Russian linen, 250,000 ; — Sable, polecat, squirrel, bear, wolf skins, &c. 5,000,000 ; — Hare and sheepskins, common pelisses (tooloops), 100,000 ; — Stockings of all kinds, nightcaps, covers, gloves, 350,000 ; — Hats and bonnets of every kind, the hair of hares, &c. 160,000 ; — Made clothes, 200,000 ; — White unbleached cotton from Bucharía, 2,900,000 ; — Spun cotton, white and red, 250,000 ; — Stuffs and nightgowns of Bucharian and Persian silk, 700,000 ; — Different kinds of silk, 400,000 ; — *Modes*, robes, shawls, handkerchiefs, pearls, precious stones, and different kinds of clothes, 1,280,000 ; — Silver plate, sacred vases and utensils, tea-services, spoons, &c. 1,200,000 ; — Other similar utensils in copper and tin, 560,000 ; — Clocks, 145,000 ; — Paper and wax, 400,000 ; — Needles and pins, false pearls, glass, yellow amber, beads, and other (bagatelles) trifles, 900,000 ; — Carpenters' tools, copper, iron, guns, pistols, sabres, tea-urns from Túla, 540,000 ; — Different

fruits, confections, cheese, olives, capers, Provence oil, and lemon juice, 766,000 ; — Toys, 25,000 ; — All kinds of candles, 205,000 ; — Books, maps, paintings, images of the saints, 210,000 ; — Physical, optical, and musical instruments, 50,000 ; — Morocco shoes, shammy leather, embroidered boots, 265,000 ; — Tanned goatskins, Moroccos, Russian leather, 300,000 ; — Untanned horse, ox, veal, goat, and sheepskins, 380,000 ; — Harness, 120,000.

In the Wooden Bazárs, different kinds of paints, alum, sulphur, saltpetre, vitriol, naphtha, &c. 3,600,000 ; — Furniture and glass, 577,000 ; — Porcelain, 525,000 ; — Crystal, 515,000 ; — Different kinds of trunks and work-boxes, common sheep-skin caps, socks and mittens of carded wool, 175,000 ; Cables, cords, and mats, 180,000 ; — Tobacco and snuff, 100,000 ; — Pot-ashes and buck-ashes, 108,000 ; — Soaps, 835,000 ; — Copper and cast utensils from the smithies and founderies of Siberia, 10,360,000 ; — Wines, spirits, liquors, and other kinds of drink, 4,380,000. — General total, 94,380,000. According to the declaration of the merchants, of these goods, there were sold for 50,000,000 R. *au comptant*. The gain is estimated at 2,500,000 roubles. In the *Stone-Bazárs* there were let 1286 shops, for the sum of 377,125 R. ; and, in the *Wooden Bazárs*, 1551 shops for 132,537 R. Of the rents, fifteen per cent. viz. 76,230 $\frac{1}{5}$ is received for keeping the bridges in

repair. The fair ended on the 28th of August, O. S.; the most advantageous business took place toward its conclusion.*

The following data will enable the reader to form a judgment, with respect to the increase of commerce at Níjni-Nóvgorod, in comparison with that when the national fair was held at Makáriéf. In the year 1813, according to Hermann, there were —

At Makáriéf		ROUBLES.
Russian goods to the value of	-	32,346,000
Foreign ditto	- - -	11,224,000
Liskova, opposite Makáriéf		
Russian goods to the value of	-	8,584,359
Total		<u>52,154,359</u>

In 1811 the shop-rents at Makáriéf yielded the sum of 112,017 roubles; and, in 1813, notwithstanding the melancholy effects of the invasion of 1812,—111,021 roubles.

In every sense of the word, the annual assemblage of so many individuals, of different nations, at Níjni-Nóvgorod, may be called a fair, both for commerce and amusement. A wooden theatre is fitted up, which is to be replaced by a stone edifice. We attended a kind of circus, where we saw “the horse of knowledge,” “dancing dogs,” exhibi-

* Vide *Bulletin Universel* for June, 1824, under *Économie Publique*, p. 449.

tions of wild animals, and other amusements, as at Bartholomew fair.

We were present at a ball given by the civil governor, and were much amused by an account of a very rich princess, who was of the party, and who had been exchanging iron for silk plaids, shawls, &c. quite *à la Russe*.

Great accommodations have of late been made for travellers in Nijni-Nóvgorod, but still it is difficult to procure good lodgings. Ours had been previously hired, in consequence of letters having been sent on purpose ; but, although delightfully situated, they were at a distance from the market, which proved a great inconvenience. They cost very high, no less than 350 roubles for the short time the party remained there ; but, it is true, that for the same sum they might have retained them till the conclusion of the fair. The principal inn, under the governor's house, was kept in 1822, by Le Duc, a French *restaurateur*, who had been long established at Moscow. Excellent dinners were given at three roubles per person, and for five, very superior ones. The wines were likewise good, and every thing was in fine order. Le Duc had engaged to pay a great rent for the inn ; but, as it was crowded with visitors from morning till night, there could not be a doubt that the speculation would yield him a good profit. A number of Russian inns on the town side of the canal, were also in good repair. In one of them I dined well

for two roubles, but their common custom is to give as many dishes as you ask up to six, at fifty kopecks each for the *gras*, and sixty for the *maigre*.

Mr. Baird, of Petersburg, who, in 1815, received a patent for steam-boats throughout Russia for ten years, and to whom belong all those which ply between Petersburg and Cronstadt, has united with Mr. Ephreïnof, and some other noblemen, to send four of them to be employed between Níjni-Nóvgorod, Astrachán, and the shores of the Caspian Sea, and it is calculated that an extensive commerce will thus be established. Two of these steam-boats, which lay above the bridge which crosses the Oka, excited uncommon attention in 1822, their appearance being quite novel to thousands of visitors. A party of pleasure having engaged one of them, sailed some versts up the Vólga with a band of musicians playing, and rivetted the attention of innumerable beholders, many of whom had never before seen a boat in motion without the aid of oars or wind. The interest of the details respecting Níjni-Nóvgorod will plead my excuse for their length, but I must again return to the journey.

After passing some days at Níjni-Nóvgorod, and having concluded all necessary arrangements with the party with whom I had been travelling, I was obliged to return to Moscow on account of business, while they remained some time longer. Hav-

ing no carriage of my own, I was glad to embrace an offer made by one of the most respectable merchants of Túla, to give me a share of his, provided I paid half the expenses of the post-horses. As another Túla merchant and a Moscow merchant were to accompany us in a *kibítka*, I was glad to have so good an opportunity of travelling in a new kind of society, which afforded me room for fresh observations. These merchants turned out to be among the best of their rank whom I have ever met in Russia; they all behaved well to me; and, what was rather surprising, they did not attempt to overreach me, except on a single occasion.

My *companion* had made a contract with private boors that we should reach Moscow in four days, and I was glad to find he had determined to follow a line of road partly new to me, which is generally taken by the merchants, and is said to be some versts shorter than the post-road. They for the most part travel in very light equipages, and of course the frequent ascent and descent of intervening hills is of little consequence; but this road could not be easily followed by heavy carriages, though better than the post-road.

The country through which we travelled was as varied, and more pleasant, than that which we saw in the parallel line of road by which we had advanced. Soon after passing through the insignificant town of Gorbátov, we crossed the Oka, which

we found here broader than at Múrom, and continued our route to Goróchovets, another small district town in the government of Vladímir, upon the right bank of the Kliăsma, and surrounded by woods. It contains a monastery, three churches, a linen fabric, and five tanneries. Its inhabitants amount to 1500, and the women are said to make thread which equals that of Holland. The only other place worthy of notice was Viăsniki, which also lies upon the Kliăsma upon the declivity, and at the base of a steep hill, and is enlivened greatly by a convent, a couple of churches, and some large linen fabrics, besides some excellent store-houses. It is distinguished for the quality of its linen. It likewise contains some tanneries. Its orchards are famous for the excellent apples and cherries which they produce. Its inhabitants amount to about 1000.

On the morning of the third day after our departure, we reached Vladímir, and thence continued our journey toward Moscow by the same route by which our party had advanced.

At the distance of twenty-one versts from Moscow, we had an opportunity of seeing Pékra, the fine estate of Prince — Galitsin. A stately mansion-house, with two wings, and an adjoining church and belfry, rising amid lofty trees and shrubbery, with a green lawn sloping to a lake of considerable size, have a grand appearance. The road unfortunately passes too near the house, and

there is a wooden bridge over the lake, which crosses it in an oblique line, which has a disagreeable effect.

Four versts farther, or seventeen versts from Moscow, the next object which excites notice is Górenki, which belongs to Count A. K. Rasumóvskii, and is now celebrated throughout Europe on account of its magnificent botanic gardens. Its situation is rather flat, in consequence of which the triumphs of labour and art are so much more conspicuous. The mansion is quite a princely residence. It is large, not overloaded with ornaments, and built in a good style of architecture. The interior apartments are very spacious and elegant, and the furniture is quite consonant with the exterior impression. In the basement story is a fine promenade through a gallery 130 *sajins*, or 910 *feet* long, including at each end a commodious forcing-house. It has a magnificent appearance, and is made doubly agreeable by the sweets of orange and lemon groves, as well as the quantities of peaches and apricots produced. The gardens are laid out with a good deal of taste. Gravel walks, ponds, lakes with islands, together with temples and statues, are their chief ornaments, and in them grow nearly 2000 hardy perennials. The collection of plants here amounts in all to between nine and ten thousand. The hot-houses are eleven in number, in six separate buildings, arranged in two rows. Some of them are extremely large, and

the front of the whole, collectively, amounts to 164 sajins, or 1148 feet. Here are enjoyed Asiatic pleasures in the rigorous climate of Russia—walks amidst woods and groves of tropical vegetation even when the cold is 30° of Reaumur, or 35° below zero of Fahrenheit.

The establishment at Górenki, *in toto*, is one of the most magnificent in the world, and perhaps its equal was never supported by any individual. The cost for wood alone, in the cold climate of the north, is enormous, and I have been assured that the annual expenditure has been from seventy to one hundred thousand roubles.

Górenki has been known about twenty-two years by its botanic gardens, but it is chiefly within the last eighteen that it has acquired such renown. Dr. Radóvskii, a man of talents, was its director for a few years, and had formed a considerable collection of plants. My worthy friend, Dr. F. Fischer, that distinguished botanist, and most amiable man, has been director of these gardens for about sixteen years, and to him almost the whole celebrity of Górenki is due. His zeal and discoveries are well known throughout Europe, and require no encomium from my pen. The extent and solidity of his general knowledge, the goodness of his heart, the unassuming gentleness of his manners, and his readiness to oblige all, are best known to his friends.

The gardens of Górenki form a famous nursery,

and may be called the *botanical emporium of the Russian empire* ; of the Ukraine, the Crimea, the Caucasus, Georgia, part of Tartary, Siberia, Kamstchatka, and the Russian isles, between the latter and America. Catalogues of the plants contained in this nursery are frequently published, and are distributed throughout Europe.

By connections already established in different countries, seeds have been received at Górenki of numerous undescribed plants. Indeed many new plants, which have enriched and embellished the botanic gardens of Europe, most probably would have remained unknown to the botanic world for many years to come, but for Górenki and its director.

The correspondence of Dr. Fischer with Europe, and the number of packets of seeds annually sent by him to the botanic gardens, and to distinguished patrons of botany, is so enormous, that I dare not even state it, fearful of exciting suspicion as to its authenticity. For these he receives seeds from all quarters in exchange ; a practice which he wishes to encourage to the greatest extent.

The above account of the gardens of Górenki was chiefly drawn up above two years ago, and before the death of Count Rasumóvskii. The young Count, who has succeeded to a great part of his father's property, has ever since conducted himself very imprudently, and Górenki is likely to fall into ruins. This noble is said to

neglect and despise every thing that relates to science. Estates, houses, gardens, furniture, horses, cattle, plants, every thing he will part with to obtain money: an article that has been scarce, in consequence of the immense debts of his father. He has even parted with the *family cannon*, if I may so speak. How much was I surprised in the summer of 1823, on making a trip to Archangel-skoyé, one of the seats of Prince Yuzúpof, on finding some beautiful brass cannon, bearing the Rasumóvskii arms and initials upon them, which had been used on birth-days, names-days, festivals, &c. And how shocked was I on learning that the young Count had sold them to the Prince for a bagatelle!

The collection of exotic plants at Górenki had been offered to the Russian government for 250,000 or 300,000 roubles. The crown, however, would only give 150,000, and the offer was rejected. As the young Count has not the means of keeping them in order, it is to be feared that they will be almost totally lost.

In the mean time, Dr. Fischer has been engaged by the Russian government, and is now organising a most extensive botanic garden at St. Petersburg, which has been liberally endowed by the Emperor Alexander. Last summer he visited the most distinguished gardens both in England and Scotland, and returned to Russia with an immense harvest; which, I understand, cost him but a trifle. Thus His Imperial Majesty will reap the advantage of

Dr. Fischer's connexions, and he saved the expense of thousands of roubles. The establishment is calculated to do both the sovereign, the nation, and the director, great credit.

I have lately learned that the gardens at Górenki are in a very ruinous condition, and that Count Rasumóvskii's affairs are in the greatest embarrassment, which is not at all surprising, and is quite *à la Russe*. The immense fortune of the hetman of the Ukraine, Count Kiril Rasumóvskii, the favourite of the Empress Elizabeth, was divided among a number of sons, all of whom fell into embarrassed circumstances while they had vast estates, much property, and great annual revenues. Count Alexei, the late proprietor of Górenki, had a revenue of above 600,000 roubles a year; an immense sum in Russia; yet this nobleman was almost always in difficulty for want of money. His magnificent establishments at Pótchop, Górenki, Moscow, &c., his style of living, the support of numerous natural children in a manner befitting their rank, in civil life and in the army, and the impositions of sycophants and stewards, all contributed their share to his difficulties; and his dotage, being accompanied by a degree of imbecility, still led to their augmentation. But he was one of hundreds who are placed in such circumstances. I should like to see a list of all the nobles of Moscow, with their revenues, expenses, and balance of accounts. There, probably, is not one in a hundred

of the higher nobility whose affairs are in regular order. I have never known more than two individuals who seemed to know their true condition ; and to my surprise, one of these, who has a revenue of about a million of roubles per annum, was lately necessitated to apply to the *Lombard*, in consequence of an ill-calculated, extensive, and unfortunate speculation of the head-steward, and other extravagant schemes, such as building, gardens, &c. In the mean time, however, that person became rich, because he had a certain allowance *or present*, from all those with whom he had dealings ; and the more affairs, whether advantageous or ruinous to his employer, the more profit for him.

The Russian nobility are notorious for getting into debt and mortgaging their estates. The facility of doing so arises partly from the eagerness with which the merchants supply the wants of the rich, either with goods or money, and partly from the simple process of pledging their estates at the *Lombard*. But great art is practised to obtain money by those who are known to be already in debt, or to have lost their credit. Were I to search all Russia, I could not find a more striking illustration than the hero of the following story. General ——— had lost his credit among all the established merchants, tailors, workmen, &c. in both the capitals of Russia, and indeed wherever he was known. Being in want of some clothes while at Petersburg, he sent for a tailor who had lately

begun business, and of whom he had no knowledge. I was present when the stranger was announced. He was immediately received by the General in his cabinet, and in the most polite manner. His Excellency ordered a quantity of clothes, and begged the tailor to take his measure. The high-sounding titles of *General and Excellency*, which were repeated by the surrounding servants in every answer to their master's questions, seemed to have great effect upon the poor man, who was delighted with such an order. A few days afterwards, when, by chance, I again was with the General, the tailor appeared with all the clothes. His Excellency having examined them, begged him to sit down till he had finished a letter, as he was much pressed with important business, in consequence of a law process about nearly a million of roubles. The letter being finished, the General entered into the details of the said process, and was liberal in his criticisms upon *the corruption and bribery of the courts of equity*, and particularly mentioned the presents of horses and money which had been given to his agents. He took especial care to inform the tailor that at length the process had taken a favourable turn, and that he should soon be in possession of his cash. The conversation which followed was to the following effect: "I see, sir," said the General, "you are acquainted with your business, and I wish to encou-

rage you, but *Moi Golúbtchik* *, I shall not be able to pay you beyond half the amount of your bill at present, in consequence of a disappointment in the receipt of some thousand roubles; but it is immaterial, I will give you a bill for the other half, which will become due in three or four months, the time when I shall receive the *obrok* of my peasants." The tailor bowed assent. Then the General related the history of another law process with a silversmith, whose roguery he hoped would soon be exposed, and said he had been assured by the procurator, that the affair was about to terminate in his favour. A second interlude followed. "*Moi Golúbtchik*," resumed the General, while pulling out his pocket-book and counting his money, and apparently making a calculation in the most specious manner—" *Moi Golúbtchik*, I find that it will not be possible to give you more than one-third of your money to-day, and I will grant you a bill for the remainder." As before, the simple man signified his approbation by a low bow, and unfortunately said, "At your Excellency's pleasure." The General next entertained the tailor with a long account of the estate where he resided, and concluded his harangue by inviting him to come there, and receive the money himself in sum-

* *Moi Golúbtchik* is a term of caress, which is used to common people. It literally means "*my dove*;" and is equal to, my dear, or my heart.

mer. Apparently, as he was about to draw out the bill, he laid down the pen, called his body-servant, and asked whether he wanted any more clothes. The servant, who well knew his master's manœuvres, replied in the affirmative, and enumerated the articles required. Pretending indifference, the General now asked the tailor if he could have them made by such a day? The order was registered, and the deluded man was immediately amused with a number of histories, as interesting to him as the former. The General, putting his book into his pocket, then added, "By the by, I need not trouble you and myself about the account till the whole amount is known; when you come with the other clothes we will finish the affair. Every thing went on smoothly, the articles were prepared, and brought by the time appointed, i. e. on the day of the General's departure from the residence. Tea was served to the tailor, and every politeness shown him, as if he had been a gentleman; many amusing anecdotes were related, and the pleasing term *Golúbtchik* was frequently repeated. An account of unexpected expenses was then produced, which rendered it impossible for him now to pay the third part of the amount of his bill. The fascination of his Excellency again took effect. A bill due after four months for the sum total was drawn out, with which the tailor departed; and a few hours afterwards the General was upon the road to Moscow.

I was witness to similar scenes and conduct with a boot-maker, and with an image-painter at Moscow, and at the General's estate they became so familiar, that I could have enjoyed them more than theatrical comedies, had not pity for the sufferers called forth my sympathy.

To the following history, I may probably be told parallels might be found in every country of the world, Britain not excepted; but, as similar cases are extremely common in Russia, it, in a considerable degree, represents a national feature. It is under this impression that I detail it.

Mr. P., who was not rich himself, succeeded in obtaining the hand of Miss K., the daughter of a very wealthy Moscow merchant, in preference to a number of other suitors, who were descended from more distinguished families. As is very common in Russia, Miss K. was placed under the care of a duenna, who had much influence, direct and indirect, over her mind and actions. Mr. P., well aware of this circumstance, secured the good graces of the old lady by promises of a liberal reward, provided his object was accomplished; in the mean time giving her presents as an earnest of his future generosity. The duenna therefore sounded Mr. P.'s praises continually in the ears of the thoughtless young lady, and with assiduity made false reports to the disparagement of all her other suitors. Her plans had the desired success: the marriage was solemnised: the

large fortune was secured : and the duenna had a handsome sum for her obliging and useful assistance. The new-married couple lived in the most extravagant manner ; kept open table ; gave balls and other entertainments to their friends ; and soon got into embarrassments, which were increased by the addition of two children to their family. Mrs. P.'s father died, and left her a second fortune. The old system of life, which necessity had somewhat changed, was immediately renewed, and persevered in, till Mr. P.'s circumstances became considerably involved. The *opportune* death of Mrs. P.'s brother, who was immensely rich, threw a third fortune into his hands, or, at least, at his disposal ; for Mrs. P. did not — as the law authorises, and as many others of her sex have done — remain mistress of her own property. Mr. P., now richer than ever, honourably paid his debts, lived in the most expensive manner, became a great speculative farmer, continued his extravagance, and, in a few years, a third time found himself in difficulties. Although he had a good annual revenue, yet he was not the man to recover himself by wise plans and economy : his embarrassments augmented from year to year, and at length he died of chagrin, whilst on a visit to a beautiful estate in the government of Kaluga.

Mr. P. had by no means been brought up in extravagance. He had received a good education, and, in his youth, had spent a winter at Edinburgh,

and attended some of the lectures at the University. He had an extremely sensible corporeal system, and the irritability of his mind was excessive. He had a good heart, and his principles were excellent. Whilst in affluent circumstances, his manners were cheerful, his conduct honourable, and his liberality carried to excess: when in difficulties, he was peevish and ill-natured, niggardly, and some say even dishonest. His fits of passion, to which he was at all times liable, obscured his judgment; and led him, contrary, I believe, to the dictates of his conscience, into many improprieties and foolish actions. He fell the sacrifice of a misguided mind.

Such are some of the deeds of the Russians, and such are the truths which every impartial writer must bring forward, or be silent. Though liberal in criticism, yet I am rather inclined to regard them as a *depraved* than a *bad* people. The hospitality, sociability, charity, temperance, and elegance of manner, of the higher classes of the nobles, are worthy of the praise, and even of the imitation, of nations much more remote from barbarism and degradation. The ignorance and immorality of most of the clergy, the general deception and villany of the merchants, and the depression and slavery of the peasants, are to be regretted. Still I am convinced, that, among all classes of Russians, the elements of improvement and knowledge are in activity, and will make rapid advance-

ment.* On the 21st of August, I reached Moscow, and completed the tour which was proposed to be made with the party by whom I was engaged.

Since I published *The Character of the Russians, and a Detailed History of Moscow*, some facts have been developed to which I shall now turn the attention of the reader; especially as they are contained in a work which, though very meritorious, from its nature, is not likely to meet with a general perusal. It would argue insensibility, did I not feel a degree of complacency at the confirmation of several of my opinions contained in the work just mentioned, by no less an individual than Colonel Boutourlin, one of the aides-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, and, perhaps, even by the Emperor himself. My volume was finished in 1823, and published early in January 1824; and, but a few months afterwards, Boutourlin's work, *Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie*, appeared at Paris. Is it possible to conceive, that the Russian government, no longer able to conceal the truth respecting the burning of Moscow, and the concomitant events, at length agreed that Colonel Boutourlin should be chosen as the organ of its publicity? If the Colonel affirms that his work was written,

* On these subjects I have dwelt at length, in "The Character of the Russians."

or even that part of it, which treats of the points just mentioned, was in the press before mine saw the light, the coincidence of our opinions, nay of our expressions, is very remarkable. But it may be questioned, whether Colonel Boutourlin did not alter his text after the publication of *The Character of the Russians &c.* ; a copy of which reached the Imperial palace at Petersburg by express, though not sent by me. I foresaw his Imperial Majesty's displeasure at the too free disclosure of truths, my avowed enmity to despotism, and my love of liberty. Hence, though the work in question was dedicated to the Emperor, I never sent him a copy. My *friends at court* dared not present it, and I could not have asked a stranger, far less those become my enemies, to do me such a favour.

Colonel Boutourlin's elaborate, ingenious, and handsome volumes, do honour to himself and to his country, and, I may add, to his sovereign ; as there seems every reason to believe that the Emperor perused every page of them before publication, and, perhaps, even revised the proof sheets. The general impartiality, accuracy, freedom from extensive exaggeration and national animosity, of these volumes, greatly enhance their value ; and the generous allowance of the military merits of the French, and the high compliments bestowed upon Buonaparte, amid some censure, are the offspring of a truly noble mind. Colonel Boutour-

lin's volumes are extremely interesting in another point of view. Each chapter concludes with remarks and criticisms on the motions both of the French and the Russian armies. The reader will be pleased, I think, with the following quotation. Boutourlin, after charging Tchitchagof for having manœuvred *avec une lenteur qui eut une influence funeste sur l'ensemble des opérations*, and for not having joined General Tchaplits earlier, so as to have attacked the small number of the French who had then crossed the Beresina, candidly admits, that the conduct of Buonaparte, at the passage of that river, is above all eulogy. "He found resources," says he, "where a less able general would not have suspected their possibility. — Invested on all sides, Napoleon *ne perd pas la tête* ; by able demonstrations, he deceives the generals who were opposed to him ; and sliding, so to speak, between the armies which prepare themselves to fall upon him, he performs his passage at a well-chosen point." Indeed Colonel Boutourlin's work seems by far the most accurate, and the most complete, which has been published with respect to the campaign of 1812 ; and, I doubt not, will remain a national monument of that memorable epoch. How happy am I to have to record something honourable of the Russians !!!

The works of Boutourlin, and of an anonymous French writer, who was an artillery officer of the old guard of Napoleon, may be recommended to

the perusal of military men in general. By means of the valuable atlas and plans of the former, they will be enabled to follow the text of both with great advantage, and hence may derive many valuable lessons in strategy.

According to Boutourlin, the Russian army, after the memorable battle of Borodíno, not daring there to hazard a repetition of the combat, gradually retreated toward Moscow. On the 30th of August (11th of September), the chief division of the army reached Mamónovo; the camp of which was fortified, *par quelques ouvrages de campagne*. This measure gave rise to the opinion that Prince Kutúsof again wished to encounter the French before resigning himself to the abandonment of Moscow. But it appears that the general-in-chief had only made such dispositions, the better to conceal his determination to evacuate the capital. It was so much the more urgent to make the troops believe that they should yet fight in defence of Moscow, *as it was, perhaps, the only way to retain them under their standards*, and to prevent them from disbanding in that immense city.

On the 1st (13th) of September, the Russian army took up its position within two versts of the Dorogomílovskõi barrier of that city, its right being supported by an angle of the Moskvá, before the village of Fili, and its left by the heights of Vorobéevya, (the Sparrow-hill,) while its centre stretched between the village Troítskoyé and Volínskoyé.

The Moskvá, which at this place forms a prolonged creek, was behind the lines of the army, as was also the Dorogolmílovskaya Slóboda, or suburb.

In the mean time, divisions of the French army were advancing by different routes. In the evening of the same day, Prince Kutúsof, although determined to abandon Moscow, called a council of war, *afin de n'avoir l'air* of having himself decided to come to this sad extremity, except with the advice of his principal officers. The council was composed of Generals Bennigsen, Barklay, Dóktorof, Osterman, Konovnítsin, and Yermólof, and the quarter-master-general Toll. The Prince, after having exposed the state of things, asked each member of the council to deliver his opinion on the following question : “ *Ought we to await the attack of the enemy in the position occupied by the army, or is it necessary to evacuate the capital without a battle?* ” General Barklay, who spoke first, affirmed that the position was not tenable, and proposed to evacuate Moscow, and to retreat upon Níjni-Nóvgorod, which he regarded as a point so much the more important, that it formed the *liaison* of the northern and the southern provinces. General Bennigsen, supported by Dóktorof, opposed this advice, pretending that the position was sufficiently strong, and that the army ought there to accept of another battle. General Konovnítsin, although he was not of General Bennigsen's opinion with respect to the goodness of the position

of Fili, believed it still the duty of the army to make new efforts before it abandoned the capital, and proposed to march and attack the enemy wherever they met him. Osterman and Yermólof adhered to this advice; but the latter remarked, that it was necessary to know if the roads had been examined, which ought to serve *pour l'offensive projetée*. Finally, Colonel Toll, having little faith in the surety of the position of Fili, represented that it appeared to him most advantageous to make a flank march by lines, and by the left, with the design of establishing itself in a lateral position, the right at Vorobéevya, the left between the old and the new Kalúga roads.

The diversity of these opinions, none of which was free from inconveniences, gave the general-in-chief all necessary latitude for rejecting them. The question in debate, reduced to its most simple form, may be thus stated — “*Is the preservation of the army of more importance for the safety of the country than that of the capital?*” The answer could not but be in the affirmative; and it thence resulted, that it would have been *inconséquent de risquer le plus pour le moins*.

At this time the Russian army, encamped at the gates of Moscow, consisted of about 90,000 men, bearing arms, but only 65,000 of them were old regular troops, and 6000 Kozáks; the remainder being recruits and militia. Above 10,000 of the latter had not even musquets, but were armed with

pikes. With such troops to have fronted 120,000 men, whom Napoleon had at his orders, would have been to risk a too probable defeat, and Moscow might then have become the tomb of the Russian army, when obliged, in its retreat, to defile through the labyrinth of streets of that great city. These reasons appeared in favour of the opinion of General Barklay, but in subscribing to his advice to abandon the capital, the line of retreat which he proposed could not be adopted. The Russian army, by withdrawing upon Níjni-Nóvgorod, would have followed an intermediate line, which presented no direct *liaison* either with the provinces of the north or of the south. It is beyond all question, that the most advantageous plan would have been that of Colonel Toll, by gaining the Kalúga, or the Túla road, where not only would there have been free communications, but also the possibility of menacing the line of operations of the enemy, who passed by Smolénsk and Mojaisk. Unfortunately the flank march, which it would have been necessary to execute in sight of the enemy, so as to reach these roads, could have been too easily intercepted by the French, who, for that purpose, had only to extend by their right. Indeed, the march of Poniatóvskii, by the new Kalúga road, already passed beyond the left of the Russians, and would have facilitated the execution of this counter-manceuvre by the enemy. All these difficulties did not escape the penetration of Prince Kutúsof, who spoke in his

turn. Remarking, that the loss of Moscow was not the loss of Russia, he declared that he thought it his first duty to preserve the army; to approach the reinforcements which he expected; and, finally, even to profit by the cession of the capital, in order to draw the enemy into a snare, where his ruin would be infallible, and that consequently he had decided to abandon Moscow, and to retreat by the Kolómna road. The members of the council of war having no objections to the determination of the general-in-chief, orders were instantly despatched to carry his plan into execution.

All circumstances considered, the operations proposed by the Marshal were indeed the most advantageous. The Kolómna road is directed toward the southern provinces, and the army could follow it with so much the greater security, as in this march it would have its flank nearest the enemy, covered by the Moskva. But this direction chosen by Kutúsov ought to be admired, especially as an operation preparatory to the "*manœuvre sublime*," which was developed a short time afterwards, and is shortly to be noticed.

On the 2d (14th) September, a day of eternal mourning for all hearts truly Russian, the camp of Fili was raised at three o'clock in the morning, and the army entered Moscow, by the barrier of Dorogomílof, and it had to traverse the greatest diameter of the town to leave it by the Kolómna road. As the decision of the council of war had been kept

secret, the troops only knew it while entering the city. Consternation spread among all ranks; Moscow presented the most melancholy aspect; the houses were deserted, and only a few inhabitants were met flying with their most valuable effects. The march of the army, though performed with admirable order, circumstances considered, had more the appearance *d'une pompe funèbre que d'une marche militaire*. The downcast countenances of the troops truly testified how much they were afflicted by the cruel necessity of abandoning ancient Moscow, which they had been accustomed to regard *comme l'ame de l'empire Russe*. The officers and the soldiers wept with rage and with despair.

The commandant of Moscow having likewise received orders to evacuate the city with the garrison regiment stationed there, began his march, preceded by thundering music, to join the columns of the army which defiled in the streets. The striking contrast of this troop, so inconceivably gay, *avec les dispositions sombres de tous les esprits*, caused violent murmurs among the brave men who had escaped the horrors of Borodíno. “*Who is the traitor who rejoices in the misfortunes of his country?*” resounded from every quarter. The chiefs hastened toward this column to cause the music to cease, and with difficulty they succeeded. The commandant was a brave soldier, but a foreigner, and he could not comprehend why he was

prevented from evacuating the place with the honours of war. *

In another work I have detailed the manner in which the French took possession of Moscow, and treated at great length of the *burning* of that capital in 1812. † After the afflicting details of these events, I have confronted the most opposite and the most authentic opinions, with respect to the long agitated questions, “ *Who burned Moscow?* ” and then stated my own conviction in the following words :—“ Were I to give an opinion, formed upon enquiry among the natives, high and low, and among foreigners of different nations, established at Moscow, some of whom never quitted the city, I should state decidedly, that *the Russians themselves burned Moscow* in the year 1812.”

From the same authorities I concluded, that the conflagration of that city was undertaken upon a premeditated plan, and I expressed my astonishment that an action, which has called forth the eulogies of the whole world, and that is likely to be handed down to posterity by the bards of Russia, as a most glorious example of patriotism, and as one of the most distinguished events in history, should still be disavowed by the Russians. The only explanation of this extraordinary conduct

* Histoire Militaire de la Campagne de Russie, p. 356—364.

† Character of the Russians, p. 484—502.

which I could give was the following: "I believe that the Russian government was glad to have so good an opportunity to exasperate the minds of the populace of Moscow, and of the peasantry in its vicinity, by exaggerating the *atrocious and barbarous conduct* of the Emperor Napoleon, and by proclaiming him the author of the conflagration, with a view to give them an idea of what they were to expect, if the towns and the villages of the interior were taken possession of by the enemy:"—an opinion which is confirmed by Boutourlin.

Self-preservation seems to have been the true cause both of the deceitful measures which were adopted to keep the greatest part of the inhabitants of Moscow in ignorance with respect to its approaching fall into the hands of the French, and of the disavowal of the subsequent burning of this capital. Both before and after Napoleon triumphantly entered the city, none could tell how the tide of public opinion might flow, or whether the peasants might not be roused against the nobles. The widely-circulated report, that Moscow was burned by the French, was a *ruse politique de guerre*, invented by those who knew their country and its people. Had the burning of Moscow been announced, at the moment, as the voluntary act of the government, at least three-fourths of the general population would have imagined that ministers had gone mad, and would have deemed those who obeyed their order as only fit for bedlam. Tell

the peasants of Russia, even at this day, that Moscow was burned for the safety of the empire, and for the salvation of Europe, in a word, was a sacrifice at the shrine of patriotism, and they will never comprehend your logic. They will repeat a thousand times the same argument, "No, no; the French burnt Moscow;" and there is no possibility of changing their conviction. Besides, the first sentiment of the Russians, very probably, was that the acknowledgment of their having been the incendiaries of Moscow would be quoted by enlightened Europe as an evidence of their want of civilisation: a most mistaken idea. It is surprising, however, after first impressions must have lost their force by the universal proclamation of the burning of Moscow as a deed of the most sublime patriotism, that the Russians did not frankly avow that this city was sacrificed by imperial mandate. But having once openly denied the act, and furiously denounced the French as the incendiaries, it would be difficult to retract their statements without losing credit for veracity. Besides, by still holding out the same opinions, the government and the nobles long continued to have complete domination over the minds of the peasantry.

From a variety of circumstances, I ventured to make the following prediction, which has been fulfilled much sooner than I expected. "The time, I doubt not, is not far distant when the Russians will claim the merit of having offered up Moscow

for the general good ; and then, perhaps, the world will be less inclined to laud the northern nation.”* But I shall now direct the reader to Boutourlin’s observations.

Some months before the war, Count Rostopchín had been nominated Governor-general of Moscow. During the whole course of the campaign he had succeeded in repressing the *tumultuous movements of the populace*, whom the misfortunes of war plunged into despair. Less a military man than a zealous citizen, he had believed in the possibility of defending the town, step by step, and took all necessary measures to excite the generous desire of seconding the efforts of the army. The resolution of Prince Kutúsof to evacuate Moscow was a thunderstroke to his patriotism. But even at this moment he did not neglect the only means that was left to him of serving his country. Unable to do any thing more for the safety of the city, he determined *à utiliser sa perte, en la ruinant de fond en comble*. This project, worthy of a Scævola, was ably executed. While the Russian troops were in the city, fire could not be set to it without embarrassing their retreat ; but combustibles were placed in many houses, and a troop of paid incendiaries was spread throughout Moscow, directed by some officers of the old police, who remained there in disguise. Count Rostopchín had even

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 503—523.

taken the precaution to carry off with him all the fire-engines, and other instruments for assisting at fires. These measures had the desired success. On the evening of the 2d (14th) of September, a fire broke out in the Exchange, and on the following day other fires burst forth in different parts of the city, notwithstanding all the efforts of the French to extinguish them. Besides the appointed incendiaries, many individuals set fire to their own houses without having received any order, being inspired with rage against the enemy. The fire continued, and nine-tenths of the city were consumed, and the rest was abandoned to pillage.

A few months before the appearance of Boutourlin's work, Count Rostopchín published a pamphlet at Paris, under the title, *La Vérité sur l'Incendie de Moscou*, the grand object of which was to exonerate himself from the *shame*, or rather the *glory*, of having caused Moscow to be burned. The reader, therefore, may be justly surprised why Col. Boutourlin has given so manifest a contradiction to the Count's statements, as that above related. But he explains the business. His account of the burning of Moscow had been communicated to Count Rostopchín, who had desired to see it. "The Count," says Boutourlin, "does not always appear to have been inclined *à dire la vérité*; for he returned the memoirs without having made the least objection to them. After this, how could it be foreseen, that ten years later, he would take a dif-

ferent view of things, and judged it *à propos* to publish *cette vérité*. It would be very unpolite not to believe a man, who, *par une généreuse mais tardive sincérité, se dépouille lui-même de la couronne civique pour se rejeter dans la foule* : while, on the other hand, the most positive information, does not permit the author to doubt *que l'incendie de Moscou n'ait été préparé et exécuté* by the Russian authorities. There remains no other manner *de concilier des versions si différentes*, except that of supposing that Count Rostopchín, at that epoch, had under his orders, *quelque personnage à grand caractère qui agissait à son insçu.*" The Colonel, adhering to this opinion, has not deemed it necessary to change his text as the facts are recounted with accuracy. He warns his readers that they ought to attribute to the *person in question*, the eulogies so unjustly lavished upon Count Rostopchín.

Boutourlin's account of the burning of Moscow, assuredly exonerates Count Rostopchín from all responsibility, and shows that his conduct was consistent with his declarations, both at the time and since that event, and also with his extraordinary proclamations, one of which I have translated.* But how shall we reconcile the *rescripts* of the Emperor Alexander, which he addressed to Count Rostopchín, and in which he evidently insinuates *that the French burned Moscow, with the avowal of*

* Vide Character of the Russians, &c., p. 509.

that deed by the Russians, and especially with one of them, in which he calls the French “*the despicable incendiaries*.”* The Emperor may plead that this expression was applicable to the French, as a few of them really merited that character, and, as a part of the palace of the Kremle was set on fire by them before their retreat from Moscow. But, in that case, the attempt at the delusion of the Russians, and of the world, is ignoble, and inconsistent with our ideas of sovereignty.

Again, what faith shall we have in the Russian authors, who have written volume after volume to prove that Moscow was burned by the French, or, in the report of Count Rostopchín, who, while he decidedly states that he was not the grand incendiary, employs many pages for the same purpose? Could he be ignorant of the preparations of the *grand personnage* who planned, and who executed, so glorious a deed? With an immense military police under his command, and at a time when every affair, every motion of consequence was communicated to him by spies, is it possible, for a moment, to believe in his ignorance of such an important transaction? And, after the city was consumed, did he not know that the Russians themselves were the incendiaries? I solemnly believe he did. Though the veil is at length rent, and the avowal of the burning of Moscow by the

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 513.

Russians is made by the aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, and doubtless with the concurrence of that sovereign, yet a cloud of mystery still hangs over the identity of the *personnage à grand caractère*, who was under Rostopchín's orders, but acted without his knowledge : *i. e.* who was the *grand incendiary* of Moscow. Before *ten years revolve* the world may be favoured with the name of the heroic individual. In the mean time I will venture to question whether the *personnage* was not the Emperor Alexander, who may have employed an agent to fulfil his commission, or Kutúsof, who wisely thought the safety of the army, at such a juncture, of more importance than that of the capital.

Boutourlin is of opinion, that, under every point of view, the destruction of Moscow was a most advantageous event for Russia. By it Napoleon was deprived of the resources which he had hoped to find there ; besides, the capital once destroyed, no pusillanimous proposal was admissible. Those who, in order to preserve the riches of Moscow, might have been inclined for peace, rendered desperate by their loss, could only think of vengeance. The voluntary destruction of Moscow demonstrated *the energy of a government determined on all sacrifices* rather than bend to a shameful yoke. That action, while it restored the courage of the Russians, depressed that of the enemy. Napoleon, by directing all his efforts against Moscow, *croyait*

frapper au cœur la Russie, which he already thought was prostrated by the capture of her ancient capital. What must have been his alarm when he saw that the Russians only considered it as a great mass of stones, with which the destiny of Russia was unconnected, and that they prepared for war with more ardour than ever? Then he ought to have foreseen the tragic development of his enterprise.

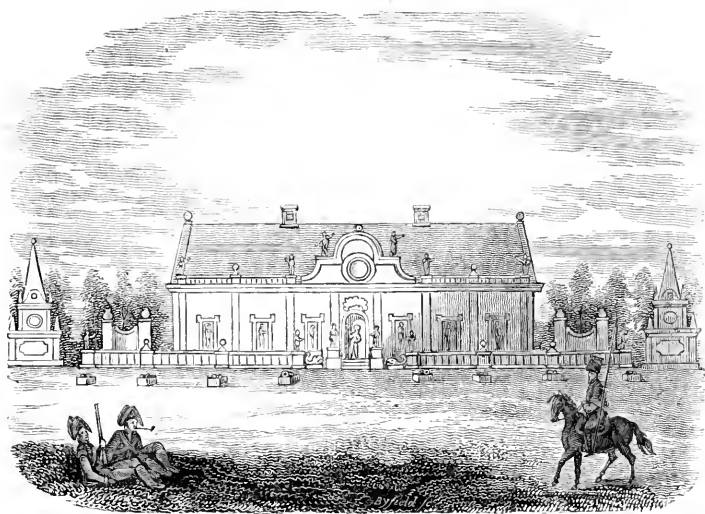
Moscow not having commenced burning till after the entrance of the French, it was easy to persuade the vulgar that it was the enemy who had set their capital on fire.* This opinion, while it exasperated the country people, gave a distinct national character to the war which blazed in the rear of the French army.

It seems quite obvious, now, that self-preservation was the cause of the *double conduct* of the Russian crown, of the Russian functionaries, and of the Russian authors, with respect to the awful conflagration in question, and the deed is one of the strongest proofs, that such a vice is characteristic of the nation. The retreat of the Russian army by the Kolómna road, and subsequently its march by that of Kalúga, in the rear of the French army, have been called *sublime manœuvres*; and Colonel Boutourlin says, that they ensured the safety of Russia, by preparing inevitable ruin for

* Compare p. 392.

the still formidable legions of the Emperor of the French.

I agree with the Colonel, that the burning of Moscow was a sad affair for the French army, even contrary to the representation of some of its officers with whom I have held conversations. But there also seems little doubt, that Napoleon's impolitic conduct, and the death-cold of the North, gained a victory for the Russians which they themselves would never have won.



CHAP. XXIII.

ROSTOPCHÍN'S CONDUCT BEFORE THE BURNING OF MOSCOW. —
 PROBABILITY OF AN INSURRECTION OF ITS INHABITANTS. —
 BOUTOURLIN'S CONCLUSIONS RESPECTING THE CAMPAIGN OF
 1812.—CONDUCT OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.—OF PRINCE
 KUTÚSOF.—OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.—OF ITS OFFICERS. — OF
 GENERAL TOLL. -- REPORTED PLAN OF THE RUSSIANS FALSE.
 — BOUTOURLIN'S PATRIOTISM. — ALARM AT THE POWER OF
 RUSSIA.—INVASION OF RUSSIA IN 1812.—SIR R. WILSON'S
 OPINION WITH RESPECT TO THE POWER OF RUSSIA.—OPINION
 OF BUONAPARTE.—OF MR.LACK SCZYRMA.—OF M.DEPRADT.—
 OF COUNT ROSTOPCHÍN.—OF M. DUPIN.—OF AN ANONYMOUS
 WRITER.—OF COLONEL BOUTOURLIN. — OF THE PERIODICAL
 PRESS. — OF THE AUTHOR.—RUSSIA ACCESSIBLE, VULNER-
 ABLE, AND EVEN CONQUERABLE. — POWER AND POLICY OF
 GREAT BRITAIN. — EUROPE NEED NOT BE ALARMED BY RUS-
 SIA.—STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN.— RUSSIA REQUIRES TO BE
 WATCHED.—COMPOSITION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.—HER

TROOPS.—HER OVER-ACTION.—PROBABLE FATE OF RUSSIA.—RUSSIA THE BUG-BEAR OF EUROPE.—THE EMPEROR PAUL.—THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.—THE GREAT DUKES.—THE EMPRESS.—THE DOWAGER EMPRESS.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS.—THEIR RELIGION.—ANECDOTES.—CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF RUSSIA.—NEW ORGANISATION.—OPPRESSION OF THE POLICE.—SOLDIERS' QUARTERS.—RANKS AND TITLES OF THE RUSSIANS.—NOBLES.—CLERGY.—MERCHANTS.—PEASANTS.—ANECDOTES.—RUSSIAN TABLES.—CLIMATE OF RUSSIA.—ICE-PALACE.—ICE-DOLPHINS, CANNON, AND MORTARS, &c.—IMPROVEMENTS AT MOSCOW.

WE have had so many contradictory accounts of Rostopchín's motives and conduct before the conflagration of Moscow in 1812, that it is but fair to allow him to explain himself.

“I had,” says he, “two objects in view, on which I depended for the destruction of the French army,—to maintain the tranquillity of Moscow, and to cause the inhabitants to depart from it. I succeeded beyond my hopes. A calm was maintained to the very moment of the entry of the enemy; and, of 240,000 inhabitants, there only remained 12,000 or 15,000, who were either burgesses or strangers, or common people; but no person of distinction, either among the nobility, the clergy, or the merchants. The senate, the tribunals, all persons in office, had left the town some days before its occupation by the enemy. I had wished to prevent the possibility of Napoleon's forming any connections between Moscow and the interior

of the empire, and of using the influence which the French have acquired in Europe by their *littérature, modes, cuisine, et langue*. By these means one might have produced *un rapprochement* with the Russians, one might have obtained confidence, and subsequently have exacted services; but, in the middle of the people who remained at Moscow, seduction was as much without effect as among the deaf and dumb.” *

I am not aware of the authority upon which Sir R. Wilson makes the following assertion, but I should think it was not made at random :— “ There is no doubt of the fact,” says he, “ that a servile war might have been fermented in Russia, if the discipline of Napoleon’s heterogeneous army could have been maintained, so as to have avoided outrages and insults, which exasperated and shocked religious prejudices; nor is it less true, that notwithstanding these alienating causes, Napoleon rejected offers of insurrection which were made to him when in Moscow.”

Indeed all those statements, even by the Russians, which preserve any degree of candour, seem to admit the probability of an insurrection among the people, a point which I have illustrated at length in *The Character of the Russians*.

The concluding remarks of Boutourlin’s volumes are so interesting, both with respect to the past,

* *La Vérité sur l’Incendie*, p. 20.

the present, and the future, that I shall introduce a translation of them, for the benefit of the reader.

“This campaign,” says he, “so memorable *par l'étonnante consommation* of men which it occasioned, will be reckoned by posterity a terrible example of the danger *de s'écarter à la guerre des règles prescrites par une saine théorie*. Indeed, the triumph of true principles never appeared more striking than on this occasion. Napoleon, at Moscow, presents the interesting sight of a great captain, who, at the head of an innumerable army, has fulfilled the *but militaire* which he had proposed in commencing hostilities, but who is about to lose all that army because he has neglected or disdained *le grand principe de la base*, which alone can insure the operations, consolidate conquests, and *utilise* the success obtained in the field of battle. This single fault was the cause of the failure of an enterprise conceived by *one of the greatest military geniuses who has ever existed*, and sustained by gigantic means which were supplied by the co-operation of a great part of Europe. Russia worthily supported so painful a struggle. The nation demonstrated *toute sa grandeur*, by anticipating the sacrifices which the urgency of the circumstances demanded. At the sight of the country in danger, all individual interest, all jealousy *de castes*, were destroyed; and all ranks, rivalling each other in devotedness, united around the throne. The whole nation, animated with the

same spirit, had no other thought but that of hastening the expulsion of the stranger. The cry of national honour resounded in every heart, and dictated every resolution. All ranks, from the most opulent lord to the poorest labourer, hastened, with emulation, to offer their effects and their blood at the altar of their country. The government was even obliged to limit the sacrifices, which, in the fervour of their zeal, the citizens proposed, as they exceeded the wants of the state.

“ But to the Emperor Alexander principally belongs the glory *de cette belle campagne*. Those who have meditated upon the great lessons which history presents, know, that in all important events, one discovers *une cause principale et dominante*, whose decisive influence is felt throughout the progress of affairs. Accidental and accessory causes may hasten or retard the development, but they cannot change it; for it is always regulated in the last result by the principal cause. The events of 1812 had, for their principal cause, the bold and magnanimous resolution of the Emperor Alexander, to continue the war to the last extremity, without being intimidated by reverses however great, or seduced by the propositions of the enemy, however advantageous.” This resolution is expressed in these terms, in a letter from the Emperor to Marshal Soltikof: “ *Je ne poserai pas les armes tant qu’un seul guerrier ennemi restera sur le territoire de mon empire.*” “Me-

morable words," says Boutourlin, "which demonstrate the noble confidence of the monarch in his people; and which, even then, foretold the happy termination of the war; as it contained all the secret of the great advantages gained by the Russians. Indeed, when the Emperor of Russia adopted the generous resolution of resigning himself to all sacrifices, rather than capitulate with the enemy, *la guerre d'invasion* which Napoleon directed *contre un pays sans fond*, became an absurd enterprise, and its success impossible." This remark of Boutourlin's is quite consonant with the following by Sir R. Wilson :

"Alexander, during this crisis, had displayed a degree of firmness which deranged all the calculations of Napoleon and his coadjutors. He pledged himself as a sovereign, and a man, that he would never treat with Napoleon whilst there was an armed enemy in his country; and his inflexible firmness rendered nugatory those attempts at negotiation, which are reported not to have received the same discouragement in other quarters."

"The man who, after the Emperor, merits most from his country," says Boutourlin, "is Prince Kutúsof. Russia owes her quick deliverance to the profound and constant wisdom of his conduct. Unluckily, there exist among us, men so ungrateful, or so prejudiced, that they wish to deprive his memory of the just homage of a grateful country, but their efforts will be vain. The conduct of the

marshal was *si belle*, that it will bear the research of the most severe critics. In fact, in a military point of view, he can only be reproached with two faults; the first, that of having given battle at Borodíno, though necessitated by POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE: the second, the retrograde motion from Maloyaroslávets to Gontchérovo, which no motive can justify. But one may salute *du nom de grand* the general, who, in four months of the most active campaign, only failed once. Besides, in compensation for this fault, *que de belles conceptions*, of which a single one would be sufficient to establish the reputation of a captain. The march from the Kolómna road to that of Kalúga*, that from Tarútino to Maloyaroslávets, the parallel pursuit, the march from Jelnia to Krasnoi, and the sagacious combinations of the battles of Krasnoi, will always be the admiration of connoisseurs.” —Immortality, *a déjà commencé pour son nom*,

* As has been already remarked (vide p. 388.), the motions of Kutúsof in the neighbourhood of the ancient capital have been highly extolled, yet Sir R. Wilson says, that after the capture of Moscow, for twelve days, the Russian army was revolving round the smoking ruins of their capital, to regain the Kalúga road, “ disconnected in line of march, embarrassed with every possible encumbrance, and checked by every species of impediment: in this situation, the columns presented a *flank* to the concentrated French army, and offered them an infallible victory.” A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, p. 27.

and impartial posterity will not fail to place him, for the services rendered to his country, at the side of Pojárskii; and for his military talents, at that of Suvárof.

Colonel Boutourlin, after so many eulogies in favour of Alexander and Kutúsof, next alludes to the devotion of the army, and the zeal of its chiefs, who seconded his efforts, and distinguished themselves in 1812, as Raévskoï, Konovnítsin, Yermólof, the Prince of Wurtemburgh, Count Pahlen, Vassíltchikof, Count Voróntsof, Rosen, Dibitch, Paskévitch, Tchérnitchef, and Emmanuel. With great candour, the author likewise speaks in the highest terms of the Quartermaster-general, Toll, whose name bespeaks his foreign origin. During the campaign, this distinguished man, by his sagacity and his talents, was *l'ame de toutes les délibérations, et le moteur de plusieurs belles résolutions adoptées* by Marshal Kutúsof.

To the supposition that a plan of drawing the enemy into the heart of Russia was premeditated by the government, Boutourlin replies, that the retreat from the Niemen to Moscow was necessitated by the numerical weakness of the Russian armies. He then adds, "Those who hold this language, ought to know, that the glory of Russia has no want of being exalted by artifice and lies. The year 1812 was the touchstone that discovered the treasures which our country *renferme dans sa sein*, and our nephews will always quote this me-

morable epoch of the history of their country with pride. A true relation of facts is sufficient to immortalise them."

Boutourlin terminates his reflections upon the campaign of 1812, in these patriotic phrases:—"It only remains for him, (the author,) to wish that his country may receive the fruits of the exploits of her warriors. May Russia find in the crisis she has experienced, and which the devotion of her sons has rendered so salutary, an inexhaustible source of prosperity! May she enter the glorious path directed towards the high destiny which Heaven has so visibly reserved for her! May her power—the terror of the oppressor and the refuge of the oppressed,—increase and be consolidated for the maintenance of good order and of justice! May the God of Kulikóvo*, and of Poltáva, who also assisted her so miraculously in the late struggle, for ever grant her the protection of his potent arm! Already *l'étranger reconnaît avec effroi l'inaccessibilité* of her vast frontiers. Henceforth

* By a letter, dated Petersburg, November 14, 1824, we learn that "The Emperor has approved of a plan laid before him by General Balaskóf, to form an asylum for a certain number of wounded soldiers, near a monument which is to be erected on the plain of Kulikóvo, to the Grand Duke Dmitrii Donskoi. A subscription through the whole empire is to be opened for this national establishment. The Emperor has assigned 20,000 roubles for the purpose. The General is to agree with the Academy of St. Petersburg respecting the plan and elevation of the church and the houses intended for the soldiers."

no enemy will dare to pass them. Her citizens may search after (*exploiter*) the treasures of a nascent industry with security, and enjoy in peace the meliorations which the progress of knowledge and the benevolent march of time prepare for them.”

Similar ideas had been previously developed by Sir R. Wilson.

“The advantage,” says he, “of this campaign to Russia, was proportionably great to the injury designed by her enemy. Her capital had been consumed, many of her provinces had been laid waste, and above two hundred thousand of her regular soldiery had perished; but to have developed the resources of the empire, to have electrified the spirit of the people, were copious and lasting compensations for evils which time and industry would repair.” *

By some we are alarmed with the colossal and irresistible army of Russia overwhelming Europe, becoming masters of Constantinople, taking possession of Persia, and subsequently of India, and thus accomplishing the ruin of the British isles. By others we are lulled to repose, and told that there is no cause of anxiety, and far less of fear, from the Imperial forces of the north. Probably a middle opinion between these two extremes would be the most correct, and at all events would be the

* A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, p. 35.

safest. We should neither give ear to false alarms, nor let danger unexpectedly approach ; or, I should rather say, nor permit Russia quietly to aggrandise herself by further acts of aggression upon her neighbours.

Before the year 1812, it was confidently believed by some, that Russia, from her geographical position, her physical advantages, and with an effective army of almost half a million of men, would have defied the efforts of any invader which Europe could bring against her, and France was deemed incapable of such a deed. Though Buonaparte lost his army, and was ruined in 1812-13, yet his advance to Moscow demonstrated that Russia was *accessible* and *vulnerable* ; and, as has already been mentioned, but for the unaccountable neglect of Buonaparte, after he got possession of that city, he might have totally defeated the Russian army, and given a new turn to his affairs.* There can be no doubt that Napoleon's retreat and ruin were chiefly owing to his own imprudence, and to the ravages of the climate ; but the exposure of his army to the rigours of a severe winter, was a consequence of unwarrantable conduct. This chieftain attempted the work of two or three years in one season. Had he proceeded with caution, and taken proper measures to obtain the good will, instead of the hatred of the people, few seem to

* Vide Note, p. 396. of this Volume.

doubt that he would have conquered Russia ; or, at all events, have reduced her government to advantageous, if not to unconditional terms. Notwithstanding these facts, a great number of celebrated characters delight in holding up Russia *in terrorem* to the other states of Europe, and even to Great Britain, as I shall illustrate by some quotations.

In 1818, Sir R. Wilson wishes to establish one of his former positions, that “ Russia, profiting by the events which have afflicted Europe, has not only raised her ascendancy on natural sources sufficient to maintain a preponderating power ; but, further, that she has been presented by her rivals with the sceptre of universal dominion.” *

If we could give the smallest belief to the following remarks, Buonaparte, after his fall, also seems to have regarded Russia as likely to become an overwhelming power. “ The Emperor,” says Las Cases, “ next adverted to the superiority of Russia over the rest of Europe, in regard to the immense powers she might call up for the purpose of invasion, together with the physical advantages of her situation under the pole, and backed by *eternal bulwarks* of ice, which, in case of need, would render her inaccessible. Russia, he said, could only be attacked during one third or one fourth of the year ; while, on the contrary, she

* Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia in the year 1817. Preface, p. vii.

might throughout the whole twelve months maintain attacks upon us : her assailants would encounter the rigours and privations of a frigid climate, and a barren soil, while her troops, pouring down upon us, would enjoy the fertility and charms of our southern region. To these physical circumstances," continued the Emperor, " may be added the advantage of an immense population, brave, hardy, devoted, and passive, including those numerous uncivilised hordes, to whom privation and wandering are the natural state of existence. Who can avoid shuddering," said he, " at the thought of such a vast mass, unassailable either on the flanks or in the rear, descending upon us with impunity ; if triumphant, overwhelming every thing in its course, or, if defeated, retiring amidst the cold and desolation that may be called its forces of reserve, and possessing every facility of issuing forth again at a future opportunity ? Is not this the head of the hydra, the Antæus of fable, which can only be subdued by seizing it bodily, and stifling it in the embryo. But where is the Hercules to be found ? France alone could think of such an achievement ; and, it must be confessed, we made but an awkward attempt at it." *

* I scarcely give faith to the report that Buonaparte preached the *inaccessibility* of Russia. I should rather suppose, after the lessons for which he paid so dearly, he would have maintained, *cæteris paribus*, that he would have conquered European Russia.

“The Emperor,” the author continues, “was of opinion, that, in the new political combination of Europe, the fate of that portion of the world depended entirely on the capacity and disposition of a single man. Should there arise,” said he, “an Emperor of Russia, valiant, impetuous, and intelligent, — in a word, a Czar, with a beard on his chin, (this he pronounced very emphatically,) Europe is his own. He may commence his operations on the German territory at 100 leagues from the two capitals, Berlin and Vienna, whose sovereigns are his only obstacles. He secures the alliance of the one by force, and with his aid subdues the other, by a single stroke. He then finds himself in the heart of Germany, amidst the princes of the second rank, most of whom are either his relations or dependants. In the mean while he may, should he think it necessary, throw a few firebrands across the Alps, on the soil of Italy, ripe for explosion, and he may then march triumphantly to Paris to proclaim himself the new liberator. I know, if I were in such a situation, I would undertake to reach Calais in a given time, and by regular marching stations, there to become the master and arbiter of Europe.” *

“After leaving the bath,” says O’Meara, “Napoleon spoke about Russia, and said that the European nations would yet find that *he* had adopted

* Mémorial de Saint Hélène, vol. iv. part 7. p. 86—89.

the best possible policy at the time he had intended to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, which would be the only effectual means of stopping the increasing power of Russia. It was putting a barrier, a dyke to that formidable empire, which it was likely would yet overwhelm Europe. I do not think," said he, "that I shall live to see it, but you may, you are in the flower of your age, and may expect to live thirty-five years longer. I think that you will see that the Russians will either invade and take India, or enter Europe with four hundred thousand Cossacs, and other inhabitants of the deserts, and two hundred thousand real Russians. Russia must either fall or aggrandise herself, and it is natural to suppose that the latter will take place. By invading other countries, Russia has two points to gain, an increase of civilization and polish, by *rubbing against* other powers, the acquisition of money, and the rendering friends to herself the inhabitants of the deserts, with whom some years back she was at war." *

"Those who consented," said Buonaparte, "to the union of Poland with Russia, will be the execration of posterity, while my name will be pronounced with respect, when the fine southern countries of Europe are a prey to the barbarians of the North." †

* O'Meara's Napoleon in Exile, vol. ii. p. 53, 54.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 406.

Mr. Lack Sczyrma, in his Letters on Poland, with a good deal of patriotic feeling, informs us that “the annals of all foreign nations which had ever dared to attack any of those people (the Scythians, or their successors in territory, at least, if not their ancestors, the Poles and Russians,) are written in characters of blood. The Tartar barbarians, having laid waste with fire and sword the Polish provinces, found their graves at Lignitz in 1241. The Turkish hordes sent by Bajazet in 1498 from Asia and Africa, and who threatened to overrun Christendom, met their fatal day by frost and famine at the sources of the Dneister. In 1709, the whole Swedish army under Charles XII. was destroyed in the morasses of Pultava. In our time, the whole tract of land from Moscow to the river Elbe, the remotest boundary of the Slavonian settlements, and beyond those, has been fattened with the blood of those who had the boldness to assail the altars of the domestic gods of Slavonia; and the children now play with the weather-beaten unburied bones of these foreign invaders — a sight shocking to humanity, and a warning to posterity.” *

M. de Pradt, after telling us, of the facility with which Russia will be able to enter Germany, that in time the Vistula, *dans tout son cours*, will become the frontier of Russia, and that Russia *n’a*

* Letters on Poland, p. 72, 73.

donc pour voisins que des politiques effrayés et des vassaux tremblans, proceeds thus, in his flowery and figurative style, “ Russia is defended by her climate, by her remoteness from the rest of the world ; *elle a pour elle l’espace et le tems : chez elle on arrive fatigué aux pieds d’un rampart de glaces*. The shades of Charles XII. and Napoleon wander before her frontiers, as spectres charged to remind the temerarious of the fate which awaits them in these sad countries ; *terrible privilège dont la nature l’a dotée* ; we can never go to her to cause the evil which at all times she can come to inflict. Say, in what number, at what time, and upon what points, you will go to strike her. The spaces are so vast, that the greatest army, the most formidable for talents and bravery, that of Napoleon, *finit par ne ressembler sur la carte de la Russie, qu’à une traîne de fourmis gravissant une montagne*. A small army can do nothing against Russia ; a great one cannot subsist. The extent of territory admits of turning the wings of the assailants, of cutting off their communications ; provisions are wanting, their transport is difficult ; one finds himself among seas of sand ; interminable forests of pines blacken the horizon ; a savage population flies or arms itself at the sight of a stranger. Manners, language, food, all differ from Europe : it is another universe ; a tardy spring *touche à un hiver précoce* ; the few months convenient for action are consumed in approaching the frontiers, and when reached,

l'aiguillon des aquilons soon comes to benumb the arms of the assailants and to bury *les travaux de la campagne*, under the mountains of snow. *Les frimas, vengeurs de la Russie, plongent dans un sommeil de glace* : all is extinguished, all expires under the merciless sky. Such is a war against Russia. See if by nature she is not declared *inattackable*, *inapproachable*, if she does not always present open graves for her enemies." *

"The Russians," says Count Rostopchín, "have proved themselves superior to many other people, because they are inaccessible to fear, and incapable of treason, *il porte dans son énergie morale, et dans sa force physique, la conviction de succès*." †

That distinguished and eminent writer, Mr. Dupin, asserts that "the troops of Russia are not only formidable by their number, they are so by valour, by impetuosity in the attack, and by obstinate firmness on the retreat.—In admitting *the incontestable power of Russia to defend her own territory*, her aggressive power is disputed." ‡

An anonymous writer, for whose opinion on many points I have a high respect, says, "there is another awful consideration : Russia is inaccessible,

* *Parallèle de la Puissance Anglaise et Russe relativement à l'Europe*, &c. Paris, 1823.

† *La Vérité sur l'Incendie de Moscou*, p. 43.

‡ *Observations sur la Puissance de l'Angleterre et sur celle de la Russie, au sujet du parallèle établi par M. de Pradt entre ces Puissances*. Paris, 1824.

unattackable. Frosts and snows, and the terrible host of winter, make her *unconquerable*. Her frontiers are mountains and seas. Her power neither results from the number of her inhabitants, nor from her pecuniary resources, nor from the talents of her rulers, nor from the extent of her territory; but from her snowy and icy region, which, though it is a wall of adamant against attack, she cannot drag with her to the south for the purpose of attacking others."

In unison with these opinions, Boutourlin says, as already mentioned, that the stranger, with alarm, acknowledges the *inaccessibility* of the frontiers of Russia.

In justice to the periodical press, it ought to be mentioned that many individuals have espoused a very different opinion with respect to the immense power and preponderance of Russia.

Notwithstanding what Sir R. Wilson enthusiastically tells us of Russia being presented by her rivals *with the sceptre of universal dominion*; notwithstanding *the physical advantages of the situation of Russia, backed by eternal bulwarks of ice, which render her inaccessible, and the cold and desolation* which seem to have alarmed Buonaparte; notwithstanding that *the annals of all foreign nations who have attacked the Sclavonic nations are written in characters of blood*, according to Mr. Lack Sczyrma; notwithstanding what the specious, flowery, and acute, rather than profound, Abbé de Pradt

talks of *the geographical position, the climate, the rampart de glaces, the spectres of Charles XII. and of Napoleon, the snow mountains and the hoar-frosts*; notwithstanding that Rostopchín tells that *the Russians are inaccessible to fear, and incapable of treason*; notwithstanding that Mons. Dupin maintains the *incontestable power of Russia to defend her own territory*; notwithstanding *the formidable power, the frosts and snows, and icy regions, the wall of adamant, and the terrible host of winter* of the Westminster Review; and notwithstanding that Boutourlin also holds forth the *inaccessibility of the frontiers of Russia*, in my humble opinion *Russia is accessible, vulnerable, and even her best provinces conquerable*, by a proper and cautious method of procedure, and by a smaller army than Napoleon had when he invaded this country and took possession of Moscow. But as Great Britain, as well as the Continental nations, is at peace with Russia, and as I am not anxious to kindle the torch of war, at present I could merely wish to inspire the nations of Europe with the hope of being able to resist her *apparently colossal* power and even to retaliate her future aggressions. Is not Great Britain, leagued with any two of the great Continental powers, and proceeding upon a well-organised plan, able to resist any invasion of Russia, and even to enter on an offensive war? Is it not in the friendship and policy of Great Britain that Commensurate opposition to the plans of Russia can

alone be found? As for conquering all Russia, it is out of the question. No power on earth would ever dream of such a measure, because the greatest part of her territory is not worth conquering. Who would follow her to Siberia, or what power would wish to possess that extensive country? The best provinces of Russia being seized, her fleets being destroyed or blocked up, a powerful navy being in command of the Gulph of Finland, and another in the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azoph; Petersburg, and the ports of these seas being threatened with destruction or capture, would not Russia be reduced to advantageous, if not to unconditional terms?

With respect to the invasion of Europe, alluded to in some of the above quotations, and so powerfully expressed in those words of M. de Pradt, “*La population de l’Angleterre ne peut croître de manière à peser sur l’Europe : celle de la Russie peut l’écraser* : a good deal may be said. Mr. Dupin states, that “in conceding to M. de Pradt, that England alone cannot make war against Russia, and still less against the Holy Alliance, it ought to be admitted at the same time, that this author too greatly diminishes the influence of Great Britain as a military force, and as a naval force in the Black Sea and in the Baltic. For the future, he also allows by far too little influence to the finances of England, for the formation *des résistances* destined to combat the future projects of Russia. Beyond doubt, a subsidy will not

cause a secondary power to enter, without a motive, into a struggle against so formidable an empire. But, when this same empire shall menace one of these powers, England can furnish subsidies which will enable it to commence a vigorous resistance without delay; and will procure it allies from all parts, by giving them the only resources which are often wanting to enter into a struggle, the interests and passions of which they had already espoused."

Taking into account the immense territory of Russia; — her greatly increased and increasing population; — her rapid advancement in general knowledge and civilisation; — her powerful influence in the cabinets of Europe; — her colossal army and the talents of its chiefs; — her improvement in military tactics; — the excellent state of her cannon-foundries, her arm manufactories and military stores; — her new system of military colonisation; — in a word, her abundance of all the materials of war, *with the grand exception of money*; — and her apparent destiny of becoming a mighty nation, even with a greatly reduced territory, I should suppose that Europe need not be greatly intimidated by the reveries of the *Alarmists* about her aggressive power, invasion, and annihilation. And I should also think, that Great Britain may repose on her pinnacle of superiority, as long as she is distinguished for civil and religious liberty, arts and sciences, commerce and riches, virtue and religion. With these for *her internal, and wooden*

walls for her external bulwarks, “the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.” The courts of Europe, indeed, must decide, and upon their decision and action it depends, whether Russia shall become more formidable or not.

Nothing can be more consolatory to the British patriot, than the following assurance from one of the greatest of statesmen. “With respect to the situation in which we stand, I mean as England stands to Europe, I neither court nor assume the praises lavished by the honourable seconder of the address (Mr. Daly), while I equally regret the censure of the honourable and learned member (Mr. Brougham). England, I may say, is now able to meet any enemy, as much, perhaps, or more so, than she ever was; her opinions are as much respected as they ever were; her interference as much courted, and her influence as high and as commanding as at any former period of her history. I will not say England is now, in every particular, in the same state she was in other times. Her state, like that of all other nations, has altered; the qualities and elements of all society have changed, and we must in some degree change with them.—If we did commune and act with them (despotic monarchs) let us only look back for ten years, and we shall see, that if we were not leagued with despots, if despots they must be called, we never had been able to over-ride that colossus of

tyrants ; who, as it were, united all others in himself.” *

Thanks to Heaven, in these momentous times, that there are now at the helm of our own affairs, those who are pre-eminent for penetration, sagacity, prudence, and liberality of sentiment ; those who may be able to prevent or to discomfit the schemes of insatiate ambition and oppression ; and who, if forced to the measure, will know when and where to send forth the “ trident upon the ocean,” or to hurl “ the thunderbolts of war !” That their policy and wisdom, however, may lead to the evasion of such alternatives, consistently with British valour, British honour, and British independence, must be the wish of every friend of the human race.

Let us calmly look upon the real state of Russia. Beyond doubt, this power is neither to be disregarded nor despised. She is to be watched, because she may become dangerous ; but the infatuation of the Continental powers alone, will permit her to gain another inch of territory, or to acquire the least additional political power. The Russian army, which amounts to nearly 1,000,000 of men, is commanded by many eminent captains, and, in the hands of even the mildest and least ambitious despot, is a mighty machine, and is not to be trifled with as a mere mass of physical force.

* Vide Mr. Canning’s Speech on the opening of Parliament, February 3d, 1824.

It must not be forgotten, that this army had immense practice in the art of war during the last campaigns; nor that the Emperor Alexander has devoted the utmost attention to its improvement ever since the peace. It is also to be borne in mind, that the officers of the higher ranks have received a moderately good education; and have, in a considerable degree, assimilated themselves with those of the other armies of Europe.

In our reasonings with respect to the political state, the probable policy, and the expected military operations of Russia, it must ever be recollected, that this empire is composed of the most heterogeneous materials; that *Russia Proper* is surrounded by territories which have once been independent kingdoms, or wrested from other states; as Kazán, Astrachán, Siberia, the Kubán, Mount Caucasus, Georgia, the Persian provinces, the Krimea, the Baltic provinces, but especially Finland, Poland, and the Turkish provinces. It must also be remembered, that the greatest part of these adventitious territories have been retained under the rule of the Imperial eagle by the presence of over-awing armies, and by mild, tolerant, and crafty policy; and it is believed, also, by bribery. It must be recollected that most of these countries, if not absolutely ready for revolt, are by no means heartily attached to Russia; and would readily risk all to recover their former state when the tocsin sounded to arms, and in-

dependence was the object. Are not the Poles, the Krimean Tartars, the mountain-tribes of the Caucasus, some of the Georgians, the Persians, and the Turks, amongst the number who would join any party, had they the prospect of regaining their ancient territories and privileges, disturb the peace of Russia, and commit acts of aggression? Another consideration ought never to be forgotten; viz. that in proportion as Russia has extended, or may extend her dominions, she augments the number of her foreign forces, and renders necessary a wider division of her native troops; so that when a revolution takes place, so much the greater are the chances of a complete disorganisation of the whole empire. In fact, Russia is surrounded by enemies, under the name of conquered friends; and dreadful will be the explosion, which, sooner or later, according to the course of human affairs, may be expected to overwhelm this immense empire.

Russia has, probably, reached the zenith of her glory, unless her ambitious plans be laid aside. She is arrived at that pinnacle of pre-eminence, in so far as respects territory and political power, from which she is likely to retrograde, unless she act with extreme prudence and judgment. She has long been under the influence of a strong stimulant, proceeding in a course of ambitious aggrandisement, which has often been accompanied with war and bloodshed; adding province to

province, and kingdom to kingdom. But, like the animal system, she will experience the sedative effects of her over-exertion ; which will, probably, end in a deep slumber, of which her neighbours, or some hardy adventurers, may take advantage.

It is not likely that Russia will ever be more formidable than she has proved herself already. We know from late experience, to what her means are equal, in spite of all the defects inherent in her government. She should be watched with care, but not with jealousy ; and should the course of events unhappily tend to weaken the ties of amity which at present subsist between Russia and Britain, for their mutual advantage, it is right to bear in mind, as Mr. James observes, “that the dissolution of so mighty a mass, is not, of itself, to be viewed with unconcern ; for its fall may involve many others also in destruction, and encumber all Europe with its ruins.”

The same writer adds, “In her present circumstances, I cannot suppose that there really exists so great and immoderate a cause for alarm as some speculatists are wont to imagine. Men and money do not constitute national power and wealth ; but the efficiency of the one, and the circulation of the other. As matters are now arranged, the internal state of Russia militates, in the strongest way, against the improvement of her means. Oppressed as she is by an autocratical government, —with an all-powerful nobility, —with a half-

digested feudal system, — with an incapacitating spirit of corruption in every branch of administration, — with foreigners in possession of every post of honour or profit, — it is not too much to say, that Russia has reached in the present reign, the highest pinnacle of rank and power, which her circumstances can ever admit her to attain; and should an alteration in her system be contemplated, it is hardly possible, from such a *mélange* of incongruities, to augur that any change should be lasting, or productive, in the end, of consequences really beneficial to herself. The Imperial authority, now all-powerful, will, hereafter, find itself unable to check the influence of knowledge, and sense of partial liberty that daily diffuse themselves more and more throughout the nation. It requires no great foresight to predict the divisions and factions that must alternately arise from the irregular distribution of wealth and power over so enormous an extent of territory; and wheresoever accident shall cast the balance, it will be an easy task of ambition to throw off all dependence on the semi-Russian capital: the storm is now preparing, and every fresh act of aggrandisement brings nearer the hour of dissolution. As to other prospects, and the view in which her preponderating strength may be regarded by her neighbours, it should be remembered that Russia has not hitherto been able to bring into the field an army capable of overwhelming any one of the superior states of Europe;

though supposing that she were, in the existing state of the civilized world, it is not by the inroad of numerous hordes that European independence is threatened, but by the country which shall have advanced to the highest degree of eminence, activity and skill, in arts and in science, in intelligence, in wealth : this superiority alone can ever justly be looked upon with fear ; and notwithstanding the laudable efforts they have made, the Russians cannot be said even to approximate to such a state at this epoch. The nation has made great efforts, but there yet remains much to be done.”

It has been well said, that Russia, although she is become the Bugbear of Europe, “appears indeed a giant : but it is only a giant of the mist, which passes away before a penetrating vision, or a rising sun.”

Before quitting politics, a few paragraphs may be well devoted to the Imperial family, but especially to the Emperor Alexander and his predecessor.

Like all sovereigns, even the most cruel, wicked, and barbarous, Paul had his flatterers during life, and his *good qualities* were best known after his death. In the Russian authors we often meet with the expression, “*Paul of blessed memory ;*” and a number of publications bestow panegyrics upon that departed monarch. His life, which may serve as an example, is thus sketched by some of the Russians :—“ Paul ascended the throne on the

6th November, 1796. During his reign he ornamented the capital with many magnificent public buildings: in Petersburgh he built the palace of St. Michael, and in Moscow the palaces of the Kremlé and the suburbs; he carried military discipline into strict order, according to new regulations; he founded the Medical Academy, and the Medical *Uprávas**, in the government towns; he gave new regulations for the two ecclesiastical academies of St. Alexander Névskii at Petersburgh, and of Kazán, for one of the public schools (Yunkerskoyé,) and for the Military Orphan establishment; he furnished the clergy with new regulations, and was pleased to appoint *orders* and other distinctions for them; he abridged the laws of the government, and *annihilated all causes of delay in the tribunals*; he ordered a box to be placed for the reception of petitions from any individual (but this generosity was but of short duration;) he put the regulations of the post-office into better order; he *gave an asylum, in Russia*, to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and became its grand-master; for the fame of Russia, through Field-marshal Súvarof Rimniskii he carried on war in Italy, and he took Georgia into subjection. He *died* on the 11th March, 1801, in the 47th year of his age, and was buried on the 23d of the same month, in the cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, at St. Petersburgh."

* Vide p. 360. of Vol. I.

Paul was violent and capricious; but, his enemies say, that “although he wanted judgment to shield his country from injury, he had too exalted a mind ever to have subscribed to her disgrace.” “His reign,” says Sir R. Wilson, “was too short for the development of the even then exuberant resources of his empire, but it had an important influence on the European branch of Russian policy, by showing that every part of Europe was accessible to armies brought from the Caucasus and Siberia, &c.”*

In *The Character of the Russians, &c.* as well as in this work, I have reported various statements and anecdotes which tend to illustrate the true character of Paul, who with great propriety may be classed among those furious tyrants that, with generous hearts, are always committing foolish actions, and who seem born for the misery of mankind.

However much we may deprecate assassination, it was for the happiness of Russia that Paul's reign was short, and that his acts had but a transient influence. In him she lost a despotic tyrant, and found a mild benevolent monarch, as great a contrast to his father and predecessor as it is possible to imagine. “Alexander came to the throne with strong predilections in his favour. Real personal

* *A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia*, p. 11.

good qualities had gained the affection of all who approached him ; and, as the pupil of La Harpe, expectation was raised high as to his capacity for government. The Telemachus of the North was not then inebriated with power, but, instructed in his duties by a Mentor endowed with intelligence and virtue, exercised the authority of a despotic sovereign to establish philanthropy as the basis of his throne. An enemy to the costly vanities of some of his predecessors, he regulated the expenses of his palaces with economy, and applied his treasures to the foundation of useful establishments, the promotion of useful public works, the equipment of his arsenals, and the augmentation of his army. Temperate, active, and indefatigable, he transacted the business of government through direct correspondence or personal superintendence ; and, familiar with the statistics, topography, and interests of the various people inhabiting his extensive empire, he cherished the general prosperity by a polity adapted to the wants of each and all.” *

“The personal character of the reigning Emperor is chiefly distinguished by great affability and condescension, which is carried to such a degree, as would be wholly incompatible with his situation, if the government were of any other form than that of an absolute monarchy. Con-

* A Sketch of the Military and Political Power of Russia, p. 18.

sidering the disadvantages of his early life, he must be regarded as one who has, as far as possible, overcome, by natural goodness of temper, those evil habits which circumstances seemed to form for him ; and whatever blame some may attach to his caprice, his artfulness, his inflexibility, his vanity, or his gallantry, he nevertheless has great merit ; and, indeed, his very faults may be said to be well suited to the part he is destined to sustain, and to the nation whom he governs. Of the Empress, it is sufficient to say, she is adored by all classes.” *

It cannot for a moment be contested, even by his enemies, that Alexander is not an excellent sovereign for Russia. Few despots have swayed such a powerful sceptre with equal gentleness and mercy. He shows himself the patron of arts, sciences, literature, and information of every kind : and if, at times, a degree of illiberality or of excess in his measures becomes evident, I should be inclined to attribute it rather to the influence of his counsellors, than to the dictates of his heart. I should also suppose that the ambitious plans of Russia originate elsewhere than with *His Imperial Majesty*. At the same time it must be allowed, that by some he is accused of considerable illiberality, and of unbounded ambition. The solicitude which he manifests for the good of his

* James's Journal, &c. p. 271.

country, and his humanity, deserve the highest encomiums.

As a private character, the most serious charge that can be brought against the Emperor Alexander relates to his affairs of gallantry, which are ever to be regretted for the sake of the Empress. But when we candidly take into account the extremely corrupt court at which he was educated, * — his early marriage, and perhaps not with the object of his choice, — the facilities, nay, the temptations, to desert the path of virtue, by which so young a sovereign was surrounded, — and the extreme jealousy and rigid coolness of the Empress, we must at least think his failings greatly palliated, if not excused. Indeed, all circumstances considered, perhaps not one in a hundred, or in a thousand, would have conducted himself so well as the Emperor Alexander. As his years have increased, so has his wisdom †; and I have been

* “Immorality,” said Buonaparte, “is, beyond a doubt, the worst of all faults in a sovereign; because he introduces it as a fashion among his subjects, by whom it is practised for the sake of pleasing him. It strengthens every vice, blights every virtue, and infects all society like a pestilence; in short, it is a nation’s scourge.” *Mémoires de Sainte Hélène*, of Count de Las Cases, vol. iv. part 7. p. 20. Yet Alexander was reared at the corrupt court of Catherine, and has become an example for good principles and conduct to the potentates of Europe. He really seems to have been “a chosen vessel.”

† Indeed he seems to have said in all sincerity, —

“May I govern my passions with absolute sway,
And grow wiser and better as life wears away!”

assured, that this monarch now shows his regret at the frolics of his youth, by repentance, and the kindest conduct to his Imperial consort, with whom he passes much of his spare time in the evenings. Judging from the past, we may venture to prognosticate much happiness for Russia, if it shall please Providence to prolong Alexander's years. The ardour and inexperience of youthful passion, is replaced by coolness, vigour, and perseverance in a private and public course of virtue. The deeds of his life will entitle him to the gratitude of the living, and his memory will be venerated, not only as the *great*, but as the *good Alexander*.

During the campaign, it cannot be questioned that Alexander was an example to his whole army. His exemplary endurance of privations, cold, hunger, and fatigue, served to animate his troops. His activity and solicitude were equally the theme of praise, while his affability and conciliatory manners gained him all hearts.

The simplicity of manners, and mode of life of Alexander are very exemplary and praise-worthy. He sleeps upon a hard mattress, whether in the palace or in the camp; he rises early, lives very moderately, is almost never even merry with wine, employs much time in public affairs, and is indefatigable in his labours. His chief amusement, if such it may be called, seems to be the organisation and discipline of the army.

From all that I have heard, it appears that he is

extremely firm, and even obstinate, in his own opinions, and may have a small share of vanity. His talents seem solid and good, without much brilliancy, and his courage is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that Moreau fell at his side, and had both his legs so mutilated, as to render amputation necessary.

The Emperor may be seen in summer riding in a one-horse *droshki*, and in winter in a one-horse sledge, or walking on the quays of the Néva, or the boulevard of the admiralty in the most simple uniform. I shall never forget the first time I saw his Majesty. A few days after his return from Paris in 1815, I was introduced to Sir James Wylie, with whom I visited some of the military hospitals at Petersburg, and in which I spoke with a number of medical gentlemen. A few days afterwards, on the palace-quay, at no great distance from one of these hospitals, I remarked an officer in a plain uniform without epaulets, whom I took for one of the physicians I had seen, and meant to address him. But for my want of knowledge of the French language, at that time, I should have addressed him. While I hesitated whether to say *Comment vous portez vous Monsieur le Docteur*, or simply, *Docteur?* the Emperor came upon me and stared. I detected my error and passed by. But what was my astonishment at seeing a number of persons, one after the other, standing to one side and taking off their hats as the said officer proceeded forward.

On enquiry, I found that I had taken the Emperor for a doctor.

Alexander having lost two children, whom he had by the Empress, the heir apparent to the throne of Russia is the Great Duke Constantine, of whom I have formerly spoken.* It is said that he has begun a reformation, and it is to be sincerely hoped for the sake of those he rules, or may rule, that it may be completed, and especially before he ascends the throne of his country. But as the Emperor is not much older than him, enjoys good health, and lives most temperately, the probability is, that he will outlive Constantine. And who can say that the Emperor may not again become a legitimate father?

The Great Dukes Nikolai Pávlovitch and Michail Pávlovitch, bear good characters, and probably the Russians would be content with either as a sovereign, though they seem to have some prepossession for the former, who is the oldest, and of course has a prior claim. Should the Emperor die, and not leave a son as successor, and should the grand dukes be alive, it is thought by many that there will be a dispute for the throne between the party of Constantine and that of Nikolai or of Michail.

The fame and prosperity of Russia seems deeply connected with the life of Alexander, because

* Vide p. 72. of this Vol.

none can tell whether the same, or equal good qualities may be united in his successor, or whether “his magnanimous soul may pass to his successors with his sceptre.”

The reigning Empress is one of the best and most virtuous of her sex, and an example of conjugal fidelity to all ranks of society. An air of pensiveness, and even of melancholy, overhangs her beautiful and interesting features, which are rarely enlivened by a smile, and still seldomer by laughter. Her principles and conduct are equally worthy.

Before quitting the Imperial family, it ought to be stated that the Dowager-Empress, the consort of the late Paul, has also great merit. The affection she manifested at her Imperial husband's death, and the manner in which she has ever cherished his memory, do great honour to her heart. The pains she took in the education of her children, especially her daughters, was very praise-worthy. She has a great number of charitable institutions, as hospitals, foundling hospitals, schools, &c. under her immediate protection, and she devotes much time to their inspection and government.

It has been thought by some, that a few of my statements, with respect to the character, customs, manners, laws, and religion of the Russians, are too severe, and on the contrary, I have been privately accused of lenity and partiality toward this people. I am not inclined to swerve from a single

statement, and would wish to claim the virtue of impartiality. A few quotations, anecdotes, and remarks which follow, may be regarded as illustrations of "The Character of the Russians," and may be amusing to the reader.

In another work, often referred to, I have given many illustrations of the superstition of the Russians, with respect to their images (*obrazs*), and with pain I have recorded my persuasion that the lower ranks, especially the peasants, often bestow on them that homage which is due only to the Supreme Being. I have also taken some pains to show that *graven images* are not uncommon in the Russian churches and chapels, and illustrated my statements by examples, and a representation of one of them. In the account of the monasteries and churches of Moscow, I have noticed the miraculous deeds attributed to the holy images. Astonishing cures have been performed, and victories have been gained by their presence, according to the faith of the Russians. One would have supposed, in these more enlightened days, that this people might have some more just conceptions with respect to the miraculous power of paintings of the saints, but, on the contrary, they are as much convinced of this as on the dawning of Christianity among them, many centuries ago. The letters which passed between the Emperor Alexander and Augustin the metropolitan of Moscow, who sent the image of St. Serge to his Imperial Majesty in 1812, are

quite illustrative of this truth. Alexander, whatever be his own ideas, wisely follows the external rites of his faith, and perhaps complies with ceremonies with he thinks absurd or useless.

I shall here throw some miscellaneous quotations together with respect to these subjects.

“ True it is,” says Collins, “ the simpler sort of people in *Russia* are mere idolaters ; and in the northern parts, as *Archangelo* and *Cola*, they know no other God but *St. Nicholas*, whom they really imagine to rule all the world. * They borrow their liturgy from the Greek church, which is written in the Sclavonian language ; and used with as much knowlege as the Latin among the Papists. † They celebrate the festivals of their own saints with greater honour than those of the Apostles. For they say of *St. Nicholas*, he is *Nasha Bradt*, one of our brethren ; and has a greater kindness for us his countrymen, than *St. Peter* or *St. Paul*, who never knew us. When they have extorted a vast estate out of the bowels of poor people, and grinding the faces of strangers, they think to expiate all their wicked actions at last, by building a church, and endowing it with abundance of images adorned with jewels, and furnishing it with a ring of bells ; this they account a meritorious work. — Greater rogues there are not in the

* The Present State of Russia, in a Letter to a Friend, p. 91, 1671.

† Ibid, p. 3.

whole world, yet there is many good people also. Such as have improved their parts by conversing with strangers, are more civilized. * — They will sooner take the word of a man who has a beard, than the oath of one who is beardless."

"They" the Russians, says Milton, "follow the *Greek* church, but with excess of superstitions." †

Lord Whitworth tells us, "that the respect paid to their pictures is the grossest kind of idolatry, and makes up a principal part of their devotion." ‡

Such are the statements of former authors: but it was reserved for Dr. Clarke to give a lively dramatic representation of the image-worship of the Russians.

"For it is not only in their churches," says this author, "that such paintings are preserved; every room throughout the empire has a picture of this nature, large or small, called the *Bogh*, or God, stuck up in one corner; to which every person who enters offers adoration, before any salutation is made to the master or mistress of the house: and this adoration consists in a quick motion of the right hand in crossing, the head bowing all the time in a manner so rapid and ludicrous, that it reminds one of those Chinese mandarin images

* The Present State of Russia in a Letter to a Friend, p. 92. 1671.

† A Brief History of Moscovia, by John Milton, p. 18. 1682.

‡ An Account of Russia, as it was in the year 1710. By Charles Lord Whitworth, 1758.

seen upon the chimney-pieces of old houses ; which, when set a-going, continue nodding, for the amusement of old women and children.” * In another place he says, “ We had a very interesting peep into the manners of the peasantry ; for which we were indebted for the breaking of our sledge at Poschol. The woman of the house was preparing a dinner for her family, who were gone to church. It consisted of soup only. Presently her husband, a boor, came in, attended by his daughters, with some small loaves of white bread, not larger than a pigeon’s egg, which I suppose the priest had consecrated, for they placed them with great care before the *Bogh*. Then the bowing and crossing began, and they went to dinner, all eating out of the same bowl. Dinner ended, they went regularly to bed (this is wonderful), as if to pass the night there, crossing and bowing as before. Having slept about an hour, one of the young women, according to an etiquette constantly observed, called her father, and presented him with a pot of vinegar, or *Quass*, the Russian beverage. The man then rose, and a complete fit of crossing and bowing seemed to seize him, with interludes so inexpressibly characteristic and ludicrous, that it was very difficult to preserve gravity. The pauses of scratching and grunting, with all the attendant circumstances of ventriloquism and eruct-

* Clarke’s Travels in Russia, p. 25.

ation; *the apostrophes to his wife, to himself, and to his God*; were such as drunken Barnaby might have put into Latin, but need not be expressed in English! ” *

It cannot be denied that such is the general practice of the peasants; at the same time, the late worthy Professor, on this, as on many other occasions, has given a stage effect, and even a degree of caricature, to his representation.

Some of the Russians are strictly abstemious, especially during the great fasts, while others give themselves little concern about ceremonies. The two following anecdotes will show how easily the Russians may be imposed upon, or rather, perhaps, how they impose upon themselves.

Some years ago I dined at the country house of a British family, in company with a prince who does honour to Russia, and a countess, since dead. One of the dishes was highly relished by all of the party, and particularly by the two noble personages mentioned. I had nearly committed the landlady, by an observation about the *young rabbits*, as they called the delicate animals served up, when my neighbour begged me not to say a word about the *pigeons* of which we had all partaken, or there would be a terrible uproar; “for,” said he, “the Holy Ghost having assumed the form of a dove at the baptism of Christ, the Russians hold the pigeon to be sacred.”

* Clarke's Travels, p. 36.

The distinguished Platon, the late metropolitan of Moscow, who was perhaps the most learned, and assuredly the most liberal-minded, divine Russia ever could boast, frequently dined with the military governor of that city. The governor, aware that his guest was rather a *bon-vivant*, and that during the fasts he did not much relish the prescribed diet, by a very simple process, as it is said, converted flesh into fish, and relieved, or rather prevented, all the metropolitan's scruples. The servant having placed a dish of good *animal soup* before the old man, the governor said, this is *fish soup*. The divine crossed himself, said *Amen*, and immediately partook of it. In the same manner, when delicate veal was served up, the governor said, this is sturgeon, or sterlet: the *Amen* was repeated, and the contents of the plate disappeared.

Among some old English authors we have much quaint and curious information respecting the people in question.

“As touching their behauieur and quality,” says Fletcher, “otherwise they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those means that some other nations haue to traine vp their wittes in good nurture and learning.” Speaking of their government, he says, “Which the people would hardely beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderstanding of God, and good policie. This causeth the Emperours to keep out all meanes of

making it better, and to be very warie for excluding all peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were less to bee disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For as themselves are verie hardlie and cruellie dealte withall by their chiefe magistrates, and other superiours, so are they as cruel one against another, specially ouer their inferiours, and such as under them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christianoe* (as they call him) that stoupeth and croucheth like a dogge to the gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant where he hath the aduantage.” — “And yet it may bee doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie or intemperancie that is vsed in that countrie. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule, and not to bee named. The whole countrie ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kinde. And no marueile, as hauing no lawe to restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vncleannesse of life.” — “As for the truth of his word, the *Russe*, for the most part, maketh small regard of it, so he may gaine by a lie, and breache of his promise. And it may be saide truely (as they know best that haue traded most with them), that from the great to the small (except some fewe that will scarcely be founde) the *Russe* neither beleeueth any thing that an other man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthie to be beleeued.” *

* Of the *Rvsse* Common Wealth, p. 115, 116. 1591.

According to Milton, "they have no learning, nor will suffer to be among them; their greatest friendship is in drinking; they are great talkers, lyars, flatterers, and dissemblers." *

According to Crull, "the *Muscovites* are a people of great wit, learning, and dexterity, not wanting ingenuity in any thing they undertake;" — "but they are withal exceedingly proud, jealous, and insolent; besides that, they are addicted to drunkenness beyond any other nation in the world." "The clergy as well as the laity, the women as well as the men, young and old, of what quality or degree soever, have their share in it." † "Fornication is look'd upon among them as a slender trespass; and though they don't permit public stews, yet they are not very backward in doing one another a kindness, especially when they are flush'd with liquor. They don't count it adultery for married people to have secret conversations with one another; adultery is not committed here, unless a man marry another man's wife." ‡

The general justice of the following account must be evident to all: "Plusieurs écrivains," says Manstein, "ont avancé, que les Russes, avant le règne de Pierre I. étoient généralement plongés dans l'ignorance la plus grossière, et que c'étoient

* A Brief History of Moscovia, by John Milton, p. 21. 1682.

† The Antient and Present State of Muscovy, by J. Crull, M.D. p. 140. 143. 1698.

‡ Idem. p. 149.

des hommes qui ne différoient guère de brutes, ce qui est entièrement faux.” — “ En général les Russes ne manquent pas d’esprit. Les soins de Pierre I. pour civiliser la nation, ne se sont jamais étendus jusqu’au bourgeois, ou jusqu’au paysans ; cependant on n’a qu’à se donner la peine d’interroger un homme de cette classe, on trouvera presque toujours qu’il a du bon sens et du jugement. Bien entendu qu’il ne faut pas l’interroger sur des matières relatives à son gouvernement ou à sa religion ; parceque sur ces choses il reste toujours imbu des préjugés de son enfance ; mais sur tout le reste il répondra avec justesse, il marquera beaucoup de capacité pour comprendre tout ce qu’on lui propose, il saura facilement trouver des expédiens pour se tirer d’affaire, et il saisira avec une sorte de sagacité les meilleures occasions pour arriver a son bout. Enfin j’ai toujours trouvé plus d’intelligence chez les gens de peuple en Russie qu’on n’en trouve communément chez les gens de leur état, dans les autres pays de l’Europe.” *

Nearly two years ago I made one of a numerous party at the solemnisation of a fête given by a nobleman in honour of his lady’s name’s-day. I was introduced to an officer who was a relation of a gentleman present, with whom he had been living, and who had exceeded the time allowed him of absence. While he related this circumstance to

* Mémoires Historiques, Politiques, et Militaires, sur la Russie, par le Général de Manstein, p. 582, 583.

me, he seemed quite indifferent, and he then added : — “ You will be so kind as to give me a certificate of bad health, and that I have been under your treatment.” I made every evasive answer ; but, at length, when importuned, I gave a flat denial. I now thought the matter was ended ; but I was soon afterwards called to an adjoining room by a friend of the officer’s, who obligingly offered to write the certificate, and requested that I would *merely sign it*. I openly refused compliance, and my answer produced some coldness. The gentleman leaving the room, by way of taunt, said, “ I find *you are an Englishman*,” and I never felt so flattered by the compliment. I afterwards learned, however, that my certificate would have been of no use to him, as I was neither in the military nor the civil service. Such certificates must have the signature of a district-surgeon, or of the nearest regimental surgeon. On proper application and payment of the usual fee,—or present, as it is generally called,—the gentleman easily procured the certificate he wanted. Such things daily occur.

Another officer, for whom I have a very great regard, was taken ill in the country, and also exceeded the prescribed time of return to his regiment. He became my patient, but knowing the rules of the service in such a case he never spoke to me about a certificate. Having written a few lines to the proper surgeon, and enclosed a *douceur*, he despatched a servant with his letter, to

the distance of twenty miles. In the evening the man returned with the desired testimonial. The *evidence* of a red bank note had been of more consequence than an examination of the patient.

A titled lady, though not very rich, has long been known at Moscow for her attentions to English females in want of situations as governesses in Russian families. She is never without a companion, and has sometimes two or three extra boarders. Her house has become — like the *marts* for servants in London, — the office of address, both for the applications of nobles and of females. I say females, because one half, nay, perhaps, three fourths of the British governesses in Russia, have been cooks, chambermaids, &c. who have risen to a rank which they could fill nowhere but in the north. I must, at the same time, allow, that there are a few well-educated, and really genteel ladies, who have devoted themselves to the same occupation, and who are not always sufficiently distinguished from their less worthy competitors. The same observation, as is well known, holds with regard to the other foreigners, as Germans and French, who are entrusted with the education of female youth. The extraordinary personages who frequently have the youth of the male sex committed to their inspection and guidance, have been sufficiently spoken of by different authors. But it is time to return to the subject of our story. The lady in question, I have not the

smallest doubt, has been of service to many individuals, some of whom were deserving of her protection, while others were not. But what will be the surprise of the reader, on learning that the said titled lady accepts of presents from her *protégées*, after they have got places; and that this is well understood between the parties. The lady, moreover, accomplishes another object, for she is not fond of being alone, and, by the succession of females who are in search of places, she has constantly a companion, without being obliged to pay her other salary than that of supporting her, and for which she expects a return. This is a kind of *bartering of charity or hospitality*, which is far from noble, and but ill accords with British ideas.

In The Character of the Russians, after treating at some length of the shocking state of various departments of the government of Russia, I have concluded in these words: “It may be said, that the whole system of the administration of Russia is like *the tissue of a decayed spider’s web*, or rather *like the centre of an immense wheel held together by rotten spokes*: corruption supports corruption, rottenness props rottenness; and this explains how the machine still continues its onward progress. Should a *slight concussion* be received in one part, there is a *sympathy* of the rest, by which its force is uniformly diffused throughout the whole, and no single part gives way; for when one part gives

way the whole will fall ; and that apparently will not happen until liberty gives a death-blow to despotism.” * In another part of the same work I have said, “that the pitiable state of the merchants is deeply entwined with the woefully corrupt administration and the political condition of the empire, and that it forms one of the rotten spokes of one of the rotten wheels which have hitherto kept the mighty rotten machine in motion.” †

This language is strong, but I would ask if it can be contradicted? Does not this very work contain numerous proofs of the fidelity of the picture? And was it not well known to the world before my work appeared. Mr. James says, “There is another evil no less injurious to morality, and no less destructive of the powers of industry (than slavery), that it will be found far more difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. There exists a system of bribery and corruption throughout every public department that exceeds all belief. It is a mischief, no doubt, inseparable from the principle of a despotic government, and has been felt here from ages the most remote.” While in Russia, I have often mentioned in public that which I have since stated in my writings,—that the attention of the Emperor ought to be turned to the state of civil administration ; and, by a communication from Hamburgh, dated April 17th,

* Character of the Russians, p.cxliv. † Ibid. p.cxxx.

1824, exactly four months after the publication of "The Character of the Russians," it appears that his Imperial Majesty has seriously begun the reformation. In this letter it is said, "The motives are now known which have induced the Russian government to convoke a certain number of the governors of provinces at St. Petersburg. Those who have most experience in such matters have been assembled in the capital, in order to know their opinion on the projected changes in the organisation of the administration of the Russian empire. There have been several sittings, in which these changes have been discussed. The result of these deliberations is, that the changes ought not to be introduced simultaneously, but successively, and that they must be prepared for a longer or shorter period, according to the situation and internal state of each government. The reforms that are projected are very extensive. We understand that most of the intended changes have been introduced into the government of Orél.

"Immediately after the close of the above conferences, a great number of new governors were named. There have not only been many changes, but also new appointments. It is observed, that several of the governors who were present at the conferences have been changed, and sent as superior civil governors to those provinces where the new organisation is to be introduced immediately."

Every reformation must have a beginning, how-

ever remote may be the period destined for its complete execution, and although, during the reign of Alexander, the most sanguine cannot anticipate a great change in a system founded on the corruption of the human heart, rivetted by long custom, and necessitated by small salaries; yet, centuries hence, the name of that sovereign may be associated with a code of laws, which history will mark as the brightest monument of his government.

In The spring of 1822, a gentleman, now residing near London, after a short stay at Moscow, resolved to set off on his travels to the south. Every thing had been arranged for his departure; even his passport and his *podorójné* had been received. A short time before he entered his travelling carriage, and while I was in conversation with him, a police officer, of whom he knew nothing, entered the apartment. My friend was exceedingly surprised, and even confounded. Unable to speak to the officer, he begged me to ask what he wanted. Though I understood the object of his visit, I hearkened to his speech. The *Kvartálnik* (district police-officer) now prayed me to tell my friend, that he had called upon him, as he resided in his quarter, and as he understood he was about to commence his travels, in order to offer his services, if they could be at all useful in assisting arrangements; and if not, as was customary, to wish him a good journey. I translated all the *Kvartálnik*

said, which heightened his surprise. I then told him, he had better shake hands with the *Kvartálnik*, accompany the grasp with a silver rouble, and bid him adieu. The *Kvartálnik* instantly made a polite low bow, and withdrew. This is one of the modes which the police have of augmenting their income, not merely among travellers and foreigners, but likewise among their countrymen. The *Kvartálnik* alluded to above, in whose district I also resided, to my certain knowledge, kept an excellent table, and a *droshki* and pair of horses for a beloved concubine, at the time the above circumstance happened.

Even the common watchmen (*Bútushniki*) have many ways of disturbing the inhabitants of towns. As there generally live three together in small houses erected at the necessary places, and keep watch night and day in their turn, so they know of almost every thing that passes within the limits of their assigned range. They have the means of receiving, or of obtaining, almost by compulsion, many trifling *douceurs*, or, as it is termed in Russ, *dengi na Vodtki*, i. e. drink-money. They complain that your servants have not cleaned the street or the pavement opposite your house; that quantities of snow, which have collected by drifting, must be carried away; that the pipes which convey the rain-water from the house are in want of repair; and such like things, and they will threaten to make a report to the *Kvartálnik*. But a trifle puts

all to rights, and if any thing is really not in order, the watchman sometimes assists in the necessary change; but, generally, the *dengi na vodtki* being pocketed, all complaint ceases, and things remain *in statu quo*.

One day last summer, I called upon an acquaintance, and while speaking with him a *Bútushnik* was announced. Having entered the room by my friend's desire, he said he had come to make a complaint: — "Your people," said he, "who are taking out rubbish, in laying it down upon the street, have exceeded the boundaries which the police allows." My friend, aware of the fact, replied, "Well, my good fellow, that shall soon be remedied." He ordered a servant to give the watchman a glass of *vodtki*, and put a ten *kopeek* silver-piece (not four-pence) into his hand, when he politely returned thanks and walked off, his object having been gained. The rubbish lay all day in the same place, but no complaint was repeated.

In all the towns of Russia, upon making certain arrangements, house-proprietors are exempted from providing quarters for soldiers. All houses, so privileged, display an ensign with the words "*Svobodna ot Post*," i. e. exempt from soldiers' quarters. Those whose property had not obtained such exemption, and at times even those who had, have been oppressed in a manner that exceeds all belief. I know those upon whom ten, twenty, and

even thirty soldiers have been billeted, if I may so speak, at once ; a simple notice having a short time preceded their arrival. Indeed it has happened that even less ceremony has been used. Scarcely had a gentleman and his servants expressed their surprise on seeing a number of soldiers drawn up in the court-yard, when the accompanying under-officer entered the house with an order for quarters for the whole, and, before an answer was given, asked where they were to be placed. On showing surprise, and demanding a little time for preparations, the grossest insolence and abuse followed, and the soldiers entered the house, saying they would make good their quarters. While they lodged in it they uselessly consumed such quantities of wood and candles as caused a serious expense. Speaking was vain, and reproof was useless, to these Russians, who are excessively fond of warm chambers, heated like stoves, and who could procure this enjoyment by a little exertion, and at no expense. To have complained to the police would have been equally futile, unless a present had accompanied the complaint; and this present might have equalled, if not exceeded, the unnecessary waste of fuel or candles.

The gradations of rank which exist in Russia have been forcibly alluded to by many writers, and very generally either in terms of reprobation or of derision. Though such nice distinctions may have had, and still have, a considerable degree of utility

in a despotic country, especially in facilitating the steps of any department of its administration, yet it must be granted that they have also had a baneful influence upon society. They seem to be held up as the *summum bonum* of exertion, of talent, and of life: they have taken the place of virtue, of morality, and of religion, in the estimation of human character, and have thus done away the strongest excitements to intellectual refinement, to the cultivation of arts and sciences, and to the practice of moral and religious duties.

The badges of the Russian orders, — ribbons, crosses, medals, and cordons, — are so common as to astonish almost all foreigners. They at first believe they are meeting distinguished individuals at every step, and at length are ready to conclude that it is a mark of distinction to be without any *insignia* of rank.

An enumeration of the titles and addresses used in Russia, will give the reader considerable information as to the political constitution of this country.

Besides the titles of prince, count, baron, general, admiral, &c. which have been borrowed from foreign languages, some others are peculiar to it. The following are the chief titles and terms of address : —

Imperátor,	-	Emperor.
Imperatritsa,	-	Empress.
Tsar, -	-	King or Sovereign.
Tsarítsa,	-	Queen.

Gosudár (masc.),	-	Monarch.
Gosudárina (fem.),		Ditto.
Tsarévitch,	-	Son of the Tsar.
Tsarévna,	-	Daughter of the Tsar.
Velíkii Kniaz,	-	Great Duke.
Velíka Kniagínya,		Great Duchess.
Kniaz,	-	Prince.
Kniagínya,	-	Princess.
Graph,	-	Count.
Graphínya,	-	Countess.
Velítchestvo,	-	Majesty.
Visótkhestvo,	-	Highness.
Siátelstvo,	-	Prince, literally Splendour.
Visokoprevoshodítelstvo,		This term, which can only be rendered in English by High Excellency, is applied to the first and second classes of the nobles.
Prevoshodítelstvo,		Excellency. Given to nobles of the third and fourth classes.
Visokoródiyé,	-	This term is applied to nobles of the fifth class, and is a degree inferior to Excellency.
Visokoblaghoródiye,		Very Noble, or Nobleness: belongs to officers of high rank.
Blaghoródiyé,	-	Noble, Nobleness. This is the lowest title of noble rank; it is given to inferior officers, and is often bestowed by way of compliment.
Gospodín,	-	Sir.
Gospója,	-	Madam.
Gosudár,*	-	Sir.

* I know not by what chance this word came to signify emperor, and also to be applied to the meanest noble or person in the realm. It is seen on the back of every letter, except those of the peasants and slaves, and is generally preceded by the adjective *milostívií*, and is then equal to Gracious Sir. If a letter is sent to an equal it begins thus: "To the gracious Sir, Mr. ———; and if to a superior, To *my* gracious Sir, Mr. ———.

Gosudárina,	-	Madam.
Bárin,	-	Master, Proprietor, Gentleman.
Bárina,	-	Mistress, &c.
Batúshka,	}	Terms of courtesy, vide p. 255. and p. 259. Notes, of this Volume.
Matúshka,		
Tainii Sovétnik,	-	Privy Counsellor.
Kolléjskii Sovétnik,		Counsellor of the College.
Nadvórnii Sovétnik,		Court, or Aulic Counsellor.
Titulárnii Sovétnik,		Titular Counsellor.

The ranks in the army and navy are nearly the same as those of other countries, and words corresponding to colonel, captain, lieutenant, &c. are to be found in the Russian language. Military titles form the standard of rank in Russia, and, it may almost be said, of merit or demerit. Those of prince, count, &c. confer little distinction, without some military rank, or at least some *military title*; for many civil officers are generals, captains, &c. who never were in the military or the naval service.

Among the clergy we find metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, *archimandrites*, monks, priests, &c., and the following addresses are used to discriminate them:—

Visokoprëosviatschéntstvo,		Most Reverend Lordship. This address is used for metropolitans, or archbishops.
Preosviatchénstvo,	-	Eminence; Lordship: applied to bishops.
Visokoprepodóbiyé,		Very Reverend: bestowed on abbots, and priors of convents.
Prepodóbiyé,	-	Reverend: given to monks and priests.

Since the days of Paul, the clergy have received civil rank, so that it is very common to find the cross of Christ and the cross of a Russian order suspended together from the neck.

The merchants are divided into three guilds * according to their declared capital. The most distinguished take the title of *Kommertchéskii Sovétnik*, or counsellor of commerce, and wear its badge of honour, a large medal, suspended round the neck by a blue ribbon. All the merchants are addressed as *Gospodíns*, or Sirs, and so are the simple *Mestchanins*, or burghesses.

The peasants are addressed simply thus : John the son of James (*Iván Yakovlévitch*). But, contrary to the assertion of some travellers, they have a family name, which is used on necessary occasions, as in law deeds, contracts, &c. The Emperor may be addressed in the same words as the meanest peasant of the empire (whose name is the same), simply Alexander Pávlovitch, or Alexander the son of Paul ; and nothing is so polite as this mode of address, nor is so much cherished by the natives of all ranks.

It is a fact now generally known, that, according to his rank in life, a person is permitted to drive certain kinds of carriages, and a certain number of horses, and at one period the laws were rigidly observed, so that a man's rank was known by his

* Vide Character of the Russians, p. 273.

equipage. The same laws still exist, but they are not strictly adhered to ; great toleration being allowed by the present government.

To so great a length did the attention to rank and titles extend about twenty years ago, that the address of every letter was examined at the post-office before being received. If any address was found deficient in the full title of the individual, or if the smallest error was remarked, the letter was returned to be enclosed in another envelope, according to the custom of the country, and addressed anew. At length the address of a letter absolutely became a sort of narrative of the individual to whom it was sent, and required some time to be read.* No such troublesome and inconvenient punctilio is now observed.

* To this day the same practice exists with respect to any public deeds. A single example will suffice. In a *podórojnë* which we received from Count Langeron at Odéssa, and which I preserve, only ten lines (one half written) relate to its object, while sixteen printed lines are occupied in telling us about the General. As it is really a curiosity, I shall give a translation of the part alluded to, *verbatim et literatim*, with the words as nearly in the same order as their sense will permit. — “ Of His Most Gracious Majesty the Gosudár ; the General of infantry in the suite of His Majesty ; Military Governor of Khersón ; acting as civil governor of Khersón, Yekaterinoslaf, and the Taurida ; Chief Commander of the town of Odéssa, and of all the commercial ports of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoph, and of the frontiers ; Chevalier of the orders of St. Andrew ; of St. Alexander Névskii ornamented with brilliants ; of St. George, large cross, second rank ; of St. Vladimir, first rank ; of St. Ann, first rank ; of the Austrian order Maria Theresa, third class ; of

The following anecdote will illustrate the homage which some of the nobles expect.

A physician who, many years ago, resided in one of the governments of the interior of Russia, with a very rich and distinguished nobleman, was more characterised for his professional talents and good sense than for attention to the punctilio, and the unmeaning compliments which are so highly valued in the northern empire, and which very often make up for all deficiencies of knowledge in the healing art. Though by no means wanting in good manners, or the respect due to elevated rank, he had the misfortune to offend his employer in a manner which we Britons should suppose somewhat singular, had it happened between a nobleman and a physician in this country.

My friend made his morning visit, as usual, to the noble, who gave him a severe reprimand, expressed in very violent terms, because he had not saluted him with a more respectful bow, — “*a lower bow*,” — on entering his room.

The subsequent anecdote illustrates the treatment medical men at times receive from the Rus-

the French order of St. Lewis; of the Prussian orders of the Black and Red Eagle, large cross; of the Swedish order of the Sword, first class; of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and of the American Sinsinatus; having a golden sword with an inscription for bravery, and medals for the storm of Ismail, and for the year 1812.

(Signed)

“Count LANGERON.”

sian nobles, and was recounted to me by a gentleman, formerly a resident in Russia. He was engaged to go to that country as physician to a nobleman, a descendant of one of the highest families in the empire. Having arrived at Petersburg, he entered a vast and magnificent palace, in which he was splendidly entertained, and was led to form the most agreeable predictions with respect to the comfort of his situation. Judge then of his astonishment in the evening, after the descent of a number of stairs, when he found himself lodged in the *sousbasement*, which is generally occupied by the servants, or at least a part of them, in the houses of the nobility in Russia. After gazing all round a small dirty apartment, which was dignified with the appellation of a *spalnya*, or bed-room, and being quite disgusted, my friend knew not what to do, as the family, with whom he spoke French, had retired to bed, and he could not hold any communication, except by signs, with the servant who had accompanied him. However revolting to his feelings, he therefore determined to pass one night in the said *bed-room*, and then to make a representation. He went to bed, but not to sleep, for the privacy of his apartment was soon disagreeably intruded upon by formidable enemies, who made their approaches on all sides, and traversed the bed in every direction. After vainly attempting to set them at defiance, he put himself upon the defensive, and by a vigorous use of a cane which he

fortunately had at hand, he convinced himself that the enemies with whom he had to contend were rats, and put them to flight for the moment, but they retreated only to renew the contest each time that he had begun to compose himself to sleep, and the night was passed in a state of constant warfare with these unwelcome intruders.

Dr. Clarke says, "the etiquette of precedence, so rigorously observed at a Russian table, prevails also in the order of the dishes and bottles arranged for the guests. In barbarous times we had something like it in England. Perhaps the custom is not even now quite extinct in Wales; it is preserved in large farm-houses in remote parts of England, where all the family, from the master to the lowest menial, sit down to the same table. The choicest dishes are carefully placed at the upper end, and are handed to those guests who sit near the owner of the mansion, according to the order in which they sit; afterwards, if any thing remains, it is taken gradually to the rest. Thus a degree in precedence makes all the difference between something and nothing to eat; for persons at the bottom of the table are often compelled to rest satisfied with an empty dish. It is the same with regard to the wines; the best are placed near the top of the table, but, in proportion as the guests are removed from the post of honour, the wine before them diminishes in quality, until at last it degenerates into simple *quass*. Few things can offer more re-

pugnance to the feelings of an Englishman than the example of a wealthy glutton pouring forth eulogiums upon the choice wines he has placed before a stranger, merely out of ostentation, while a number of brave officers and dependants are sitting by him to whom he is unable to offer a single glass. I sometimes essayed a violation of this barbarous custom, by taking the bottle placed before me and filling the glasses of those below ; but the offer was generally refused through fear of giving offence by acceptance, and it was a mode of conduct which I found could not be tolerated, even by the most liberal host. At a Russian table two tureens of soup usually make their appearance, as we often see them in England ; but if a stranger should ask for that which is placed at the bottom of the table, the master of the house regards him with dismay, the rest all gaze at him with wonder, and when he tastes what he has obtained, he finds it to be a mess of dirty and abominable broth, stationed for those who never venture to ask for soup from the upper end of the table.” *

This statement seems to be a mixture of truth and caricature. With respect to precedence, the wines, and the dishes, the general account is quite correct. I have repeatedly seen the meats, pastry, and fruit fall short of serving the whole party ; but this is not always the case. I have often remarked

* Clarke's Travels, p. 634.

that some of the dependants received an inferior wine or none at all. I do not know any thing of two tureens of soup being placed upon the table in Russia, where all the dishes are handed round by the servants. When there are two kinds of soup the individual generally has his choice; for if he refuses the first kind the second is brought to him. The "*dirty and abominable broth*" to which Dr. Clark alludes, was most likely *stchi*, or sour cabbage soup, which is a favourite dish of the Russians, and although its odour is not the most agreeable, it is highly relished by foreigners after a short residence in their country.

I had an intention of making some remarks on the climate of Russia, especially of Moscow, but they would extend to too great a length for these volumes. I have chosen, however, the representation of an ice palace for the vignette of this chapter, which I shall now proceed to explain.

The works of Parry, Lyon, and others, of late, have made the public familiar with the ice houses of the inhabitants of the polar regions, and the ice palace which was constructed at Petersburg in the year 1740, has been frequently noticed in several books, and especially by chemical writers. Yet, to my knowledge, no view or complete and accurate description of that palace has been given to the British public. I therefore think that a short account of this edifice may amuse the general reader, while it may be referred to by the philo-

sopher as a curious illustration of the power of cold, and the density and application of ice. I have taken the following description, and the view of the ice palace with its appendages, from the work of Kraft, the celebrated academician, which was published the year after its erection.* From the author's statement it appears that, seven years anterior to the erection of the palace in question, an ice castle and garrison had been built upon the river Néva. But the ice bent under their weight and that of the soldiers who guarded them. At the whimsical marriage of Prince Gallitsin†, it was resolved to erect a palace of ice, and to avoid the same occurrence, a situation between the Admiralty and the Winter-Palace was chosen for its foundation on *terra firma*, and Mr. A. D. Tatístchef, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was instructed to superintend the execution of the scheme according to a regular plan. It may be difficult to determine whether the expenses of the erection of this ice palace, or the purpose for which it was destined, as the temporary residence

* The small work in quarto is entitled *Podlinnoyé i obstoyatelnoyé postroennaho iv Sanktpeterburché iv Genvaré Mesiatse*, 1740. *Ledianaho Doma*, &c. ; or, A True and Particular Account of the Ice House built at St. Petersburg in the Month of January 1740 ; by George Kraft, Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and Professor of Physics. Printed at the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1741.

† Vide Tooke's Catherine II.

of the Prince already mentioned and his bride, demonstrated the highest degree of folly.

The ice palace was constructed of blocks of ice cut out of the winter covering of the Néva, which were from two to three feet in thickness, according to necessity. Being properly formed and adjusted to each other, water was poured between them, which, being soon frozen, acted the part of cement ; so that the whole edifice, with its furniture, may be said to have consisted of one immense mass of ice.

The length of the edifice was fifty-six, its breadth seventeen and a half, and its height twenty-one feet. It was constructed according to the strictest rules of art, and was adorned with a portico, columns, and statues. It consisted of a single story, whose front was provided with a door and fourteen windows, the frames of the latter, as well as the panes, being all formed of ice. The sides of the doors and of the windows were painted in imitation of green marble.

On each side of the door was a dolphin, from the mouths of which, by means of naphtha, volumes of flame were emitted in the evening. Next to them were two mortars, equal to eighty-pounders, from which many bombs were thrown, a quarter of a pound of powder being used for each charge. On each side of the mortars stood three canons, equal to three-pounders, mounted upon carriages and with wheels, which were often used. In the presence of a number of persons attached to the

court, a bullet was driven through a board two inches thick, at the distance of sixty paces, by one of these cannon ; a quarter of a pound of powder being also used for a charge.

The interior of the edifice had no ceiling, and consisted of a lobby and two large apartments ; one on each side, which were well furnished and painted in the most elegant manner, though merely formed of ice, Tables, chairs, statues, looking-glasses, candlesticks, watches, and other ornaments, besides tea-dishes, tumblers, wine-glasses, and even plates with provisions, were seen in one apartment, also formed of ice and painted of their natural colours ; while in the other was remarked a state-bed with curtains, bed, pillows, and bed-clothes, two pairs of slippers, and two night-caps of the same cold material.*

Behind the cannon, the mortars, and the dolphins, stretched a low balustrade. On each side of the building was a small entrance, pots with flowers, and orange trees, partly formed of ice and partly natural, on which birds sat. Beyond these were erected two icy pyramids. On the right of one of them stood an elephant, which was hollow, and so contrived as to throw out burning naphtha, while a person within it, by means of a tube, imitated the natural cries of this animal. On

* Kraft's Work contains two views of the interior of the ice palace.

the left of the other pyramid was seen the never-failing concomitant of all princely dwellings in Russia, a *banya*, or bath, apparently formed of barks, which is said to have been sometimes heated, and even to have been appropriated to use.

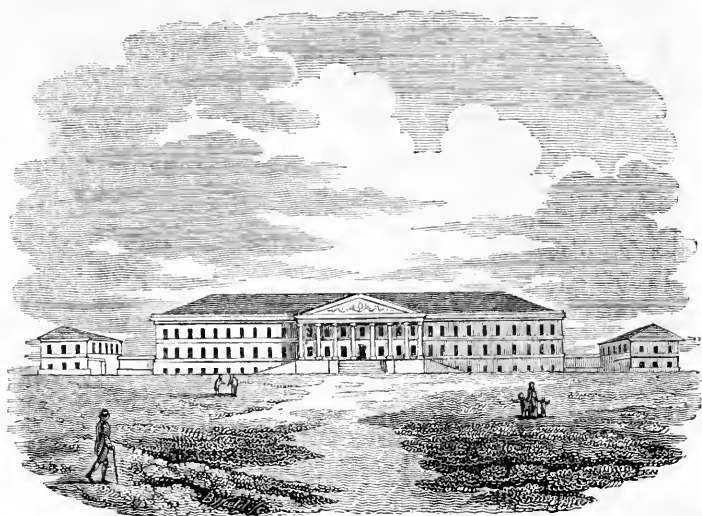
The appearance of the ice palace, it is said, was remarkably splendid when lighted up in the evening with numerous candles. Amusing transparencies were usually suspended in the windows to increase the effect, and the emission of flames by the dolphins and the elephant, all tended to excite greater surprise, while the people beheld the crystalline mass.

As was naturally to be expected, crowds of visitors were continually seen around this fantastic and unique construction, which remained entire from the beginning of January almost to the middle of March. At the end of the latter month, however, the glassy fabric began to melt, and soon afterwards it was broken into pieces which were conveyed to the Imperial ice-cellar.

I have elsewhere described every object at Moscow worthy of notice, and even represented the most remarkable as they existed in 1822. By communications from Russia, I find that immense improvements are still going on in that capital, and that the newly-repaired, or rather rebuilt, theatre is one of the finest edifices in the world. It is of a huge size, and has a most magnificent appearance. The gardens of Alexander are still more

imposing than when I described them. Palaces and houses are rising or repairing in all quarters of the city.* Indeed Moscow is gradually recovering from her misfortune. May heaven grant her prosperity, and her people advancement in civilisation, with all its concomitant blessings.

* The reader will find a description of the church of Our Saviour, which is to be erected on the Sparrow-hill, in p. 484. of the Appendix.



CHAP. XXIV.

CIVIL AND MILITARY HOSPITALS IN RUSSIA. — MARY'S HOSPITAL AT PETERSBURGH. — NAVAL HOSPITALS. — DIVISIONS OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT IN RUSSIA. — SIR ALEXANDER CRICHTON. — DR. LEIGHTON. — SIR JAMES WYLIE, BART. — OUTLINES OF HIS LIFE. — PHYSICAL CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS. — TOOKE'S OPINION. — DR. CLARKE'S OPINION. — MR. JAMES' OPINION. — DEPARTURE FROM MOSCOW. — THE KHERSÓN GATES AT NÓVGOROD. — MILITARY COLONISATION. — NEW ROAD BETWEEN PETERSBURGH AND MOSCOW. — THE ESTABLISHMENT OF *DILIGENCES*. — PETERSBURGH. — CONCLUSION.

IT is impossible to travel through Russia without being forcibly struck with the fine appearance of many hospitals, both civil and military. They are

numerous in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and are generally built in an excellent style of architecture, combining as much ornament as is necessary for, and consistent with, utility. They do great credit to the nation, and especially to the Emperor Alexander, who has been most liberal towards their endowment, and is always watchful of their state. His visits are frequent, and often unexpected, and he takes great pleasure in their improvement.

In "The Character of the Russians, &c." I have described all the principal hospitals of Moscow, as Paul's, Galítsin's, Sheremétov's, Catherine's, &c. and especially the chief military hospital. Most of those structures are of immense size, and are well arranged. At Petersburg the military hospitals are particularly well organised, and the hospital of the Dowager Empress Mary might serve as a model for such establishments throughout the world, whether we regard its exterior appearance or its internal arrangement. In order that the reader may have a general idea of the architecture of such institutions, whether civil or military, I have caused a representation of the last-mentioned hospital to be engraved as the vignette of the present chapter. The best hospitals are built of brick, but many of them are also constructed of wood, and it is not uncommon to find an assemblage of one story structures in lieu of one large edifice, especially in the interior of the empire.

The naval hospitals are not such fine structures

in general as those mentioned, except at Petersburg. Those at Cronstadt are of great size, but of a very plain appearance, and their interior, as well as their management, admits of great improvement.

In Russia there are three chiefs of corresponding divisions of the Medical department, the *Civil*, the *Military*, and the *Naval*, and it is remarkable that, till very lately, they were all Britons.

The distinguished Sir Alexander Crichton was at the same time chief of the Civil division, and physician to the Emperor and the Dowager Empress. He attempted to introduce many improvements, but was not completely successful. The fault, however, was not his, but arose from the general state of the country, and the prejudices and stubbornness of the natives. He commenced a reformation which it is to be hoped will be completed. He is succeeded by Dr. Rehman, a German physician, who had influence enough to obtain the appointment, even though opposed by Sir James Wylie.

Though Dr. Leighton is chief of the Naval division, I have heard, that almost all the hospitals are greatly in want of new arrangements. I have no doubt that this gentleman finds it very difficult to make alterations, and perhaps he has learned by experience that the best way of acting is to receive his salary and let the Russians go on their own way. There is some wisdom in this, because the man who wishes to make great improvements, un-

less under the immediate inspection of the Emperor, or of a few well-known, spirited, liberal, and well-informed individuals, runs the risk of being not only laughed at and opposed, but also of becoming the object of intrigue and abuse.

Dr. Leighton is one of those men to whom fate has been extremely propitious since his arrival at Petersburg. A very short time after he reached this city, he had the good fortune to be called to visit the lady of Admiral Tchitchagof, who was very ill during her *confinement*. The ignorance, or the negligence, of the other medical attendants was of great use to the Doctor, who by timely venesection at once relieved his patient's suffering, and she became a mother. In this manner he gained the Admiral's protection and recommendation, which, with his own assiduity and success, soon brought him into great practice as an accoucheur. Indeed he has long had the best practice in this department at Petersburg, and it is said that he has amassed a considerable fortune.

Sir James Wylie, who is chief of the Military division, is one of the most notorious and most powerful individuals in Russia. His career has been extraordinary, and well illustrates what fate seems to have propitiously destined for some of her favourites. With no very brilliant medical talents, with but very moderate scientific acquirements, and with much singularity and little refinement of manners, Sir James Wylie has risen

from the most obscure parentage to be the first medical person in the Russian empire. His parents were well known on the banks of the Forth and of the Clyde, and obtained notoriety on account of their son's elevation. The good old folks performed their duty to him in his youth, and furnished him the means of getting a medical education at the university of Edinburgh, at the conclusion of which he went to Russia. After his arrival at Petersburg, he entered the army, and combined the duty of surgeon and tutor to one of the sons of Colonel Fenshaw, to whose regiment he belonged. He was afterwards stationed for some time at Moscow, and then in the interior of the empire, with a noble family. Through the interest of the late Dr. Rogerson, he was appointed operator at the court, and I believe he retained this situation while he also lived in the family of Count Strógonof. A new and important epoch of his life approached, and the whim of the Emperor Paul led to his rise in life. This monarch had raised one of his lowest attendants to the rank of Count, and had bestowed upon him an ample fortune in money and property. Count Kutăışof*, for this was the said Count's name, was seized with a violent inflammation of the fore part of the neck, that terminated in a large abscess, by which his Excellency endured great pain and extreme difficulty of respira-

* See his history in the Life of Catherine II.

ation. Indeed he was threatened with suffocation. The patient was attended by a number of the first medical men at court, who never thought of the only means of relief, the opening of the abscess. In the extremity of his disease, some friend advised the Count to send for Dr. Wylie in the middle of the night. On his arrival this gentleman opened the tumour, and an immense quantity of matter was evacuated; the pain of tension was at once relieved, and the pressure upon the *trachea*, or windpipe, being removed, the breathing became natural. In an instant Count Kutäisof was restored to comparative health. On the following morning, Paul, as usual, sent to enquire respecting the Count's state, and was astonished at the above relation. Paul then sent for Dr. Wylie, and appointed him to attend the court as physician.

After Count Kutäisof's recovery, and Sir James Wylie's advancement, it was jocularly reported, that "*Dr. Wylie had made his fortune by cutting Count Kutäisof's throat.*" This anecdote may be heard repeated almost every morning throughout the year at Sir J. Wylie's levee, with all the peculiarity and *naïveté* which characterise this gentleman.

Some other cases, equally fortunate for Sir James Wylie, soon afterwards occurred; so in truth it may be said, that he rose upon the ignorance or stupidity of his contemporaries. His good fortune

made him the subject of numerous plans to accomplish his ruin, but he defeated them all by extreme watchfulness, assiduity, and interest.

After Paul's death, and Alexander's ascent to the throne, Sir James Wylie still preserved his place, and has successively been appointed his Majesty's Body-Surgeon and Physician, Chief of the Military Medical Department, President of the Medico-Chirurgical Academy, &c., and has had numerous Russian and foreign orders conferred upon him. Besides, he has been chosen a member of almost all the learned societies in Russia, and also of a few in Great Britain and upon the Continent. In addition to all these distinctions, after sharing the dangers and the honours of the campaign in 1812-13, by particular request of the Emperor Alexander, he was knighted by the Prince Regent, on board one of his Majesty's ships at Portsmouth; Platóf's sword being used on the occasion. He was also made a Baronet of Great Britain. Since he became attached to the Emperor, he has accompanied his Majesty in almost all his journeys throughout Russia, as well as other countries.

Sir James Wylie was reckoned a good surgeon, and indeed was known as an expert and successful lithotomist, before his appointment as operator at court, and had acquired much reputation both at Moscow and Petersburg. Since his appointment to the head of the military department, he has been most assiduous in his duties, and has

much merit for having greatly raised the medical character, introduced numerous improvements into surgical practice, and re-organised the military hospitals. With the assistance of a number of the professors, he also composed a *Pharmacopœia*, which has had its use in that empire, though a work of little ingenuity or merit; and, unfortunately, the knight, in his ardour for the adoption of new names, has composed some almost the width of a page, than which nothing can be more ridiculous. A letter of mine, written by his desire, addressed to him, and published in the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, nearly nine years ago, points out the folly and the danger of a continual change of pharmaceutical nomenclature.

In consequence of the favour in which Sir J. Wylie is held, or is supposed to be held, by the Emperor, he has acquired much importance in affairs which do not belong to his department. Princes, generals, and officers of all ranks are daily seen at his levees, some of whom he treats in the most extraordinary manner, as if they were quite his dependants. But, as he has obtained a character for oddity and drollery, whether real or affected I shall not presume to determine, every liberty is excused. The protection of the Emperor, besides, is a shield against all complaints in a country where the degradation of despotism and slavery is still manifest in all ranks of society, at least to those

who have opportunities of witnessing their transactions when under no restraint.

Sir James Wylie has avoided private practice. He lives in his apartments in the Imperial palace, in the most economical, I might say niggardly, manner, and seldom or never pays for a dinner. If obliged to remain at home, I have been told that, soldier-like, he makes his repast on black bread and salt. But, in general, he goes, without invitation, to some acquaintance, either in the palace or in the city, and dines *en famille*, agreeably to the custom of the country. He has acquired considerable wealth, and has now the revenues of two *arends*, or estates, which the Emperor has bestowed upon him : but he is by no means so rich as many imagine.

Before quitting Russia, I may be expected to say something of the physical character of the natives, especially as the accounts of preceding writers are so extremely opposite. I shall illustrate this by some quotations.

Tooke, after telling us that the Russians are a moderate-sized, well-built, vigorous, and durable race of men, makes the following remarks :—

“ Easy as it is occasionally, by comparison, to discriminate the Russian by his outward make from other Europeans, it will, however, be found very difficult to point out the principal lineaments of the national physiognomy, as speaking features are

in general extremely rare. The following may be deemed common and characteristic: a small mouth, thin lips, white teeth, little eyes, a low forehead. The nose has a great variety of forms; it is most frequently seen to be small, and turned upwards. The beard is almost always very bushy; the colour of the hair varies through all the shades, from dark brown to red, but it is seldom quite black. The expression of the countenance is gravity, good-nature, and sagacity. Hearing and sight are usually very acute, but the other senses more or less obtuse by manner of living and climate. The gait and gestures of the body have a peculiar and often impassioned vivacity, partaking, even with the mere rustics, of a certain complaisance, and an engaging manner.” *

“ In the general appearance of features and countenance,” says Clarke, “ the *Russians* have nothing very characteristic; and, when their beards are cut off, as is the case with those who live as servants in the families of gentlemen, they could not be distinguished from Englishmen; but, in the dresses of the people, we are reminded of the inhabitants of some *Asiatic* towns, though perhaps in summer, when the robes, pelisses, and caps are not worn, the impression may be different.” †

Mr. James had very opposite ideas from Clarke. He states authoritatively, that “ the general cha-

* Tooke's View of the Russian Empire, vol. ii. p.252.

† Clarke's Travels. Scandinavia, p. 483. 1823.

acter of the Russian countenance differs as much from the European face, as the Mantshoo Tartar from the Mongol, or Chinese from the Hindu, and may be said to bear the same genuine character as the two former of these nations. The Russian face is marked by high broad cheek-bones, and a short triangular form of face.” *

On this occasion I am inclined to differ from Mr. James, and in a great measure to agree with Tooke and Clarke.

In the year 1823, I left Moscow for Petersburg. The road between the capitals has been described by many travellers. I shall therefore merely allude to its novelties and recent intelligence.

I have particularly described the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Nóvgorod in my Essay on Architecture in Russia†: and I may mention here, that the distinguished writer, Adelung, has published a thin quarto volume at Berlin, illustrated with plates, in which he gives his own opinion, and reports many facts to prove, that the famous Khersón gates, as they are called, of this temple, were made at Magdeburgh, towards the commencement of the 13th century, and satisfactorily explains the manner in which they received this appellation, without supposing that they were transported from ancient Khersón, in the Krimea.

* James's Journal of a Tour, &c. p.474. Note.

† Vide The Character of the Russians, &c. Appendix, p. 586.

Notwithstanding the general unpopularity of the system of military colonisation, which I have explained at length in a pamphlet, government seems determined on its prosecution. Three years ago, near Nóvgorod, there was a village called Trubit-china, which was destroyed, and Sviasi rose adjoining to its site. Of this military colony I have given the following description: “About forty houses are already constructed, all upon the same plan. They are one story high, and each has an elevated central ornament, like an additional story, penetrated by a semi-circular window. They form a line along the river Volchof, and have gardens and out-houses behind them. Their long façade, in the centre of which is a church, with its belfry, is towards the great road. As the houses are not immediately contiguous, this line is very extensive, and before it ranges of green plots are railed in; so that Sviasi really has a neat and imposing appearance, and is by far the most remarkable military colony I have seen. This establishment is to be further augmented.” *

The Herculean undertaking of MacAdamising the road between Moscow and Petersburg does the Emperor Alexander much credit, and will be a lasting monument of his reign. It was nearly completed between the residence and Nóvgorod

* Vide *An Account of the Organization, Administration, and Present State of the Military Colonies in Russia.*

in 1823, and since that period great advancement has been made.

The *Diligences* which now run daily between the capitals, prove an immense convenience.

Petersburgh has been well described by Storch, Svinin, and Mr. James. The last author, with justice, has called it “the fairest city of the world.” The magnificence of its streets, edifices, canals, &c. with the majestic Néva flowing between them, is not to be described. How much, therefore, is it to be lamented that the situation of the capital was so badly chosen. It has suffered enormously by inundations at different periods, but the dreadful catastrophe of 1824 ought to make the Russians think seriously of removing the seat of their government, and they never could have a better opportunity for so doing than at present. Who can tell that such another, or a greater, inundation may not take place next year, and every succeeding year? In that dreadful uncertainty, is it prudent to repair the capital, and to risk the lives and fortunes of hundreds of thousands of human beings?

It would be extremely desirable that the Emperor Alexander would turn his attention to the improvement of the civil administration of Russia, instead of devoting so much time to the army and to military establishments. To such an extent has the taste for military rank and military life grown upon the Russians, that it involves all other considerations, and it is not uncommon to hear these

memorable words, “ *Quand je vois un officier civil il me donne mal au cœur,*” resounding throughout the halls of the Imperial winter palace. Indeed the idea seems more than ever to be spread throughout the nation, that a man, whatever be his civil rank by birth, by education, or by talents, is nothing — nay, is in some degree contemptible — unless he has been a soldier, or at least has acquired military title. Yet the civilians form the real strength of the empire, and are by far the most useful class of society.

I shall now conclude these volumes, as I began them, by wishing the rapid advancement of Russia in civilisation, and her elevation in the scale of nations.

APPENDIX, No. I.

(To Chap. IV. p. 157. Vol. I.)

ODÉSSA.

SINCE I finished the description of Odéssa, I have learned that great improvements have been lately made, and are making, in that town. Two of the principal streets have been MacAdamised ; a fine boulevard has been formed near the theatre ; a new prison is erecting ; a number of houses for the accommodation of the officers have been built at the quarantine ; and light-houses have been reared for the advantage of mariners. But the Lycée-Richelieu is still on the decline, its new director having disappointed the expectations of the public. Count Voróntsof, the Governor-general, is extremely active ; he has been occupied in a survey of all the provinces which are under his jurisdiction, and in forming plans for future improvements. Count Gurief, the commandant of Odéssa, is also busy. He is esteemed a man of considerable talents, but is not well liked. He enters too much into the minutiae of affairs to please the Odéssians. I am informed that the population of Odéssa is really 40,000, but I do not give credit to the statement. It is again reported, that it is seriously in agitation to carry a canal either from the Dnéper or the Dnéster to Odéssa.

In page 191. Volume I., I have implied that Odéssa had

again become a free port. But that is not the case. After the examination and report of Mr. Ribeaupierre, the barriers or boundaries of the town were greatly contracted, and a new regulation with respect to importation was adopted. All kinds of merchandise for the consumption of Odéssa pay only one quarter of the duty which is demanded at any of the other ports of Russia ; *i. e.* instead of paying 100 roubles for any given quantity of goods at Petersburg, Riga, &c., only twenty-five roubles are paid at Odéssa. But if the merchandise imported is afterwards sent into the interior of Russia, then the other seventy-five roubles become payable to the custom-house. In order to prevent smuggling, the merchants have adopted a very effective plan, provided there be no means devised to elude it. Two of their number constantly attend the custom-house, and superintend all affairs. A complete statement being made of the kind and quantity of goods annually imported, an allowance, founded upon experience, is made for the consumption of the town, and, of course, an account of the remaining merchandise must be furnished. The surplus must either be in the custom-house, some private store-house, or sent to the interior of Russia.

The revenue of the custom-house is wholly applied for the improvement of Odéssa. The first year after the new regulation, I have been told that it amounted to the sum of 100,000 roubles, and last year to about half of that sum.

It is quite amusing to hear how some enthusiasts talk of extending the trade of Odéssa, and of the extraordinary prosperity which it is to attain before a century revolve. In page 189. Volume I., it is mentioned that the sanguine M. de Pradt anticipates that the population of Odéssa in 1923, will amount to 200,000 souls, and I have had a conversation with a gentleman of still warmer feelings, who

thinks the worthy Abbé's calculation by far too low. Odéssa is to become the grand *débouché* of the south of the Russian empire for corn, hemp, tallow, &c., and the chief port for importation of all foreign commodities. Commerce to a great extent is to be also maintained between this town and the Caucasus, Georgia, and Persia. In fact Odéssa is soon to be one of the first ports in the world. How far these pleasant anticipations are well founded, will appear from the following remarks.

Ever since I was at Odéssa in 1822, its commerce has been extremely dull, and at this very moment it is nearly at a stand.

The Russian government may build and improve public edifices, harbours, quarantines, streets, and do all it can to encourage commerce, but it cannot command it. Is it not contrary to reason to expect that so long as the Turks command the Bosphorus, and of course the commerce of all the ports of the Black Sea, that the trade of Odéssa can either be stable, or permanently extensive? During peace with Turkey it may be greatly extended, but with a declaration of war it is nearly annihilated *pro tempore*. A protracted state of uncertainty as to war or peace also threatens the ruin of this town. Every individual fears to give extensive orders for foreign merchandise, because he might be ruined by the shutting of the Bosphorus. He fears to build, to cultivate, or to acquire immovable property, because he knows not how soon Odéssa may be deserted. Besides, at present there is little demand for corn, the most extensive article of the commerce of Odéssa.

But let us suppose that the trade of Odéssa was immensely increased, and that the town had acquired a considerable degree of opulence, would not Turkey, aware of the then importance of this port to Russia, take advantage

of the circumstance, and force conditions from her, by holding up the shutting of the Bosphorus *in terrorem*?

From all these considerations some would be inclined to predict the fall of Odéssa. It seems more probable, however, that it may remain nearly in *statu quo* for some years. Its increased or diminished prosperity must chiefly depend upon the terms of concord or of disagreement between Turkey and Russia.

Those who possess landed property in the governments near Odéssa, and who wish to have a residence in this town, go on building new houses, and their property may be useful to their families, though its value should be greatly diminished, or should the commerce of Odéssa be annihilated. Even under all the present unfavourable circumstances, some merchants are foolhardy enough to arrange establishments as if they had made up their minds to end their days at Odéssa, while they know not that the morrow may ruin all their plans and speculations. May this hint be useful to my countrymen !

It has been sagaciously remarked by M. Dupin, that “ the government of Turkey is master of the Bosphorus, of the passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and, consequently, of the greatest part of the commerce of Odéssa and the shores of the Black Sea. The Turks govern this passage by arbitrary and changeable laws, thus impeding or facilitating commerce at pleasure. Thus the most important *débouché* of the commerce of the Russian empire is at the mercy of a barbarous state, which has no stability in the measures of its government. This inconvenience will become the more serious in proportion as the Russian provinces surrounding the shores of the Black Sea become more populous, more industrious, and, consequently, richer in articles of exportation; and

also in proportion as they may have more extensive and more varied wants of articles of importation."

The plans of the Russian government are still proceeding, as we learn by the following letter from St. Petersburg of the 16th November last.

"The present state of the port of Odéssa renders it necessary to add to its extent, and to make several expensive improvements in it. It will be necessary to alter the Lazaretto and the dock-yards, to make canals, &c. In order to accomplish these works, means have been considered of to increase several branches of the revenue already existing, and to create new ones. For example, every vessel under a foreign flag is to pay the city fifty *kopecks* per last; Russian vessels to pay only the half; but all vessels, without exception, are to pay twenty-five *kopecks* for the support of the light-houses."

APPENDIX, No. II.

(To p. 438—444. Vol. I.)

MINERAL SPRINGS OF THE CAUCASUS.

IN the place referred to above, I have alluded to the work of Dr. Haas respecting the mineral springs of the Caucasus. This work bears the following title: *Ma Visite aux Eaux d'Alexandre en 1809 et 1810, par le Docteur Frédéric-Joseph de Haas, Moscou, 1811.* It is now scarce, the greatest part of the edition having been destroyed at the burning of Moscow in 1812, and the rest having been distributed in presents to the author's friends. A copy of it is preserved in the library of Sir Joseph Banks.

Dr. Haas's work is divided into different sections, which treat of the history, of the climate, of the vegetation, and of the chemical analysis of the Waters of Alexander. Of the other two sections, one is called Medical Reflections, and the other points out what medical establishments are necessary at these waters.

The waters of the Caucasus, in common language, are divided into the *Goriatché Vodi*, or Warm Waters, and the *Kislaya Vodi*, or Acidulous Springs. By mistake, I have stated in page 440. that the name of *Waters of Alexander* was still retained for the latter, whereas Dr. Haas has bestowed this appellation upon the warm springs of Kon-

stantinogorsk. The following table, translated from this gentleman's work, will interest the scientific reader, and especially the traveller who reaches the springs.

Constituent Parts of Five of the Springs of Alexander.

In ten Pounds of twelve Ounces.	A Great Warm Spring. (<i>Goriatchi Vodi.</i>)	B Mary's Warm Spring.	C Elizabeth's Spring.	D Catherine's Spring.	E Constantine's Spring.
Muriate of soda	91.24	94.59	76.38	67.10	26.57
Sulphate of soda	68.66	68.59	57.28	34.37	32.64
Carbonate of soda.....	1.92	2.92	1.30	50.35	18.53
Carbonate of lime.....	64.25	57.50	47.25	11.15	57.54
Carbonate of magnesia..	16.00	18.00	12.00	4.00	—
Alumina, with a little magnesia, and a trace of iron	0.50	1.00	—	—	—
Oxide of iron, with a little alumina and magnesia.....	—	—	0.50	0.25	10.52
Silica.....	6.12	10.00	7.00	2.12	4.18
Fetid sulphurous resin *	0.70	0.65	0.35	0.29	—
Extractif	?	?	?	0.60	?
	249.39	253.25	202.14	170.58	139.98

* Résine sulphureuse fétide. Stinkendes Schwefelharz of Westrumb.

APPENDIX, No. III.

(To Vol. II. p. 118.)

POISONOUS BUGS OF MIANA.

HAVING been disappointed in receiving some expected information with respect to the poisonous bugs of Miana, I addressed a letter upon the subject to that distinguished entomologist, Mr. MacLeay, who very obligingly sent me the following answer.

“ SIR,

“ Queen Square, Westminster.
2d December, 1824.

“ I regret that in reply to your letter requesting information respecting the ‘ Miana Bug,’ I should have so little to communicate.

“ It appears, however, from the ‘ Bulletin des Sciences,’ that Professor Fischer of Moscow, in the course of last year, published a ‘ Mémoire’ of fifteen quarto pages, embellished with plates, on the insect called the *Malleh de Manch*, specimens of which he had received from two different persons, the Chevalier Mazarovitch, the Russian ambassador in Persia, and an English gentleman of the name of Caley. Professor Fischer’s ‘ Mémoire’ is, however, quite sufficient for the purpose of depriving this celebrated insect of all its *venom*, and its history of all the *marvellous* that had been attached to it; and I understand that the Russian physicians who have lately investigated

the disease which attacks strangers at Miana, consider it as a species of anthrax, such as not unfrequently attacks strangers in warm and marshy climates. But however this may be, Professor Fischer has ascertained the pretended bug to be a new species of Latreille's Apterous genus *Argas*, and he has described it therefore under the name of *Argas Persicus*. This circumstance of itself proves how inaccurately it had been observed by Kotzebue and Porter, as it is no bug, and belongs even to the *Arachnida*, a totally different class of animals, which by the by, will sufficiently account for Kotzebue's having been disappointed in his expectation of seeing them fly. The only other known species of the genus, *Argas reflexus* of Latreille, is found in Italy, Spain, and the south of France, where it is common in pigeons' nests, and probably sucks the blood of the young birds. The British genus nearest to *Argas* is *Ixodes* or the *Dogtick*, which is so often troublesome in woods during the summer. So that it cannot, as M. Fischer says, be supposed for a moment by an entomologist, that the *Argas Persicus*, or *Malleh de Manèh*, has ever occasioned much more mischief than the loss of a little blood after the manner of its congeners. Indeed, the circumstance of an insect being poisonous only to strangers, and not at all to the natives of Miana, was of itself sufficient to throw doubt on the whole story; but now that Fischer has ascertained the genus of the insect, we must clearly seek some other cause for the deaths at Miana than the bite of a tick.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ W. MACLEAY.”

APPENDIX, No. IV.

(To Vol. II. p. 460.)

THE TEMPLE OF OUR SAVIOUR ON THE VOROBÉEVYA
GORA, OR SPARROW-HILL, IN THE VICINITY OF
MOSCOW.

THE solemnity which took place at the foundation of this temple, was one of the most imposing Russia has ever witnessed. The motives which led to its foundation, its uncommonly fine situation on the Sparrow-hill, and its immense intended magnitude, all give it a claim to particular notice.

The Emperor Alexander, deeply affected with the signal deliverance of Russia from the enemy, “as an eternal remembrance of the unexampled fervour, sincerity, and love to the faith and to their country, with which in these difficult times the Russians conducted themselves, and as a mark of gratitude to divine providence, who saved Russia from threatened ruin, resolved and made a vow to erect a church in the ancient capital of Russia, (or as it is called, *Mat Moskva*, i. e. Mother Moskva, or *Mat gradove Rossiiskich*, i. e. Mother of the towns of Russia,) in the name of the Saviour Jesus Christ.” The foundation of this temple was laid on the 12th October * on the Sparrow-hill,

* The reason for choosing the 12th of October is explained thus by a Russian author, to whom I am indebted for a number of the following particulars. “On the 12th October,” says he, “the church celebrates

which lies about five versts south-west of the Kremlé. In the morning, divine service was performed in the church dedicated to the *Tichvinskaya* Mother of God, situated on the Lujnikii, not far from the *Novo-Devítchei* nunnery, in the presence of the clergy, those attached to the court, the military chiefs, and many of the most distinguished personages of Moscow.

The streets and the road from the Kremlé to the river Moskva at the foot of the Sparrow-hill, were lined with troops,—infantry, cavalry, and artillery,—forming a grand exhibition of 50,000 men, who awaited the arrival of the Emperor and the Imperial family, to receive them with military honours.

The Emperor, the Grand Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch, and Prince William of Prussia, on horseback, with their respective suites, led the van of the cortege. The Empress and the Dowager Empress followed in state carriages with eight horses. Leaving the Kremlé, the cavalcade soon arrived at the church of the *Tichvinskaya* Mother of God, where they were met by the Archbishop Avgustin, the metropolitan of Georgia, John, and the Archbishop of Georgia, Paphnutii, by the archimandrites of the principal convents of Moscow, by about thirty protoreis, 300 priests, and 200 deacons, with the life-giving cross, as well as by the most distinguished personages at court, generals, ministers, &c., where we shall leave them to celebrate the mass.

About the middle of the acclivitous side of the Sparrow-hill, where it was intended to lay the foundation of the church, was erected a very elevated extensive wooden

the Jerusalem Mother of God, whose image, brought from Greece, is in the *Uspénskoi Sobore*, or Cathedral of the Assumption. It was painted in the 30th year after the ascension of Christ; *by its miracles* many Grecian towns were saved from the enemies.”

painted terrace, surrounded by a balustrade, and having an *ambon* or platform of the shape of a parallelogram with steps on each side, in the centre. Two temporary wooden bridges were thrown across the Moskva, from the south side of which to the foot of a wide stair which conducted to the terrace, a distance of about 700 feet, was made a wooden road with a rail on each side. From the terrace another stair conducted to the top of the hill. On the *ambon* was placed a large cubic hard sandstone, from the Tatarskaya hill, with an excavation in it. Silver vessels, for the *holy water* to be used at the consecration of the foundation of the temple, and places for the *miraculous images* were prepared. The terrace, the *ambon*, and the balustrade, were all covered with red cloth. As the weather was cold, a small pavilion was erected on the south side of the terrace, with an open fire, elegantly furnished, and covered by a Wilton carpet, as was also the place on which their Majesties and Highnesses stood during the ceremony.

At the conclusion of the service in the church of the Tichvinskaya Mother of God, a holy procession took place to the terrace, and the infantry and cavalry in the plain made different evolutions.

The supporters of the holy banners proceeded first, and were followed by the bearers of the miraculous images of the Vladimírskaya and the Iverskaya Virgin Mary, the images of the Moscow saints, Peter, John, Philip, and Alexei, and of the holy crosses. Behind the images proceeded two bands of choristers in their different dresses, who chaunted solemn airs. The clergy, amounting to above 500, habited in their various and richly decorated dresses, followed according to their rank. Then appeared his Majesty Alexander, with his spouse and mother, the Grand Duke, and Prince William of Prussia, with their

suites, &c., all the males with their heads uncovered. They were followed by a retinue of court ladies and gentlemen, military chiefs, ministers, &c.

Amidst the peals of innumerable bells, the sound of martial music, and in view of 50,000 troops, and hundreds of thousands of spectators, the procession passed the Moskva by one of the bridges mentioned.* The holy banners were deposited at the top of the stair leading to the terrace by the higher clergy, and the lower clergy, having crossed the river, lined the road on both sides from hence to the terrace. The anthem, *Praise to God*, was chaunted before the *holy images*, now placed near the *ambon*. After consecration of the water by the Archbishop Avgustin, the place destined to receive the first stone of the temple was asperged. Mr. Whitberg, who had designed its plan, then presented to his Imperial Majesty a gilt copper plate in form of a cross, on which was the following inscription. “In the year 1817, the month of October, on the 12th day, by order of the most pious, most sovereign great Gosudár, the Emperor Alexander Páviovitch; in the time of his spouse the most pious Gosudárina, the Empress Elizavéta Alexécévna; in the time of his mother, the most pious Gosudárina, the Empress Maria Phéodorovna; in the time of the orthodox Gosudár Tsesarévitich and Great Duke Konstantine Pávlovitch, and his spouse the orthodox Gosudárina and Great Duchess Anna Phéodorovna; in the time of the orthodox Gosudár and Great

* It is said that 400,000 souls were present; I don't know how they managed to count them. The crowd was in fact enormous, and innumerable houses, roofs, windows, balconies, walls, benches erected on purpose, streets, lanes, trees, indeed every place was crowded; all Moscow and the vicinity were in motion, and the Sparrow-hill seemed a *living mountain*.

Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch, and his spouse, the orthodox Gosudárina, and Great Duchess Alexándra Phéodorovna; in the time of the orthodox Gosudár and Great Duke Michail Pávlovitch; in the time of the orthodox Gosudárina and Great Duchess Maria Pávlovna, and her spouse; in the time of the orthodox Gosudárina, Queen of Wurtemberg, Yekaterína Pávlovna and her spouse; in the time of the orthodox Gosudárina, the Great Duchess Anna Pávlovna and her spouse; this temple was founded to our Lord the Saviour Jesus Christ, in glory of his most holy name, and in memory of the unspeakable mercies which he was pleased to show us by the salvation of our beloved country in the year 1812, and who glorified among us his mighty power by putting an end to war.

“ At the foundation of this temple were present the most pious, most sovereign great Gosudár, the Emperor Alexander Pávlovitch; his spouse the most pious Gosudárina the Empress Elizavéta Alexéevna; his mother the most pious Gosudárina the Empress Maria Phéodorovna; the orthodox Gosudár and Great Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch; his spouse the orthodox Gosudárina and Great Duchess Alexandra Phéodorovna; and his Royal Highness Prince William of Prussia. Avgustin, acting metropolitan of Moscow and archbishop of Dmitrof, performed the consecration.

“ The plan and façade of the temple were designed by the academician, Charles Whitberg, to whom is confided the construction of the edifice.

“ O Lord our Saviour, regard from thy holy throne this place, receive it as a habitation for thyself, and bless the actions of our hands !”

The Emperor having put the table into its destined place in the square stone above mentioned. Mr. Whitberg

presented to him a marble stone, a gilded silver hammer, and a trowel upon one silver plate, and on another plate some lime. All was now profound silence and attention. His Majesty advanced in a tranquil graceful solemn manner, deposited the marble stone in an excavation on the east side of the large cubic stone, and added a little mortar to fasten it in its place.

Mr. Whitberg having presented a marble stone, a silver hammer and trowel, and slacked lime to their Majesties, the Empress and the Dowager-Empress, the one after the other advanced slowly and solemnly, and likewise deposited these slabs in the excavation of the cubic stone. Another stone was placed by Prince William of Prussia. The Grand Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch deposited two stones, one for himself, and one for his spouse the Grand Duchess, who being unwell, was not on the terrace. Lastly, another stone was placed in the excavation by the Archbishop Avgustin.

On these stones were the following inscriptions: on the first, Alexander I. Emperor of all Russia; on the second, The Empress Elizavéta Alexéévna; on the third, The Empress Maria Phéodorovna; on the fourth, The Prince of Prussia, William; on the fifth, The Grand Duke Nikolai Pávlovitch; on the sixth, The Grand Duchess Alexándra Phéodorovna; on the seventh, his Eminence, Avgustin, acting metropolitan of Moscow.

Their Majesties having withdrawn to their stations, Avgustin ascended the *ambon* and delivered the following oration, which may be reckoned another fair specimen of Russian eloquence.

“Where are we? What do we see? What do we?”

“Where are we? On the place on which, in the year 1812, that ancient capital with *horror* beheld the flambeau

kindled by the hand of the enemy for her extermination. Beheld, and inclining her grey front, prayed God that she might be the sacrifice of her country.

“What do we see? We see that same capital risen from ashes and ruins, clad in new beauty and magnificence, while elevating to the clouds her golden summits, boiling * with wealth and riches, and rejoicing at the fame of Russia, and the prosperity of all Europe.

“What do we? Do we wish to erect pyramids in honour of our compatriots, who by immoveable fidelity to the Tsar, by burning love to their country, by their praiseworthy combats on the field of battle, have joined their names to those worthy of our eternal benediction? O no! What is man without God? God, the Lord of the wise; God, having ordained his undertakings, gives reason and wisdom. The Lord of Sabaoth girds the impotent with strength, and renders futile the bow of the strong. Then, what do we? In the sight of heaven and earth,—confessing the unspeakable mercy and benevolence which the Supreme Lord of the world has been pleased to extend over us — attributing to him alone all the success, all the glory of the late wars,—we lay the foundation of a temple, consecrated to our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

“O God, with our eyes we have seen who accomplished these things in our days; therefore not by our humble sword elevated over the enemy: our own power did not save us! Thou alone saved us from those who despitefully fell upon us, and put them to confusion. *O let us praise God all the day long, and sing of his name through eternity!*

“Thou, the capital, particularly bearest upon thyself the

* Boiling. Eastern hyperbole.

stamp of the wonders of God ; among thy ruins was broken the terrible power of the destroyer : the flames exterminating thee, also destroyed his strength : it inflamed the hearts of the Russians, and of other nations, for the return of peace and tranquillity. Therefore let us exalt the Lord our God, and standing on the bank of this, his holy hill, worship Him in spirit and in truth.

“ Brave warriors, in all the combats completed by you, ye saw, or rather felt, the power of God raised over you and aiding you. Give therefore the glory to God, and in praise exclaim, Not we, not we accomplished this. The Lord Jehovah, our protector, the God of Jacob, remove wars to the ends of the earth. Thy works are all great and glorions.

“ O God our Saviour, may thine eyes be open day and night on this place, where *Thine Anointed* lays the foundation of a temple, in glory of thy most holy name, and in memory of thy indescribable benevolence, demonstrated toward us ! Receive from him this offering of thankfulness, with pure faith, with burning love, and in deep humility, presented to Thee : receive, bless, and complete his holy undertaking, grant thy mercy to him, and to all his illustrious family.”

During the chaunting of “ We praise thee O God,” according to a signal made by means of a rocket, the artillery on the plain below fired three rounds, all the bells of Moscow began their rapid and merry peals, which continued till the evening, and the multitude testified their joy by exclamations and *ourras*.

A holy procession now took place back to the church of the Tichvinskaya Mother of God. The whole hill and plain seemed in motion the moment their Majesties quitted the terrace, and the scene was amusing. Men, women,

and children of all ranks, rushed like a torrent from the mountain brow; many were overset, and many borne in the air amidst the crowd, scarcely knew where they were till landed upon the terrace, of which number I happened to be one. During the ceremony, my situation being on the hill above the terrace, I was involved in a moment in the vortex which it was impossible to resist, and was hurried along, and only felt myself at liberty after a severe fall upon the *ambon*. It was impossible for the police to keep order; indeed, most of the watchmen were overthrown. Every one pressed forward to see the foundation of the temple, and the plate and the marble slabs deposited in the cavity of the cubic stone, which was opened on purpose to gratify general curiosity. Tens of thousands hurrying on to follow the procession, were met by innumerable crowds pressing up the hill to see the foundation. Many scorning the assistance of the bridges, or impatient of delay, dashed into the river, and crossed it by wading or swimming. The *ourras* of the crowd, the thunder of the cannon, the noise of the bells, and the mellow sound of music, rent the air together, or by turns, and was re-echoed by the neighbouring hills.

Their Imperial Majesties, during their return to the Kremlé, were again received by the troops with military honours, soon after which they dispersed to their various quarters, and this grand ceremony concluded about three o'clock, though nothing was heard but mirth and joy all the day long.

After the foundation of the temple was laid, nothing of consequence toward the erection was done for three years. The matter was then taken seriously into consideration, and by an ukáz of his Imperial Majesty of the 7th July,

1820, which appeared in the following November, a commission was named at Moscow for the purpose of carrying the plans of the government into execution. This commission was composed of four members; two for the direction *ex officio* and *pro tempore*, the metropolitan of Moscow, Seraphim, and the Military-Governor, Prince Galitsin; and two perpetual, one of whom was Mr. Whitberg, the architect, who was also charged with the *economical* department, and another whom the Emperor was to nominate.

This commission receives 769,000 roubles annually for the salaries of those concerned with the building, and other expenses; and this sum is to be yielded by a fund of 2,000,000 roubles deposited on purpose. Every individual who shall fulfil his duties during the erection of the edifice is to have his salary continued for life.

The commission is placed under the immediate orders of the Emperor, and all affairs which relate to it are submitted to him through the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Public Instruction.

The commission did but little that was visible till the year 1823. A quantity of stones, and of wood, &c. alone, were laid down, and people began to suppose that the plan had been abandoned of rearing the temple on the Sparrow-hill.

The Sparrow-hill, which is about five versts distant from the Kremlé, and is of considerable height, forms nearly a semi-oval curvature, and the Moskva river flows at a short distance from its base. This curvature was beautifully clothed with shrubbery and trees, and had a fine romantic appearance, especially from the city. But its effect is nearly destroyed, the brow of the hill having been

cleared for the foundation of this edifice. This measure gave great offence to some who were of opinion that nature was not to be *destroyed*, but to be *beautified* by art. The distance of the temple from Moscow was also pointed out as a formidable objection to the site fixed upon, and its enemies raised a clamour that the foundation on the side of the hill would be incapable of supporting its weight ; and, indeed, they predicted that it would soon be ruined by numerous springs.

The public had made false conclusions, for the commission had been actively employed in making preparations upon an immense scale, so as to proceed with their plan. Different methods of carrying the Emperor's views into execution had been proposed, but at length that which I am about to mention was preferred.

In the summer of 1823, the crown had already purchased 22,000 peasants, with the estates to which they were attached, all of which are at no great distance from Moscow. It was intended to purchase other 2000 to make a total of 24,000. Of this number one fourth, or 6000, are to be employed every summer for the erection of the edifice, and of course at no expense to the crown. The 18,000 employed at home in tilling the land are to support those who are at work in Moscow, in lieu of paying an annual *obrok* for every individual of the 24,000. *

A million of roubles was to be drawn every six weeks,

* It was reported that, through the advice of Prince Galitsin, his Majesty, Alexander, had changed the plan, and that a *recruitment* was to take place throughout the whole of the Russian empire of four recruits from every hundred males capable of bearing arms, and that one of each of these fours was destined for the erection of the Temple of Our Saviour. But there seems no truth in this statement.

from the Lombard at Moscow, for the use of the commission charged with the erection of the temple, and 3000 workmen were soon employed in preparing its foundation.

Mr. Whitberg is not backward in showing the plan of the Temple of Our Saviour, and very frequently small parties meet on purpose at his house. The plan is very noble, but it does not possess the grandeur of that of St. Peter's at Rome, or of St. Paul's at London. Indeed, it appears to me, that when completed, it will owe its magnificence more to its immense size than to elegance of architecture. I am not sure that the termination of such a structure by one large and four small domes, is the best calculated to produce architectural beauty or effect; and, very likely, the artist was regulated in some of his arrangements by ecclesiastical laws and traditions; for all the component parts of this structure have some mystical allusion, as to the two natures of Christ, the four evangelists, the twelve apostles, &c.

The chief measurements of this immense intended temple are the following. The height of the whole edifice, reckoning from the foot of the hill to the cross, about 770 feet. The stair with a breadth of more than 350 feet, will commence at the distance of 490 feet from the bank of the Moskva river, and will be continued through five vast projections, which, serving as a foundation for the edifice, will lead to the middle of the hill, where already is laid the foundation of the lower church, which is to be consecrated to the Nativity of Christ. It will be elevated toward the top of the hill 105 feet, where the stair will divide to both sides. There will begin the church of the Transfiguration of Christ, with a handsome open space or

exit before it, of the breadth of thirty-five feet, and the length on each side of 560 feet. Over this church, around a magnificent central cupola, having a diameter of 175 feet, will be raised a third, or superior, church of the Resurrection of Christ.

The form of the lower church will represent a parallelogram, that of the middle church a square and a regular cross, and of the superior church a circle. This edifice will have five domes.* In the four smallest domes will be suspended forty-eight bells, composing four musical symphonies, which will be particularly used at the festival of the Resurrection of Christ. The height of this part of the temple, reckoning from the summit of the hill to the cross, will amount to 560 feet. On both sides of the lowest church, being itself a remembrance of the sacrifice of the year 1812, and serving as an appendage to the monument of this epoch, will stretch a colonnade to the extent of 2100 feet, at the ends of which will be placed two monuments, in height 350 feet: the one composed of pieces of ordnance taken from the enemy between Moscow and the frontiers of Russia; and the other of pieces of ordnance taken between the same frontiers and Paris, all now lying in the Kremlé.

By a reference to the measurements of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, it will be remarked that the Temple of Our Saviour is intended to be higher, by 156 feet, reckoning only from the level of the summit of the hill, or the church of the Resurrection; and from the base of the hill, by 336 feet. The diameter of the cupola will exceed that

* I have treated at some length of the origin of *Bulbous Domes* in the History of Moscow, p. 601.

that of St. Paul's by thirty feet, and of course its circumference by ninety feet.

Regarded from the south, what an enormous building ! What a dome ! From the north, what a mass of stairs, projections, and churches, elevated no less than 770 feet, with a colonnade stretching 2100 feet, and two towers formed of cannon 350 feet in height, now presents itself to the imagination ! The time allowed for its construction is twenty or thirty years ; but many think it will never be finished.

APPENDIX, No. V.

HISTORY OF THE ORLOF FAMILY.

IN “The Character of the Russians, &c.” I have given some account of the palaces of Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska *, and of her style of living, because she is one of the most distinguished of the nobles, and, probably, the most distinguished female in Russia. In the time of Catherine the Second, her family acquired an enormous influence at court, which enabled some of its members to play a great part on the theatre of life. On this account, I have taken considerable pains to trace its history, so as to correct the mistakes of some preceding writers.

It has been reported by some, that the five brothers of the Orlofs were descended from the most obscure ancestry; but it appears that their father, Grigorii Ivánovitch Orlof, was a major-general, and also Governor of Nóvgorod. It is said that he was present in all the engagements during the Swedish and Turkish wars, in the time of Peter the Great, and that on account of his bravery and the wounds he received, the Emperor presented to him his portrait suspended by a gold chain. It is true that the Orlofs had served as subalterns in the army. But authors ought to have known, that the constitution of the Russian army requires, that all the princes and counts of the realm should serve, either as privates or subalterns, and that they must rise

* Vide p. 411—416..

to military rank by length of time and by merit. Civil rank may assist, though it cannot confer, military promotion.

I have been informed that Grigorii, Alexei, and Phéodor were educated in the land-cadet corps at St. Petersburg, and afterwards made their progress to the higher ranks, ascending by the usual routine, till distinguished by the regards of Catherine II.

The ancestors of the Orlofs were emigrants from Prussia. The time of their arrival I have not been able to ascertain exactly; but, according to all accounts, they have been established for a long time in Russia. One of these ancestors, named after a relation, Vassílii *Orla*, gave this name the Russian termination in *of*, and introduced Orlof.

The whole of the Orlof brothers were intimately connected with the court of Catherine II., and, in the year 1762, received the rank of Count, besides other distinctions. It is stated the Empress considered them all distinguished patriots, and said it was rare to find such a family.

No. 1. "Count Iván Grigórievitch Orlof, the eldest of five brothers, born 8th September 1733, died 18th November 1791, aged 58 years, *to the heart-break of his friends and to the sorrow of all honourable people.*" *

At the ascent of Catherine II. to the throne, he was made captain of the *Prèobrajenskoi* regiment of guards, and although distinguished ranks and other honours were offered to him by that monarch, he refused them all with gratitude: he received nothing; and remained, during his whole life, attached to the service of his country, as captain. He passed much of his time in Italy, and seems to have

* This is a translation of an inscription in the family mausoleum, spoken of hereafter. The words in italics are a literal translation, and mean — to the affliction of his friends and to general regret.

valued liberty from restraint, and a tranquil life, above all mortal distinction, honour, or glory. He married Miss Elisazvéta Phéodorovna Rtistchef. He had no children; and his effects, except a seventh part to his wife, the countess, fell to his brothers.

No. 2. "Prince Grigorii Grigórievitch Orlof was, by seniority, the second son: he was born 6th October 1734, and died the 13th April 1783, at the age of 48 years. He was in the service thirty-four years: he was General-Chief-Master of the Ordnance, General-Director of the Fortifications, General-Adjutant of her Imperial Majesty, Commander of the corps of Chevalier-Guards, Senator, Chamberlain, Lieutenant-Colonel of the cavalry regiment of Life Guards, President of the Chancery of Foreign Tutelage, Knight of the Russian orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Névski, St. Vladimir Great Cross, First Rank, and of St. Ann." *

Count Gregory Orlof was particularly loaded with the favours of Catherine II. She obtained for him the title of Prince, and, as is well known, besides the other honours conferred upon him, gave him a superb lodging in the palace, when he became her *favourite*. She afterwards paid 40,000 roubles for the house of Stegelman the banker, which he ordered to be demolished, and rebuilt agreeably to his own taste. She presented to him the estates of Robsha and Gátchina, which had belonged to Peter III., and there he raised fine edifices. He bought estates in Livonia and Esthonia: he received in a present the fine yacht of Peter III., and placed sums in all the best banks of Europe.† The marble palace at St. Petersburg was also built for him.

* Inscription in Mausoleum.

† History of the Life of Count A. G. Orlof-Tchémskii.

His career of favour was long and brilliant, and according to Storch, he seemed to share the throne on which he had placed Catherine II. *

At his death, Robsha, Gátchina, and the marble palace returned to the crown. At Tsarsko-Selo, there is erected a triumphal arch, in the summer gardens, at the entrance from the Gátchina road, to Prince Orlof, on account of the patriotic ardour and temerity with which he faced and quelled the plague and rebellion at Moscow, executed after the design of the Italian architect Rinaldi. It consists of a number of columns resembling gates, and supporting a gallery. On it is inscribed, "*Moscow delivered from misery by Orlof.*" The Empress had also a medal struck, about four inches in diameter, in honour of his success in quelling the rebellion, and expelling the plague from Moscow. On one side is his portrait, and around it the following inscription: "*Count Grigorii Grigórievitch Orlof, Roman Prince.*"† On the other side, he is represented in the character of Curtius, leaping into the gulf, with this inscription: "*Russia has such sons.*"

According to the portraits of Prince Orlof, which I have seen, in his early days, he was a *fine young man*, whose physiognomy bespoke openness, mildness, and vivacity, rather than deepness, penetration, and vigour. In his riper years, frankness, candour, penetration, vigour, gentleness, and friendship are said to have been his characteristics, by his friends: his enemies have drawn a very different picture. His stature and appearance were gigantic.

Prince Orlof espoused Miss Yekaterína Nikoláievna Zenovyeva, whom he lost at Lausanne, during his travels

* Storch's Picture of Petersburg, p. 57.

† He was made Prince by Austria, and therefore called Roman Prince.

in Switzerland. He had no children, and he died at Moscow in the month of April 1783; and, according to some, in a state of mental agony, on account of the deeds of his life. *

No. 3. "Count Alexei Grigórievitch Orlof-Tchésmenskii, General-Adjutant-in-chief, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Prèobrajénskōi regiment of Life Guards, Lieutenant of the corps of Chevalier-Guards, Knight of the orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Névskii, St. George, First Class; and of St. Vladimir, First Rank: he was Commander-in-Chief of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, he gained a decisive victory over the Turkish fleet, 24th of June 1771, and on the 26th of the same month he burned the Turkish fleet at Tchésmé, whence he received the appellation *Tchésmenskii*. On the 13th of September 1773, he received into his coat of arms the Imperial flag; and then, in 1806, he was constituted Commander-in-Chief of the fifth division of Militia. By seniority, he was the third of five brothers; he was born 24th September 1735; he died the 24th December 1807, in the seventy-third year from his birth." †

"In his early years Alexei Orlof excited universal astonishment, on account of his extraordinary firmness and strength. None of his play-fellows of the same age could overcome or equal him, in wrestling or boxing. These juvenile pleasures had a great influence upon the whole life of Orlof. He was accustomed to be conqueror from his earliest years, and he preserved this custom to the winter of his days. He was a lover of his country, an unshaken adherent to religion, a distinguished benefactor,

* Vide Tooke's Works.

† Inscription in the mausoleum of the family.

compassionate to orphans, indulgent to the unfortunate; his protection was open to all who sought it. His education is said to have been sufficiently extensive.

“At the age of manhood, Orlof was esteemed a very handsome man. The calm gravity of his face; his Grecian eyes; his significant smile; his agreeable and laconic speech, and rays of grandeur blazing amidst his predominant beauty and colossal appearance, rendered him the astonishment of all in the last century.”*

Speaking of Prince Gregory Orlof, says Storch, “Though young and athletic, his brother Alexius, of Herculean force, and in stature like Goliath, was associated with him in his particular attachment to Catherine, at that time in the full vigour of youth.”† His stature was 6 feet 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. He was never very corpulent, but well-proportioned to his height, and remarkably firm and handsome.

As it is not my design to give a detailed history of Count A. G. Orlof-Tchésmenskii's life, I can only notice the principal events: — to those of minor importance, allusions are occasionally made.

After the victory of Tchésmé, and the return of the Count to St. Petersburg, a grand fête was celebrated by the College of Admiralty, on the 24th June 1771. The members of the Synod, the Senate, of the Government Colleges, military and foreign, &c. were present. They went to the cathedral church of the Manifestation of Our Lord: thirty-one guns were fired after the anthem, *We praise thee O Lord*. They then adjourned, by previous invitation, to the house of the Vice-President, Count Iván Grigórevitch Tchérnischef. Each was presented with a medal, on one side of which is the portrait of Count Alexei Orlof-

* Life of Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii. † Picture of Petersburg.

Tchésmenskii, and around it this inscription — “Count Alexei Grigórievitch Orlof, conqueror and exterminator of the Turkish fleet.” On the other side are allusions to the engagement with the Turkish fleet on the 24th, and its destruction on the 26th June, as is shown by these inscriptions: “It was the happiness and the joy of Russia,” “Tchésmé, June 24th and 26th, in the year 1770.” “In gratitude to the conqueror, from the College of Admiralty.”

At Tsarsko-Selo, an obelisk commemorates the name of Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii, and the victory of Tchésmé. It is a fine column, and rests on a great pedestal of Uralian granite, which weighed, when removed from St. Petersburg hence, in the year 1777, 1950 poods. Seven versts from this capital, on the Tsarsko-Selo road, there is a church dedicated to John the Baptist, the fête of which is the 24th day of June, on which day the Turkish fleet was destroyed. Near this church is an Imperial palace, named *Tchésmenskii Zámok*, in honour of the conqueror, and the neighbouring village is known by the name of Tchésmé. Both the church and palace are built in the Gothic style.

“Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii left the splendid court, and went to Moscow: his brother soon followed him, and their houses formed a complete new street in the city, exhibiting in itself a rare conjunction of the beauties of nature, with the charming inventions of taste, riches, and genius.”* Leading a happy life in the middle of his relations and friends, he married the daughter of General Lapuchin, who was in the twentieth year of her age, and he in his forty-eighth, in the year 1784 or 1785. In 1785, the

* Vide Description of them in Detailed History of Moscow, p. 411—416.

Empress Catherine being in Moscow, paid him a visit at his house, soon after the birth of the present Countess Orlóf-Tchésmenska. His spouse also bore him a son in the following year, and died about twelve hours afterwards. The little Count lived till about two years of age, received a captain's rank from the Empress, and frequently appeared in uniform. The Count also had a son long before his marriage, to whom he gave the name of *Tchésmenskii*, and a handsome fortune. He had the rank of general, and died in Moscow at the commencement of the year 1820.

“While the Count's time was occupied between his wife and daughter, he did not forget his former amusements and pleasures. Every winter he instituted horse-races, on a race-course before his house, which every week, but especially on Sunday, engaged not only the inhabitants of Moscow, but also the nobility from all quarters of Russia. And every summer, Moscow was also indebted to him for another race-course, and races before his house, besides a Sunday's promenade in his English garden.”

“In one word,” says a flattering biographer, — “In one word, Count Alexei Orlof was not only the most esteemed and beloved of the Russian Boyars, but his spirit made him the centre of coalition of the Russian nobility, the soul of general enjoyment, manners, and customs, the hope of the unfortunate, the purse of the poor, the staff of the lame, the eyes of the blind, the repose of the wounded warrior, the physician of the sick citizen.

“Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii's house was always the temple of patriotism, the open gallery of innocent pleasures, the haven of merit and talents, the asylum of misfortune and misery. His benevolence was extended to all who had recourse to him. He reckoned it his first

pleasure to anticipate the petitions of those who sought his protection, and he performed his acts of goodness in the most secret manner.— His soul, as may be said, was Russian. He loved all native customs, manners, and pleasures. Boxers, wrestlers, strong men, singers, dancers, balancers, and horse-racers : in a word, all that indicated the virility, the firmness, the strength, the art, and the merit of the Russians was assembled in his house.”

Being endowed with extraordinary strength, Count Orlof frequently exhibited the wonders of his prowess in the circles of his friends. Without believing the Herculean task that he could arrest a carriage and six in its progress, the many proofs he gave of his corporeal powers in bending and breaking rods of iron, in crushing tumblers and bottles to atoms, by his grasp, &c. proved them to be unusual. I cannot avoid relating the following anecdote, which is current in Russia. The celebrated Mr. Lukin, one day called at the Count's house, who was absent. The servant desired he would leave his name. Mr. Lukin immediately pulled down the iron rod which rung the bell, and which was of the size of an ordinary finger, and twisting it into a bundle of knots, desired the servant to present that *billet* to his master, who would know who had been calling. The Count soon afterwards returned the visit, and not finding Mr. Lukin at home, performed the same operation, and left his *iron twisted billet* to give notice of his call.

During the whole of the reign of Catherine II. she continued her attentions and favours to Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, whom she calls in a letter to Voltaire, “*a hero born for great events.*” According to his panegyrists, the Count was also DISTINGUISHED during the reign of the Emperor Paul, which is true: and the reader of history

will recollect, that sovereign “*extended his benevolence*” to Count A. Orlof-Tchésmenskii by banishment. After the Count’s exile in Germany, or rather during the reign of Alexander I. he was constantly in favour, and received additional honours. In 1806 he was made commander of the fifth division of the militia, for the use of which he sacrificed a part of his fortune; and his daughter, the present Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska, bestowed on it a quantity of arms. Afterwards the Count received a letter of thanks for the careful discharge of his duties, and his unwearied exertions as chief of the militia, got the large cross of the First Class of the Order of St. Vladimir, and also another letter of thanks on account of the Countess’s present.

The history of the life of Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii, has been written in Russ by different authors, from whom I have extracted much of the foregoing account. The general strain of these works is not real biography, but panegyric. They contain many facts, however; but they do not tell all the truth. They give us only a front view of the picture, with a dazzling light. Some of the above quotations, I believe, are pretty just, and give an idea of the Count’s mode of life. Certainly no nobleman kept a more hospitable or plentiful board than Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, at all times open to his friends; and none gave more entertainments to the public. Very frequently in summer, he had festivals in his gardens, to which a decent dress and respectable appearance were a sufficient passport. Nobles, merchants, and citizens attended. Tea, coffee, fruits, wines, spirits, &c. were supplied to the visitors, by numerous lacqueys in attendance.

The panegyrists have not flattered his imposing appearance. His colossal size and handsome form, conjoined

with manly beauty to his other exterior qualities, were highly advantageous to him, and fit to captivate the multitude. Indeed from the portraits I have seen of him in his younger days, it was little to be wondered at, that the youthful and amorous Catherine's heart should have felt a tender attachment to such a chevalier of her brilliant court. In his more advanced years, his magnificent style of living, and his frequent public entertainments, gave him an importance in vulgar eyes, and combined to his high rank, his political exploits, the fame of Tchésmé, and the almost continual sunshine of Imperial favour, rendered him one of the most distinguished and most envied personages of Russian history in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

From all that I have heard of the character of Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, particularly in the latter part of his life, though affable, far from cultivating the exterior graces of the *beau monde* — which too often serve as the cloak of flattery, cunning, and deceit, — he despised them, and professed himself a plain man. Frankness, penetration, determination, and vigour were as much portrayed in his noble visage, as vigilance, courage, intrepidity and inflexibility, sociability, sincerity, benevolence and friendship, were evinced by his conduct ; and although these qualities were not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts, and an extensive capacity. He partook of the failings incident to mankind. He was an admirer of the fair sex, and was sometimes violent, and oftener capricious, with those for whom he entertained the greatest regard and esteem, attachment and friendship. His taste for manly as well as low amusements, was carried to excess : — his generosity bordered on profusion, though never to the detriment of

his fortune. His mode of life prevented him from devoting enough of time to mental improvement, though he was a patron of literature, and had a good library, many volumes of which I have perused.

For the history of the part played by the Orlofs at the ascent of Catherine II. to the throne, as well as during her reign, as a contrast to the panegyrics of the Russian authors, I recommend the reader to look at Tooke's works; warning him, however, that every nerve seems to be there strained to vilify their character, and to commemorate the fate of Peter III., as if it were singular in the history of nations, or contrary to the course of imperfect human nature. I do not mean, however, to palliate the horrid part which Count Alexei Orlof is said to have acted in the murder of that most unfortunate monarch. Such a deed leaves a stain upon the memory of all connected with it, which the mighty streams of Russia could not wash away. The Count's conduct with respect to a princess who gave Catherine uneasiness, is equally reprehensible.*

Without being an admirer of Count Orlof-Tchémsenskii, or an abettor of his general conduct, I should be inclined to think, that in proportion as the Russian authors have eulogised, so have most foreign authors depreciated, his character. He had virtues, he had vices; the first shone in his public and in his private character, the latter were particularly evidenced in his political life. His failings were chiefly felt by his friends and favoured servants.

Count Orlof-Tchémsenskii's private fortune was increased by the death of Prince Grigorii and Count Phéodor; and by the death of Count Iván, presents formerly made and other property were also added to it;

* Tooke's Catherine II.

and notwithstanding all his magnificence, liberality, and profusion, exclusive of a fortune to his son, General Tchémenskii, he left immense effects, besides nearly 40,000 slaves on many different estates, to his heiress the present Countess Orlof-Tchémsenska.

Tooke has confidently said in a note, that the only daughter and heiress of Count Alexei Orlof was married to Count Panin, which is a great mistake. He must have meant the daughter of Count Vladimir Orlof, who is still the wife of Count Panin. The heiress of Count A. Orlof-Tchémsenskii, is Her Excellency Anna Alexéevna Orlof-Tchémsenska, who generally resides at Petersburg or Moscow, and has never been married.

Countess Orlof-Tchémsenska partakes more of the mother than of the father, being of a middle stature, and rather slender figure. In her visage are depicted calmness, gentleness, frankness, affability, and vigilance, rather than beauty; and her almost continual smile, polite manners, and winning address, together with her fluency in different languages, render her a pleasant associate. Her conduct appears to be extremely circumspect in Russia, where Continental manners prevail. She is very religious, a regular attendant of church, and though warmly attached to the Greek religion, the forms and ceremonies of which she observes with great attention, yet she is tolerant to all sects of Christians. She is liberal to all, and her purse is equally open to reduced nobility or common people, bond or free. Her good-nature leads her to form too favourable an opinion of mankind, and perhaps at times to an indiscriminate charity. She plays on the pianoforte, harpsichord, &c., and is fond of a retired life, and on that account lives in the country, generally at Ostrof about sixteen miles from Moscow, during summer, or rather till

driven away by the first fall of snow. When in the ancient capital, she spends her time chiefly at home, and in the society of her relations and a few friends, and receives visits from a number of the most distinguished nobility and clergy, high and low, who either desire her friendship or her protection. She seems happy, and apparently prefers a *single* life to the pleasures and pains of matrimony; having steadily resisted the addresses and solicitations of a number of distinguished characters. It is said that the object of her love died, and that since that event, many years ago, she has seemed a stranger to this passion. She is one of the maids of honour to the Empresses, and besides the order of St. Catherine, had the honour to receive the portrait of their Majesties. Those who receive this high distinction, are generally married, and are called *Dames de portrait*. If not mistaken, the Countess is the first unmarried lady on whom this honour has been conferred. Her Excellency is particularly distinguished by the Emperor, Empresses, and all the members of the Imperial family, and is a general favourite at court.

During the four years that I was attached to the Countess's establishments at Moscow, I was distressed with the plans and actions of her chief steward and others, who had determined on my ruin. I was protected by the Countess, but the frequent recurrence of disputes disgusted me, and I resigned my situation.

No. 4. "Count Phéodor Grigórievitch Orlof, of five brothers, by seniority the fourth; he was born on the 8th February 1741, and died in Moscow in May 1796, aged 55 years. He served forty years; he was General-in-chief, Chamberlain in activity, Knight of the Russian orders of St. Alexander Névskii, and of St. George, the Great Cross of the Second Class; he was present in various

battles during the seven years' war against the Prussians; then under the command of his elder brother Count Alexei Grigórievitch Orlof-Tchésmenskii in the fleet acting in the Archipelago against the Turks, he made a descent in the Grecian province of the Morea, and with a handful of men took some fortresses." *

In the large pond at Tsarsko-Selo, is elevated over an arch, a rostral column five *sajins* or thirty-five feet in height, to commemorate the name of Count Phéodor Grigórievitch Orlof, and the victory gained by him over the Turks in the Morea, in the year 1770.

Count Phéodor Orlof also distinguished himself in the engagement at Tchésmé. He was on board Admiral Spiridof's ship when she blew up, and had a miraculous escape from death. He was never married, and his property fell to his brothers, and to his illegitimate children. In the latter part of his life, though he bought the fine house of Demídof, he preferred living in a one story small house (in which some of these pages were written) adjoining to the garden, which he improved, and where he passed much of his time, being a lover of simplicity and tranquillity. At his death, by his will, the large house and gardens fell to Countess Orlof-Tchésmenska, by whom it is now occupied. †

Although Count Phéodor Orlof was never married, he had six natural children who received his name. One son Vladímir is dead, and a daughter, Anna Phéodorovna is married. The four sons now living seem to be of the true Orlof race. They all fought bravely, and distinguished themselves during the last campaigns. Alexei Phéodorovitch Orlof, who is now general aide-de-camp of

* Vide inscription on the family mausoleum.

† Vide Character of the Russians, &c. p. 415.

the Emperor, major-general and commander of the horse guards, was very active during the war, and was wounded in an engagement near Moscow. He is not much above thirty years of age, and has rapidly advanced to the high rank which he now holds, although not reputed to have great talents. It is said that Countess Orlof-Tchémsenska's influence at court has been of use to him.

2. Michail Phéodorovitch Orlof, major-general and commander of a brigade near Kieff, is an excellent young man, of very general information, and is also high in favour. *

3. Grigorii Phéodorovitch Orlof, who is a captain of cavalry, (but, it is said, will soon be made a colonel,) and lost a leg at Krasnoi.

4. And Phéodor Phéodorovitch Orlof, who is a captain of the Ulanskoi regiment of cavalry, and also lost a leg on the same field of battle, near Smolensk, in 1812.

No. 5. The fifth and last of the Orlof brothers is Count Vladímir Grigoriévitch Orlof, who is still living at Moscow; a respectable old gentleman. He was never in the army, although he has the rank of lieutenant-general. He is one of the chamberlains, is a knight of several orders, and a number of years ago, he was president of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. Early in life he married Miss Strachelberg, a German lady, who was maid of honour to Catherine II., and who brought him a numerous family. In the year 1817, she was interred in the Orlof family tomb, which was built by Count Vladímir many years ago, when several bodies were transferred to it by his order from the adjoining church where they had been deposited. His spouse, being a Roman catholic, could not

* Since this was written, I have been informed that he has been ordered to resign, in consequence of the liberality of his sentiments and his speech.

have been interred in the church according to the forms of the Greek religion, and she had a wish that her ashes might repose with those of her husband, which probably will soon be the case, as the Count is now advanced in years; and, indeed, I have been told that he has already ordered a coffin to be placed in the family vault, to be ready for the reception of his mortal remains.

Although Count Vladímír Orlof has not distinguished himself by any brilliant talents, or by any victory by land or sea, and although no sovereign's obelisk immortalise his name, yet he has been useful to his country in his day, has passed a long life in tranquillity and happiness amidst his family and relations, and will respectably fall, like a shock of corn fully ripe. He is immensely rich, having received many presents from his brothers during their lives, as well as effects at their death. He had five children. 1. "Count Alexander Vladimírovitch, Under Lieutenant of the cavalry regiment of Life-Guards, oldest son of Lieutenant-General, and Actual Chamberlain, Count Vladimírovitch Orlof; he was born 28th July, 1769, and died in France, in the town of Leon, 12th October, 1787, in the nineteenth year of his age, and was transported thence by the desire of his relations." * He was a young man of great promise, and his death caused inexpressible pain and sorrow to his relations. 2. Yekaterína Vladimírovna, now Madame Novotsilsof. 3. Sophia Vladimírovna, now Countess (Níkíta Petróvitch) Panin. 4. Natalia Vladimírovna, the deceased Madame Demídof. 5. Count Grigorii Vladimírovitch, state counsellor and senator, who married Countess Soltikof, by whom he has not had any children. In consequence of their residence in London, they are well known

* Inscription in family mausoleum.

to the English nobility. The Count has lately distinguished himself by a clever work on the history of music and painting in Italy.

The Imperial-looking estate of Otráda, which formerly belonged to Count Orlof-Tchésmenskii, was presented to his brother Count Vladímir Orlof, and contains the family tomb, which occupied my chief attention when there. It is built of unplastered brick and white calcareous toof, so intermingled as to please the eye, and in a neat chaste style of architecture. It is of a circular form, is surmounted by a small gilt globe bearing a gilt cross, and is surrounded by an iron balustrade. The door of the balustrade being opened, I entered and ascended a small flight of steps. A plate-iron door, and then a grated iron gate firmly locked, are the safe-guards of the mausoleum. I viewed the tombs where repose the once mighty but now silent dead; and a thousand thoughts connected with them, and with the history of Russia, crossed my brain in rapid succession.

This mausoleum internally is divided into two parts or stories, by a circular gallery furnished with an iron rail. Opposite the entrance in a niche, is a painting of the Resurrection of Lazarus. In similar niches hang the portraits of Prince Grigorií Orlof, Count Alexei Orlof-Tchésmenskii, Count Iván Orlof, and of Count Phéodor Orlof. On the left of the door, a niche is occupied by the portrait of Count Alexander Orlof, son of Count Vladímir Orlof; and on the right, an empty niche awaits the portrait of the last-named nobleman, and the last of the five brothers. To each of the portraits appends a large brass plate with an inscription.

From the circular gallery I descended by a stair into what may be called the vault. Opposite the above-men-

tioned portraits, are placed large handsome elevated tombs, or coffins, the cover of each adorned with a gilt cross and *memento mori* figures, besides a brass plate with a short inscription indicating that the mortals represented by the portraits in the niches above, are now deposited in the corresponding tombs below.

While viewing the portraits and reading the inscriptions, a degree of melancholy came upon me, which rendered *painfully pleasant* my meditations on the vanity of human distinctions and of mortal life.

APPENDIX, No. VI.

POLITICAL LETTERS. .

(No. 1.)

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR, — In order that the public should not be led to believe, from the Dedication of Dr. Lyall's book, lately published, on Russia, that that book has ever received the sanction of his Imperial Majesty, I should feel obliged if you would put a paragraph in your valuable paper, to the effect of the enclosed sketch, which I have written in French.

I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,
G. BENKHAUSEN, Russian Vice-Consul.

Russian Consulate, 29. Great Winchester
Street, April 14.

We are authorised to declare, that Dr. Lyall, who at the head of his work on Russia has placed a Dedication to the Emperor of Russia, had no authority to do so, never having solicited or obtained permission to offer to his Imperial Majesty a production, which, by its tendency, evidently hostile to Russia, could never certainly be received by the sovereign of that country. *

* Vide *The Times*, April 15, 1824.

(No. 2.)

To the Editor of the Times.

SIR,—Although I have not the honour of being known to you, I trust you will do me the favour of giving a place in your columns to the following remarks, in answer to Mr. Benkhausen's letter in your paper of the 15th inst.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

R. LYALL.

1. Harmood Place, Hampstead Road,
London, April 19.

The motives which induced me to dedicate *The Character of the Russians* to his Imperial Majesty Alexander, are clearly mentioned in that work. As the words "Dedicated by Permission" do not anywhere occur, of course the statements in *The Times* were altogether unnecessary, as only tending to disprove what was neither asserted nor pretended. It is of little importance to me that my work is considered "hostile to Russia," if the world give me credit for impartiality, truth, and independence. *

(No. 3.)

RUSSIAN LIBERALITY.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—You will greatly oblige me by giving a place to the following remarks in *The Morning Chronicle*.

I am your very obedient servant,

R. LYALL.

88. St. Martin's Lane, London, June 1.

* Vide *The Times*, April 20, 1824. Remarks something similar to No. 1. appeared in *The Courier* of April 16th; and No. 2. was also published in that paper, April 19th.

Having answered the letter of Mr. Benkhausen, the Russian Vice-Consul, in *The Times* of April 15, and an anonymous paragraph in *The Courier* of the 16th, with respect to the dedication of my quarto volume to his Imperial Majesty Alexander, I was not a little surprised at the appearance of the following autocratic resolution, or ukáz, in a number of the London newspapers, about the 26th, 27th, and 28th of the same month:—

St. Petersburg, April 5.

The Emperor has just decided, that no foreign writer shall be authorised to dedicate any work to him, without having previously solicited permission from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, through the Russian Ambassador resident in the country in which the author resides. This *prohibition* has been caused by the inconceivable audacity of an Englishman, who has, with great effrontery, dedicated to his Majesty a book, written against his government, and the entire Russian nation.—*From Galignani's Messenger.*

Although beyond doubt I am the *Englishman** alluded to, yet, for various reasons, I had determined to delay for some time answering the above proclamation. With every feeling of reverence for crowned heads, and with peculiar veneration for the Emperor Alexander—by destiny a despotic sovereign, but unequalled for mildness; and now, at times, as unfairly abused as he was, ten years ago, unduly exalted—I am bound to assume the rights of a free-born Briton—I

* The same term has been applied to an English Ambassador. The word *gentleman* exists in their language under the form of *Gospodin*, but the Russians are so generally loaded with titles, that it is almost a mark of distinction to be without any, and they neither comprehend the meaning nor the application of that expression.

must break silence — I must defend myself — I must do justice to others, when such actions as the following are recorded : —

St. Petersburg, April 13.

Lyall's work on Russia has done us infinite mischief, and I believe we may attribute to it those suspicions which have of late appeared to attend English travellers. Some of them have severely felt the effects of these suspicions, and it will be long before they will cease. Thus a *Blind Spy*, a *Methodistical one*, and a *Quaker*, have lately been sent beyond the borders. *

I shall now answer both of the Petersburg productions.

I believe it is indisputable that an author may dedicate his works to whom he pleases, the words *by permission* not being used. The dedication may or may not be accepted. As a matter of courtesy, when practicable, it often happens that the individual to whom the work is dedicated is consulted ; but this was impossible in my case. Besides, I imagined as I had defended the Russians against unjust aspersions and violent calumnies, while I ventured to tell many disagreeable truths, that his Imperial Majesty, Alexander, would have an opportunity of distinguishing himself by the display of a liberality, little characteristic of his predecessors — if not by sending me a *diamond ring*, a *ribbon*, or a *cross* — by *quietly* taking advantage of my writings, and making such improvements in his empire as appeared to be absolutely necessary. Instead of this, he has, probably, never read a page of “ *The Character of the Russians :*” nor glanced at my Account of the System of Military Colonis-

* Vide *The New Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal*, No. 42., June 1, 1824, under Foreign Varieties, p. 262.

ation in Russia, but listened to the report of some of his courtiers, whose modes of action are therein exposed, and whose interest it was to continue concealment.

The idea of a Tsar of Russia sending a *prohibition* to *Englishmen*, from the banks of the Néva, is so preposterous, as to have excited universal laughter, ridicule, and contempt; and I cannot but lament that his Imperial Majesty should have been so ill-advised by his Cabinet Council, as, by the publication of such a proclamation, to have become the butt of public opinion. Could not one of the ministers, or confidential servants of the crown, have whispered in his ear, that an *Imperial ukáz*, though omnipotent in Russia, becomes as “sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal,” long ere it reaches the metropolis of Great Britain, and that there, were it even proclaimed by an Imperial herald, it would be an empty sound — *vox et præterea nihil* — a scroll which Liberty, the goddess of *Englishmen*, would trample under foot, and “leave not a wreck behind?” So much for the dedications of authors, and the *ukázes* of emperors in this land of freedom.

In reference to the second extract from St. Petersburg, I must express my sincere regret, if, after all my precautions, and the careful suppression of names, any resident, or traveller in Russia, should have sustained, or should henceforth sustain, any injury, in consequence of the publication of my works.—To avert this, in justice to my friends, of all nations, in that empire, and particularly with a reference to my countrymen, I am imperiously called upon to declare, as I now most solemnly do declare, that for my writings *I alone* am responsible. I was no spy, as has been basely insinuated. I had no connection with any government, with the agents of any government, nor with any political party. I collected every kind of inform-

ation for my own amusement and improvement, with the design of giving just views of Russia and her natives to the world, and of endeavouring to be useful to that immense empire. The Russians can only blame me for speaking truth, which, as a friend writes, *les pique*. I have anxiously sought to establish my character as an impartial and faithful recorder of facts, and if I may judge by the public press, that character has been universally granted me, and I trust I will merit its continuance. The approbation of my countrymen is to me the dearest of terrestrial distinctions. *

(No. 4.)

NARRATIVE OF LIEUTENANT HOLMAN THE BLIND
TRAVELLER'S EXCURSION FROM MOSCOW TO IR-
KUTSK.

To the Editor of the Courier.

SIR, — In connection with the subject of my letter in *The Courier* of the 1st of June, I beg you will give a place to the subsequent remarks in one of your columns.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

R. LYALL.

45. Haymarket, London, July 8th, 1824.

When I published my last letter in answer to an *ukáz* of his Imperial Majesty, Alexander, and a communication

* Vide *Morning Chronicle*, June 3, 1824. This Letter was also published in *The Courier* of the same date.

from St. Petersburg, I had the strongest reasons to believe that the "*Blind Spy*,"* who was sent beyond the borders of the Russian empire, could be no other individual than my amiable and worthy friend, Lieutenant Holman, of the Royal Navy, and one of the knights of Windsor; a gentleman already well known to the public by his curious and interesting work, entitled "*Travels through France, Italy, &c.*" of which a second edition has lately made its appearance. I naturally embraced the earliest opportunity of seeing Mr. Holman after his arrival in the metropolis, on the 1st instant, when my suspicions as to his being the said "*Blind Spy*" were confirmed. This enterprising sightless traveller, like Ledyard and Cochrane, had determined not only to travel through Siberia and Kamtschatka, but to pass in a Russian vessel from Asia to the north-west coast of America, and from thence, doubling Cape Horn, or Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope, to reach Europe, and so complete the tour of the world. When at Moscow, I regarded Mr. Holman's plan of proceeding farther, either to the south or the east, as very romantic; but he always urged, that on every new spot, novel local information was to be gained, *even by the blind*, and that travelling was the most pleasant manner of passing away his time, totally shut out as he is from connection with the visible world. Finding all dissuasions of no avail against the irrevocable determination of Mr. Holman to proceed on his journey, or as he used to say, "*to find his way*," I, like others of his friends, did every thing possible to assist him in his views and arrangements. Other two individuals, besides myself, saw him safely placed in his travelling equipage, and with a

* We have heard of "*The Chinese Spy*," of "*The Turkish Spy*," &c.; but we have never before heard of "*The Blind Spy*!!!"

heavy heart I uttered the command, *Pashóle* (go on), to his coachman. Mr. Holman was immediately in motion for Siberia, accompanied only by a Tartar postilion, whom Captain Cochrane had brought from Kazán, and knowing nothing of the Russian language beyond the negative and the affirmative.

After a good deal of personal adventure, which, it is to be hoped, Mr. Holman will lay before the public, he reached Irkutsk, above 2000 miles beyond Tobolsk, and 3500 from Moscow, where he intended to pass the winter. He was delighted with the idea of completing his projected long journey round the globe, which imagination had run over a thousand times, and for which he was making all necessary arrangements. Here, however, his intentions were altogether baffled. A *Felt-Jæger*, or government courier, who had left St. Petersburg on the 4th of December, 1823, reached Irkutsk about the 29th of the same month, with secret despatches to the Governor-General (Lavinskii). This gentleman, who had previously treated Mr. Holman with every possible kindness and distinction, and who was now made the reluctant organ of communicating the decision of the Russian cabinet, much to his credit, behaved with the greatest delicacy. He endeavoured by every possible means to persuade Mr. Holman to return to Europe, all of which proved equally vain. He then pointed out the great solicitude of the Russian government for his safety, and even alluded to the fears of the Emperor, that some accident might befall him, "*a helpless blind traveller;*" but still without moving Mr. Holman from his original and determined purpose, of going to Nertchinsk, and afterwards along the Chinese frontier to Mamatcheen, so as to be present at the grand festival of the new year. At length

General Lavinskii was necessitated to disclose the disagreeable secret. In the gentlest manner he made known the orders which he had received by the courier, who had been sent on purpose to conduct him beyond the borders of the Russian empire. This intelligence was a thunder-stroke to Mr. Holman, who could not then, more than he does now, comprehend the cause of such procedure towards him, especially as he never had the least connection with political party, or acted in any way to excite the smallest suspicion. But there was no utility in asking an explanation — no resisting the Imperial mandate. The Felt-Jæger's orders were to conduct Mr. Holman from Irkutsk to Kazán, and from that town, by the governments of Simbirsk and Saratóf, to Brodie, on the Austrian frontier. Having made arrangements with his banker at Moscow to suit his travelling to the east, he was not prepared with funds to meet the expences of an un contemplated journey to the west, in consequence of which General Lavinskii gave him permission to go by way of Moscow. Mr. Holman had naturally asked whether the government meant to pay his expenses. While he was answered in the negative, it was laconically added, "*You are not a prisoner, and are allowed to travel like a gentleman.*" This is quite *à la Russe*, and requires no comment. General Lavinskii kindly offered money sufficient to carry Mr. Holman to Moscow, which he was reduced to the necessity of unwillingly accepting, and which he afterwards repaid with grateful feelings. When in this capital he was not permitted to visit any of his friends, but they were allowed during three days to come and see him; always, however, in the presence of his guard, — the Felt-Jæger, or one of the assistants of the police not in uniform. In consequence of bad health, his stay was prolonged to five days at Moscow, at the expir-

ation of which he received an order from the governor (not the worthy and humane military Governor-General Prince Galitsin) to depart, *well or sick*, and it was cruelly hinted to him, that in case he did not then move off, *he would be carried beyond the precincts of the city*. What inhumanity ! Otherwise Mr. Holman was universally treated like a gentleman ; and, wonderful to tell, his papers were not seized, but have all reached England. I should strongly suspect, however, that the Russians examined them without his knowledge, taking advantage of his blindness and using a false key to his portmanteau ; but finding nothing in them of an improper nature, the officers of the crown acted in this apparently liberal manner. Mr. Holman thinks this could not have happened, as his papers were always by his side, and the key always in his pocket. Although he has given many proofs of the astonishing improvement of the other senses and faculties which generally follows loss of sight, yet he may have been deceived. His memory is extremely retentive, and therefore important facts were not inserted in his journal, which, I doubt not, will contain a good deal of “ *the Blind Spy’s*” personal adventures in the frozen regions of Siberia. As Mr. Holman possesses considerable scientific knowledge, some of the *lacunæ* of Captain Cochrane’s lately published and amusing volume may be filled up.

It is rather a curious circumstance, that of three adventurers who have wished to cross from Asia to America, and from thence to complete the tour of the terrestrial globe, not one has succeeded. The celebrated Ledyard, who had accompanied Captain Cook round the world, was suddenly arrested at Irkutsk, on pretence of his being a French spy, and by an absolute order of the Empress Catherine II. he was hurried back from Siberia in a *kibítka*, between two guards. Captain Cochrane’s reasons

for not proceeding farther to the north-east, however specious in Great Britain, are not altogether satisfactory to those acquainted with the subject in Russia, and his return without having accomplished a single great object of his, so called, *pedestrian journey*, must always be subject of regret. No foreigner has ever had better, if equal, opportunities of carrying his plans into execution, had they been more matured, or had he wisely taken measures so as to have been able to have satisfied the demands of the Tchuktchi tribe before he reached their territory. It is one thing to be hospitable to a stranger in passing through any country—to afford him even clothes, and food, and shelter—and another, to accompany him, or to conduct him on an expedition. Sledges, dogs, and provisions are wanted for travelling in the land of the Tchuktchi, and it is not to be thought they will be furnished without remuneration. The savage, though he may refuse *direct payment*, can and must be rewarded in some other way, so as to content him. Without money or other means, all expeditions must prove abortive, as might be foreseen before commencing them. Although Mr. Holman's departure gave me deep concern, yet I never doubted of the success of his plans, and though (like Captain Cochrane) I considered the accomplishment of his design of penetrating through Siberia as an extraordinary achievement, I was persuaded he would complete all he undertook. His friends at Moscow had thought it preposterous in him to go to Siberia, and therefore, to prevent "*chatting, laughing, and ridicule*," he kept his purpose of visiting America to himself. From Irkutsk, application was made by Mr. Holman (according to the laws of Russia, before a stranger can quit the Empire) for permission, and a passport to leave Siberia. The answer was the order of the

Felt-Jæger. This is to be regretted, because his determined enterprising spirit—his total disregard of apprehended *additional* dangers in consequence of his want of sight, but which he finds greatly compensated by the improvement of his other senses, and some of his mental faculties—his pleasing physiognomy—the suavity of his manners—his state of *stone blindness* which would excite the compassion of even the most savage breast—all conspired to the success of his plans. But the Russian government completely blasted them. He made his way to Moscow, and from thence to Cracow, where he was detained three weeks, in consequence of his not having been furnished with a proper passport by the Russian government. He then visited Vienna, Prague, Carlsbad, Dresden, Leipzig fair, Berlin, Hanover, Bremen, and Hamburg. By sea he reached Hull, and finally got to London.

Mr. Holman is by no means decidedly of opinion that the publication of my letters in the newspapers, or of my works, led to his arrest and his transportation beyond the frontiers, though this has been promulgated by the public press. A question of considerable importance is, whether party spirit or jealousy may not have led to the whole of the extraordinary (or rather ordinary) procedure of the Russian government. My friendly connection with Mr. Holman at Moscow may have excited suspicion, and some wicked individual may have whispered "*a bad report*" in the ears of the Police, which of course rapidly reached the Imperial government. As soon as the circumstance is explained, I shall take care to make it public.

In reference to the "*Quaker Spy*," who was also sent beyond the borders, I know little more than his name,

and I have been informed that this step was occasioned by his having been engaged in, or connected with, some smuggling transaction. Of the "*Methodistical Spy*" I know nothing, unless he be a Mr. ———, a gentleman about to take holy orders, who was arrested and detained last April on the frontiers of Prussia. *

* Vide *The Courier*, July 10th, 1824. This letter was also published in *The Morning Chronicle*.

APPENDIX, No. VII.

ITINERARY OF THE JOURNEY.

	Versts.		Versts.
FROM Moscow to Po-		Tolstudúbova.....	20
dólsk.....	32	Yésman.....	16
Lapásna.....	33	Glúchof.....	15
Sérpuchof.....	27	Tuligólova.....	20
Závodi.....	33	Królevets.....	19
Voshán.....	23	Altínovka.....	19
Volótya.....	20	Batúrin.....	29
Túla.....	15	Bórzna.....	29
Yásnaya Polyána.....	17	Kamárovka.....	20
Sólova.....	18	Néjin.....	30
Sergíevskoyé.....	25	Nósovka.....	26
Máloyé Skurátovo.....	25½	Kozári.....	14
Bólshoyé Skurátovo.....	20	Kozeléts.....	24
Mtsénsk.....	28	Semipólki.....	25
Valtsébska, or Ivánovs-		Brovari.....	29
koyé.....	27	Kief.....	18
Orél.....	27	Véta.....	17
Kanúbri.....	17½	Vassílkof.....	18
Krómi.....	19	Grébenki.....	28
Tchuvárdina.....	22	Krásnoyé.....	20
Dmítrevsk.....	28	Vintshéntovka.....	20
Upóroyé.....	21	Karapíshi.....	19
Postoyálniya Dvóri, on		Bóghoslavle.....	15
the rivulet Usója.....	22	Moskalénki.....	16
Sévsk.....	24	Korsún.....	17
Posniakóvskiya Posto-		Olshána.....	31
yálniya Dvóri.....	21	Zvenigórodka.....	23

	Versts.		Versts.
Yekaterínopole.....	15	Băidar	20
Tăinovka	20	Kikenis.....	20
Legizína	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	Alyúpka.....	18
Uman	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	Níkíta.....	22
Khalovínska.....	40	Kútchuk-Lampát.....	18
Bóghopole.....	50	Kútchuk-Uzen.....	20
Románovka	18	Uskút.....	25
Konstantínovka.....	15	Kutlák.....	22
Alexándrovka	16	Sudák.....	12
Voznesénsk	13	Suák-Su	12
Anovka.....	25	Topli.....	18
Kolonia Vormsa	17	Karassubázar.....	16
Znatchka Yavórskaho...	13	Zúiskaya.....	21
Pokróvka.....	22	Symphéropole	20
Kudéntsova.....	16	Zúiskaya.....	20
Málöi Búyalsk, or Bo-		Karassubázar.....	21
gílnik.....	18	Brundítskaya.....	21
Odéssa.....	24	Krenítchka.....	22
Adjelík, or Dúpinka...	18	Káffa.....	24
Teligúl, Troítskoyé, Ko-		Porpátch.....	22
blevka, or Cobley.....	28	Argín.....	21
Krasnõi Traktir, on the		Sultánovka.....	22
rivulet Sasék	22	Kertch.....	23
Kozíánof.....	30	Yeníkalé.....	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Phéodorovka.....	20	Tamán.....	18
Sabínoyé	17	Búghas	18
Nikolácf.....	28	Sénmaya.....	18
Kopánki.....	26	Perepíska.....	15
Belozérsk.....	16	Temrúk.....	16
Khersón.....	17	Kurtchánskaya, or An-	
Inguléts.....	20	dríevskõi Post.....	25
Tyáchinka.....	18	Kaláúskaya, or Petróv-	
Beresláf.....	31	skaya.....	25
Kachóvka.....	5	Kopílskaya	18
Tchérnaya Dolína.....	26	Kurakubánskaya	25
Tcháplinka.....	25	Mishátovskaya.....	18
Pérekop.....	26	Kopánskaya	17
Ushun.....	24	Yekaterínodár	22
Dyúrmen.....	21	Korsúnskoyé.....	28
Aibar.....	24	Redutskii Karantín.....	12
Ablan.....	22	Ust Labínskaya.....	18
Sarabúze.....	22	Ládojskaya	18
Symphéropole.....	19	Típhlískaya	18
Baktchíseräi.....	30	Kazánskaya	17
Sevástopole.....	32	Kavkázskaya.....	18
Balakláva.....	18	Timijbéskaya.....	23

	Versts.		Versts.
Alexándrovskoyé	12	Passánanoor	20
Nóvo-Troítskoyé	28	Kasháur	16
Rojéstvenskoyé	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	Kóbi	16
Stávropole	25	Kazbék	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Beshpaghír	31	Lars	25
Sergiévskoyé	33	Vladikavkáz	25
Kalínovka	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	Elizabeth Redoubt	30
Alexandrovsk	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	Constántine Redoubt ..	35
Sábli	27	Mozdók	13
Alexándré	40	Pavlodólskoyé	18
Geörgiévsk	12	Yekaterínograd	17
Karáss and Konstantíno- gorsk	35	Prochladínskaya	14
Kislavódkii	40	Malkínskaya	18
Karáss	40	Pávlovskaya	21
Geörgiévsk	35	Geörgiévsk	20
Pávlovskaya	21	Alexandré	12
Malkínskaya	18	Sábli	40
Prochladínskaya	14	Alexándrovsk	27
Yekaterínograd	17	Kalínovka	19
Pavlodólskoyé	18	Sergiévskoyé	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mozdók	13	Beshpaghír	33
Constántine Redoubt ..	35	Stávropole	31
Elizabeth Redoubt	30	Moskóvskaya	31 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vladikavkáz	25	Dónskaya	20
Lars	25	Bezopásnaya	22
Kazbék	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	Peregrádnoyé	25
Kóbi	16	Medvéjé-Kolódets	23
Kasháur	16	Kalalúskaya	22
Passánanoor	20	Letnítskaya	24
Ananoor	22	Ptchanokópskaya	30
Dushét	10	Srédiénnyé Yegorlítskoyé	27 $\frac{1}{2}$
Khartiskárst	24	Níjni-Yegorlítskoyé	26
Tiflís	26	Metchétnaya	26
Muchrován	30	Kagalnítskaya	28
Gambóra	19	Batáiskaya	18
Teláv	24	Zmiévskaya	29
Kvarélli	30	Novo-Tcherkásk	19
Alavérdi	35	Zmiévskaya	19
Teláv	20	Rostóf	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gambóra	24	Tchaltir	17
Muchrován	19	Tchulék	17
Tiflís	30	Sambék	14
Khartiskárst	24	Taganróg	17
Dushét	10	Koróvyé Brode	20
Ananoor	22	Shelkóvninska	31
		Yasínovskaya	21

	Versts.		Versts.
Kolodiāsnaya	12	Voshân.....	20
Yesaiúlovskaya.....	25	Závodi	23
Ivánovskoyé.....	27	Sérpuchof.....	33
Uspénskoyé.....	25	Lapásna.....	27
Lúganskõi Zavode, and		Podólsk.....	33
Kamenõi Brode.....	25	Moscow.....	32
Jéltoyé Selo, or Deviatì		Nóvaya Derévna.....	24
Rote.....	15	Bóghoródsck	26
Yandélovka, or Raĩ-Go-		Plótava	25
ródka.....	25	Pokróf	25
Nova Aidara.....	18	Lipna.....	28
Shulchínka	27	Dmitrovskoyé	27
Starobélsck	15	Vladímìr	22
Zakótnoyé.....	23	Barákova	15
Osínova.....	12	Súdogda.....	24
Belalútskaya.....	16	Móshki	29
Rovénka.....	28	Drátchevo	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yeremén.....	28	Múrom	29 $\frac{1}{2}$
Olchovátka	26	Monakóvo	31
Karpénkof	44	Aziāblikovo	30
Ostrogójsck.....	35	Yarímovo.....	20
Korotiāk	17	Aléshkovo	25
Phorostan.....	23	Bólshoyé Doskino.....	20
Oleni-Kolódets	23	Níjni-Nóvgorod	25
Masilka	19	As mentioned in the	
Voronéje	24	text, a different route	
Starojívotnoyé	25	was followed from the	
Beztújevka.....	16	above, in returning	
Khlébnoyé.....	16	from Níjni-Nóvgorod	
Zadónsk	27	to Moscow, the sta-	
Izváli.....	19	tions of which are ac-	
Yélets	20	cording to choice:—	
Pálna.....	30	the distance is about	430
Nikolaévka.....	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	The stages between Pe-	
Yephremof.....	20	tersburgh and Mos-	
Bólshiyé Plotì	16	cow are contained in	
Nikítskoyé.....	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	every book, and need	
Bóghoróditsck	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	not be enumerated	
Dedílova.....	25	here	728
Túla.....	33		
Volótya.....	15	Versts — Total...	7682

The distances between the stations are not always charged the same by the Post-Boors, or by the *Smotrítels*. One sometimes pays for twenty-three versts, and rides only twenty; in the same manner, when you ride twenty-three, you only pay for twenty. Where the road is very bad, by this mode the boors are recompensed; and, where good, a deduction is made.

THE END.

LONDON:

Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.



BINDING MAR 19 1961

DK Lyall, Robert
25 Travels in Russia
L98
v.2

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

